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"THE EARTH SHALL BE FILLED WITH THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE GLORY
OF THE LORD, AS THE WATERS COVER THE SEA."—*HABAKKUK* II. 14.

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CONTENTS.

Africa.

THE SLAVE TRADE DURING THE LAST TWO YEARS.

	Page
Compact entered into by European nations respecting the Slave-trade . . .	149
Decrease in the number of slaves exported from Africa—Substitution of lawful commerce . . .	149, 150
The Slave-trade during the last two years—The Cuban planters—their demand for slaves . . .	150, 151
Neglect of Spain to keep her part in the compact of 1817—Remonstrances of the British Government . . .	151
Use of the American Flag to cover the traffic—Treaty of Britain with the United States at Ghent . . .	151, 152
Capture of the Slaver "Rufus Soulé" by a British Commander—Official Correspondence—General Cass to Mr. Dallas—Reply of Lord John Russell . . .	152, 153
Cuban mode of obtaining pecuniary means for the purchase of slaves—Despatches of Consul Crawford to Lord John Russell . . .	153 155
Proposal of the British to the American Government—Decision of the President—Lord John Russell's Despatch . . .	155—157
Further Correspondence—Remonstrance of General Cass, and reply—Remarks . . .	157—159

DANGERS AND PRESERVATIONS.

The Wars in the Yoruba Country—Critical position of the Ibadan Missionaries . . .	283, 284
Letter from Mrs. Hinderer, Ibadan, June 10, 1861 . . .	284, 285
Letter from the Rev. D. Hinderer, Ibadan, August 2, 1861 . . .	285
Death and Burial of Ogunlade—A Convert . . .	285
Scene in a Native Court of Justice—the Accuser outdone . . .	285, 286
Departure from Ibadan on March 6—Journey to Lagos . . .	286
Sickness at Lagos—The return journey—Dangers of the passage—Arrival at Ibadan . . .	287, 288
Present situation—Difficulty of obtaining provisions—State of health . . .	288

India.

THE INDIAN UNIVERSITIES 172

THE EXCLUSION OF THE BIBLE FROM THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT IN INDIA, THE PERPETUATION OF THE NEUTRAL POLICY.

Questions raised by the Indian Mutiny—The Church Missionary Society's Memorial to the Queen . . .	58, 59
The principle of "Neutrality" the great national delinquency in India—Danger of an apparent indifferentism . . .	59, 60
The Bishop of Calcutta on Neutrality—Failure of the system to conciliate the heathen . . .	60, 61

CONTENTS.

	Page
The introduction of the Bible into Government schools—Despatches of 1854 and 1859—Dr. Kave's statement	62
Has the system of Neutrality been really impartial? Infidel tendency of its working—Testimonies of Mr. Hodgson Pratt and Professor Henderson—Remarks on the question	63, 64
The great remedy needed—The divorce between secular and religious education, unnatural—Plea of "a native of Northern India"	65, 66
Classes of objections against the introduction of the Bible—Extracts from Sir J. Lawrence's Minute	67, 68
The Government permission that the Bible may be taught out of school, an insufficient one—Case of the Berhampore College	68, 69
The subject resumed—Present impolitic position of Government in this respect	69-71
Sentiments put forth in the "Friend of India"—Extract from the proceedings of the South-India Missionary Conference	71
Which of the two systems is fraught with least danger to the Indian Empire?—Extracts from "the thoughts of a native of Northern India"	71, 72
Change of opinion going on among the Pundits of Bengal—"Is the Bible a charm?"	72, 73

RECENT GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY (Oct. 13).

The General Committee of October 13th, 1861	258
Discouragement and encouragement—Want of funds, and increased call for enlargement of Missionary operation	258
The Punjab—its importance strategically	258, 259
Its importance commercially—Capabilities and productive powers—River system—Grain and salt trades—Cotton—the Baree Doab Canal	259, 260
Facilities of communication with England—Kurrachee—Railway connexion with Sindh—Population of the Indus provinces	260, 261
Attention of the authorities to the improvement of the people—Beneficial effects of Christianity	261, 262
The Punjab in a Missionary point of view—The Derajat or Damin—Invitation to the Society to occupy this district	262
Importance of Derajat as a station on the road of Afghanistan's commerce—Mountain Passes—the Golarree and Korah Passes, &c.	262, 263
The Bolan Pass—Border tribes—the Wuzurees—Remarks by Colonel Rennell Taylor	263-265
The Mission at Peshawur—Paper by a Missionary—Peculiar character of the Mission—Languages spoken at Peshawur	265, 266
Present opportunity for Missionary enterprise—Determination of the Committee	266, 267

MISSION TO THE DERAJAT.

Letter from Sir Herbert B. Edwardes to Rev. H. Venn, October 15th, 1861	278
Letter from Colonel Reynell Taylor to Sir Herbert B. Edwardes, August 14, 1861	281
Extracts of a Letter from Sir R. Montgomery to Colonel Reynell Taylor	283
Resolution of the Committee, Church Missionary Society, October 14, 1861.	283

THE FAMINE AT DELHI.

Latest particulars as to the state of Delhi	147, 148
---	----------

THE KAREN MISSION.

Commencement of the American Mission in Burmah—The first convert—Karen traditions	75
Extension of the work—Success followed by persecution	76
Continued increase of blessings—British occupation of Burmah	77
Enlarged openings—Arrival of Mr. Mason—his journey to Toungoo	77, 78
Success at Toungoo—The native minister, Sau Quala	78
Report of Lieutenant-Colonel Phayre, the Commissioner at Pegu	78-81

CONTENTS.

	Page
<i>The Native Pastorate—</i>	
Importance of the native pastorate—Extract from a former article—Address of, the Rev. R. S. Hardy	81
Report drawn up at the Convention at Moulinein by the American Missionaries	82, 83
The Native Pastorate in Tinnevelly—Want of it in North India—The Rev. D. Mohun at Allahabad	83, 84
<i>The support of the Native Pastorate—</i>	
Duty of native flocks to support their pastor—Extracts from the Primary Charge of the Bishop of Calcutta, and proceedings of the South-India Conference	85—87
Support of native pastors in Burmah—Extract from the Report of Dr. Mason	87, 88
The native church at Allahabad—Letter of Rev. D. Mohun, native minister—Native Agents at Benares (<i>note</i>)	88, 89
Self-supporting action in the Tinnevelly Churches—Self-denial for the cause—Letter of W. Gray, June 15, 1860	89, 90
Loss to the Church of Tinnevelly—Death of the Rev. Paul Daniel	91, 92
The subject of Native Pastor support further considered	92, 93
<i>Preparandi and Training Institutions in the Karen and Tamil Missions</i>	
Normal Schools in Burmah—Letter of Mrs. Mason	93, 94
Preparandi Institutions in South India—Oversight of the Parent Society	95
<i>Connexion of American Missionaries with the British Authorities</i>	
British Grants of money to the Americans—Letter of Mrs. Boardman to the English Commissioners—The result	95, 96
Application of Dr. and Mrs. Mason for a Government allowance—Reply of the Governor-General	96, 97
<i>The regions beyond</i>	
Dr. Mason's account of the Red Karens—Their costume, location, population, traditions, &c.	97, 98

REVIVING INFLUENCES.

Missionary action of the early Christian Church	25
Corresponding duties of Churches of the present day—Requirements of the Church's Head	26, 27
Defects of the Modern Church—Need of a revival—God's readiness to give one	28—30
The divine power manifest in the late revivals in Ireland, &c.	30
The Revival in Tinnevelly—Letter of the Rev. W. Gray, Sept. 10, 1860	30—32
Letter of the Rev. A. Dibb, Sept. 17, 1860	32
Letter of the Rev. J. T. Tucker	32
Moral effects of the late Irish Revival—Extract from a Speech delivered at Belfast	32, 33
Results of the revival in Wales—Extract from a pamphlet by the Rev. J. Venn	33, 34
Like effects of the Tinnevelly Revival—Extract from Letters of the Rev. Messrs. Clark and Gritton	34, 35
General reflections on the subject	34—38

LIFE OF THE REV. T. G. RAGLAND.

Annual Commemoration-day at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge—Inauguration of the Portrait of Ragland	49
Extracts from the sermon of the Rev. T. T. Perowne—Reflections on Mr. Ragland's Christian character	49, 50

LETTERS FROM TINNEVELLY.

Introductory remarks	114, 115
Letter of the Rev. J. T. Tucker, Jan. 23, 1861	115—118

CONTENTS.

	Page
Translation of a Letter of the Rev. P. Simeon, Dec. 31, 1860	118—120
Letter of the Rev. R. R. Meadows, Sivagasi, Jan. 22, 1861	120—124
Letter of the Rev. G. G. Cuthbert, Jan. 20, 1861	124

CUSTOMS OF THE MUSSULMANS OF INDIA.

Customs at Mohammedan Births, Marriages, and Deaths	142—144
Ditto at periodical Festivals—The Mohurram—The Sheeas and the Soonees—The Bukra Eed—Legend of Ishmael and Abraham—The Ramazan	144—146

* * *Vide* also the articles "English Movements in Central Asia," and
"Commercial Intercourse between India and Central Asia," under
"Miscellaneous."

Ceylon.

COLOMBO, AND THE REV. HENRY WHITLEY

Bereaved state of the Ceylon Mission	51
Situation of the Mission Church—Slave Island and its inhabitants	52
Object of the Mission Church—Method of evangelizing	52
Extracts from the Report of the Rev. H. Whitley	52—53
Obituary of Mr. Whitley—Early Life—Curacy at Sapcote, and departure for Ceylon	55, 56
Letter of the Rev. C. C. Fenn, communicating the particulars of Mr. Whitley's death	56, 57
Address of sympathy to the widow—Remarks by a member of the Ceylon congre- gation	57, 58
Appeal for a successor to fill the vacant post	58

The Mauritius.

THE MAURITIUS.

Importance of Central localities being selected as Mission stations	223
The Mauritius—Its appearance from the sea—Harbour of Port Louis	223, 224
Races in the Island—Cosmopolitan population of Port Louis—Scenery of the in- terior—The Pouce Mountain	224—226
Division of Mauritius into districts—Its past history—Present number of inhabi- tants	226
General population (white and coloured)—Former slavery—The "Code Noir"	226, 227
Influence of Romanism over the coloured population—Spread of that religion— Endowed Roman bishop and staff of priests	227, 228
Education—Government school system—Lady Mico's charity—Grants-in-aid— Note by the Superintendent of Government schools	228, 229
Compulsory education not extended to Indian population—Remark by the Super- intendent—Despatch of the Governor respecting the education at the Orphan Asylum	229—231
The Royal College—Remarks by the Governor—The element needed	231, 232
Indian or Coolie population—System of immigration—Apathy of Indians in Mau- ritius to their old religion—Festival of the Yamsseh	232—234
Accessibility of Indians to Missionary operations—Need of teachers	234
Occupation of Mauritius as a station of the Church Missionary Society—Progress of the work—Extracts from journals of the Rev. S. Hobbs and Rev. P. Ansorgé—Remarks	235—237
The island a dépôt for captured slavers—Landing of East Africans—Letter of the Bishop of Mauritius, May 4, 1861	237

CONTENTS.

China.

THE AFFAIRS OF CHINA.

	Page
General glance at the state of Chinese affairs since the war—Treatment of Europeans—Decrease in the average value of importations—The Tae-pings . . .	73, 74

MISSIONARY ENTERPRISES IN CHEKANG.

The treaty of Peking—Opportunities of Missionary effort . . .	106
Narrative of a journey to Hang-chow, by the Rev. T. S. Fleming, Church Missionary . . .	107
Boat accommodation—Gale on the river—Chinese "Pôa," or Sluices . . .	107, 108
Effects of the Rebel Movement—Scene at Meng-kô-yin—Natural phenomenon—The Lo-ho-t'ah pagoda—Mr. Burdon's account . . .	100—111
Arrival at Hang-chow—Appearance of the place—Interview with the authorities—Departure . . .	111, 112
Yü-yau, near Ningpo—Its desirableness as a Missionary Station—A Missionary's appeal for men—January Prayer Meeting at Ningpo . . .	112, 113
The New Treaty between China and England—Gratuitous clause—Remarks . . .	113, 114

THE LORD'S DEALINGS WITH THE NATIONS.

Opening remarks—Difficulties in the way of Missionary work . . .	125, 126
Interferences of Providence—The opening of China to the Gospel—The surrender of Peking . . .	126
Sufferings of British prisoners at the hands of the Mandarins—Destruction of the Summer Palace . . .	126, 127
The Civil War in the Yoruba country—Peril of Abbeokuta . . .	127, 128
The Famine in India—State of Delhi in distress: Extract from the "Mofussilite" . . .	128—130
Opportune moment for Christian revenge—Importance of the crisis . . .	130, 131
The Chinese—their indifference and superstition—Apathy to the Gospel exemplified—Native Converts at Ningpo . . .	131, 132
Events at Nankin, Hang-chow, and Soo-chow—Misery of the poor of those cities, . . .	133, 134
Missionary Tours from Shanghai—China's need of the Great Specific . . .	135

NANKIN AND ITS RULERS.

Recent visit of Missionaries to Nankin—Desolation of the country—Destruction of idols . . .	188, 189
Interviews with the Kan Wang—Etiquette at his court—Interest of the people . . .	190, 191
Public preaching in the city—Official proclamation—New-year's day—Females among the Tae-pings . . .	192, 193

. Vide also the articles "Our Position and Duties," "The Tung-hae Peen," "Russia and Central Asia," and "English Movements in Central Asia," under "Miscellaneous"

New Zealand.

MAORI NEW ZEALAND.

Government regulations for conveying free grants of land to New-Zealand emigrants—Its inability to keep the promise . . .	10, 11
Difficulties in the way of European acquisition of native land—The forty-acre system—Extract from the "Southern Cross" newspaper . . .	11—13
Maori New Zealand—Meaning of the term—Native law regarding land tenure—Tribal right . . .	13, 14
Tract of country inhabited by the Aborigines . . .	14

CONTENTS.

	Page
Description of the above—Its hills and valleys, rivers and lakes—The volcanic region—Extract from Taylor's New Zealand	14—17
East Coast Districts—General remarks on the native territory	17
Ignorance respecting the true position of the native—Extract from an Australian newspaper—The subject examined	18
Native population—Is it decreasing?	18—20
Chart of the progress of civilization in New Zealand—Remarks	20, 21
What Christianity has done for the country—Extracts from letter of Rev. R. Burrows	21, 22
Intellectual and industrious action—Trade—Money circulated, &c.	23
Has the native too much land for himself?—Testimony of the Bishop and Arch-deacon Kissling	24

NEW ZEALAND.

Treaty of peace with the tribe of Ngatiawa at Te Aréi	210, 211
Error of the English party in proclaiming war—The subject examined	211, 212
Cause of the war—Sale of the Waitara land—Speech of Mr. Forsaith	212, 213
Action of Governor Browne—Conduct of William King—Executive Council at Auckland, Jan. 25, 1860	213, 214
Governor's proclamation and native translation—Correspondence of Lieut.-Col. Murray with William King—Remarks	214—216
Crisis of Affairs—Adjudication—Letter of Mr. G. Clarke—Directions of the Governor	216, 217
Letter of the Rev. Riwai Te Ahiu—Letter of the Waikanae claimants—Mr. M'Lean's evidence	217—219
Worthlessness of the deed conveying the Waitara land to the English—Debate in the House of Representatives—Memorandum of the Governor	219, 220
Letter of William King to the Governor—The Governor's terms for peace	221, 222
Article from the "New-Zealand Spectator" of April 17	222

* * *Vide* also the article "Light in the Pacific," under "Miscellaneous."

North-West America.

THE RED-RIVER SETTLEMENT VIEWED IN RELATION TO THE CANADAS AND BRITISH COLUMBIA

The co-operation of Providence with human efforts for the spread of the Gospel traced	99
Case of the Red-River Colony, hitherto isolated in position, becoming the connecting link between Canada and British Columbia	99, 100
Russian Annexation in Eastern Asia—Course of the River Amoor	100
Impracticability of a railway route being carried east and west through the United States	100, 101
Physical value of the British territory north of the United States—Future destiny of the Red River Colony	101, 102
The Red River and Assiniboine Exploring Expedition of 1857—58—Extracts from the published narrative	102
Route from Lake Superior to Lake Winnipeg—The Ka-ka-beka Falls—Division of the Expedition at Fort Frances	102
Detention of the party by Indians at the Lake of the Woods—Parley with the Chief—His refusal to allow the travellers a passage	102, 103
Return of the party into the old route—Course of the Winnipeg—Arrival at Islington, the station of the Rev. R. McDonald	103, 104
The River below Islington—The Silver Falls—Entrance into Red River—Description of its course, &c.	104
Ascent of the River from Lake Winnipeg—The Indian Settlement—Grand Rapids—St. Paul's—St. John's—Fort Garry	105
Description of the large prairie west of Red River	106

CONTENTS.

	Page
MISSIONARY WORK IN THE ASSINIBOINE AND SASKATCHEWAN DISTRICTS, RED RIVER.	
State of religion at Red River, and condition of the population—The half-breeds: their habits and mode of life	136, 137
Religious classification of the population—Romish action in the Colony	137
Church Missionary Stations—Accounts of the Indian Settlement, Portage la Prairie, Fairford, Cumberland, Nepowewin, and Qu'appelle	138, 139
The Plain Crees—The mode of entrapping the buffalo—"The Fox," Chief of the Tribe	140
Superstitions of the Crees—Fairies—Dreams, &c.	140, 141
Need of increased effort for the spiritual benefit of the Indians	141, 142

POME.

VALEDICTORY INSTRUCTIONS TO MISSIONARIES.

Instructions of the Committee delivered June 21st to Missionaries proceeding to India, China, and Ceylon	183—188
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LIBERALITY OF THE JEWS IN RELIGIOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

The building of the Temple—David's zeal for the cause—Magnificence of his contributions—Gifts of the people	193—196
The Spiritual Church the antitype of the Jewish Temple—Duties of Christians in the present day to bring their choicest gifts to the erection of this temple	196—19 .

INCREASE OF THE EPISCOPATE IN INDIA—THE RIGHT WAY OF DOING IT.

Attacks of the "Colonial Church Chronicle"—Charge reiterated by it against the Church Missionary Society	271
Past Services of the Society in the cause of the Church of England—Its claim to be heard on its own behalf	271, 272
The Question re-examined—Obligations of the Gospel on Native Churches	272
India to be Evangelized thoroughly, not by European but by Native Missionary effort Danger of infusing a European element into the Native Indian Churches—Case of the Church of Ireland, and failure of the establishment of Irish Protestantism	273, 274 274—276
Position of Native Pastors under English Bishops—Probable results of English Bishoprics being multiplied in India	276, 277
Concluding Remarks	277, 278

Miscellaneous.

OUR POSITION AND DUTIES.

The great specific needed by man—Reflections for the commencement of a new year	1, 2
A glance at the present state of kingdoms—Aspects of Popery—Inauguration of a statue of the Virgin Mary in France—Accident on the occasion	2
The House of Hapsburg and its prospects	3
Mohammedanism—State of Turkey—Minutes of Annual Missionary Conference— Smyrna, Nov. 5, 1860.	3, 4
China—The new treaty—Will the Emperor observe it?	4, 5
Russian aggressions on the north-east of Asia, in the regions of the Amoor—Her possessions in the south-east	5, 6
Projected overland route between India and China—Papers read at the Royal Geo- graphical Society	6, 7
Results attained by evangelization—Analogy between its mode of work and that of the coral insect	7, 8
System of Missions—The native churches a centre of radiating action	9

CONTENTS.

	Page
LIGHT IN THE PACIFIC.	
The islands of the Pacific—Rarotonga	38
Implantation, growth, and expansion of Christianity among the Pacific Islands	39, 40
Islands where Missionary work is incipient—The Paumotu and Marquesas groups	40
Map of New Hebrides, &c.	41
New Caledonia—Its seizure by the French	41
Missionary voyages by the Bishop of New Zealand—the Loyalty and New Hebrides Islands	41
Eromanga—Martyrdom of John Williams—Christian revenge of the Rarotongans—Visit of Bishop Selwyn to Eromanga	41, 42
Narrative of a voyage to Loyalty and Banks's Islands by the Rev. B. Y. Ashwell, New Zealand Missionary	42
Three classes of Islands—Method on first landing	43
Departure from New Zealand—Arrival and entertainment at Ngeone—Lifu and Toka—Conversion of the chief	43, 44
Departure for Mac—Christian services there—The Aurora Isles—Mara Lava	44, 45
Arrival at Banks's Islands—Formation of a Mission station, and commencement of building at Amota	45, 46
Return voyage—The party land at Eromanga—Account of Williams's murder	46, 47
Shipwreck of the vessel in Ngunguru Bay, New Zealand—A night of terror	47, 48
Happy deliverance from death—The hand of Providence	48, 49
THE TUNG-HAE PEEN, OR EASTERN SEA-SHORE PROVINCES OF RUSSIA.	
Treaty between China and Russia in November 1860—Cession of land to the latter Power	167
The Amoor and its course—Irkutsk—Nertchinsk—Junction of the Argoun	167, 168
Albazin, a fortress—Sketch of its history—Bend of the river—Beauty of the scenery—Ai-geon	168, 169
The Soungaria—The Shih-hih-teh Mountains—The Ossouri—New frontier line	169, 170
Terms of the Russian and Chinese Treaty—Direction of the new frontier line—Nicholaïofsk at the mouth of the Amoor	170, 171
Conjectures as to the ultimate use Russia may make of her new acquisitions	171
THE REGIONS OF MANCHOURIA.	
Perouse's Visit to the Tartar Coast—Features of the country, &c., described by him	173
Visit of H. M. S. "Barracouta" in 1854-56—Tronson's account of the people—Traces of Russian occupation	174
Founding of Kopal by the Russians—Severity of the climate	175
The "Barracouta" at Bullock Bay—Description of a Tartar house—Port Seymour—Victoria Bay	176, 177
Inhabitants of the interior—The Ghiliacks, the Goldi, Tongouz and Mangoora—Shamanism—Romish Missionary efforts	177, 178
Funeral customs—Ceremonies at the death of Sultan Darma Syrym—Traffic—Fairs	178—180
Division of Manchouria—Need for Protestant Missionary effort—Extract from the Letter of an American Missionary	188—182
The Gulf of Liantung and Newchwang—Extract from the "North China Herald"	182, 183
RUSSIA IN CENTRAL ASIA.	
Resemblance between Russia and England in their relations to Asia	199
Starting-points of the Great Caravan Routes—Sand Pillars—Semipalatinsk—Merchants there	199—201
Routes from Semipalatinsk—The Mirage—Chinese town of Tchoubachak	201, 202
Route by Ayagus—Scenery—Graves of Genii—Remains of Canals—Traces of former inhabitants, Tumuli, Stone circles, &c.	202—204
The Alatau Chain of Mountains—Hardships endured by Russians	204, 205
Extent of the Russian frontier—Russian annexations in Asia—The Kirghis	206
Khiva and Persia the present objects of Russian ambition	207
Route from Kashgar to Yarkand—Town of Mai-ma-tchin—Dwellings of the Merchants—Custom-house at Troitska	207—209
Free trade established between Russia and China—Extract from "the London and China Telegraph"	209, 210

CONTENTS.

	Page
ENGLISH MOVEMENTS IN CENTRAL ASIA.	
Progress of Russian Annexation in Central Asia—Need for England to be on the alert	238
New doors open in China—New Chang—Commencement of a Mission at Tien-tsin	238, 239
Exploratory trip from Canton to Hankow, performed in April last—Establishment of a Consulate at Hankow	239, 240
The Yano-ize-ying, the great artery of China—Description of its course—Prospects of its becoming the highway to Central Asia	240, 241
Extract from speech delivered before the British Association at Manchester—The opium question—Remarks	241, 242
Expedition overland from China to Lhasa—The river above Hankow—Failure of the attempt (<i>Note</i>)	243, 244
Important position of Pegu—Practicability of a route to Thibet through Nepal—Remarks by Mr. J. D. Hooker—Extract from the "Friend of India," May 11, 1861	244—246
English survey of Western Thibet and Cashmere by Captains Elliott and Montgomerie	246
COMMERCIAL INTERCOURSE BETWEEN INDIA AND CENTRAL ASIA, VIEWED IN ITS BEARING ON MISSIONARY EFFORT.	
Hindrances to the spread of the Gospel—Commerce an auxiliary in meeting them	247
Physical dissimilarity of India and England—Productions of either suitable to the other—India's fecundity	248, 249
The high countries of Central Asia, and their supplies—Animal productions of Thibet	249, 250
The Inter-Himalayan countries—Kumaon—the Bhótiya, or border districts, described—Commerce between the tribes	250—252
Kunawur, its position, inhabitants, &c.—Beauty of its valley scenery—Trade of Ladak	252, 253
Events tending to the removal of obstacles—Formation of roads—Trigonometrical survey	253
Proposed expedition through Burmah to the Chinese province of Yunnan—Exploratory expeditions from Simla to Ladak	253—255
Trade of Bengal for the last year—Demand for British imports—Need of the genuine article	255, 256
Efforts of India to throw out strength—Railways—Speech of Mr. Turnbull	256
Speech of Lord Canning at the opening of the East-India Railway to Rajmahal—Remarks	257
JAPAN.	
The Seclusion of Japan a modern policy—Romish Intercourse with the country—Imperial edict	159, 160
Attempts to re-open the country to foreigners—American Treaty	160, 161
The Elgin Treaty—Oliphant's description of the physical aspect of the country	161
Visit of the Bishop of Victoria to Japan—His description of the city of Nagasaki	161—163
His description of a tour in the suburbs—The village of Tokitz	163, 164
The Bay of Yeddo—Description of Simoda	164, 165
Description of Kanagawa—Vegetation—Farm-houses—The Bishop at Kanagawa	166, 167
Attack on the British residence, Yeddo, July 5th	268
Circulation of Bibles in Japan—Speech of the Bishop of Victoria—Reply of the Rev. J. Liggins	268, 269
Letter of the Rev. J. Liggins—Laws relative to the profession of Christianity in Japan—Remarks	269, 270
JAPAN AND ITS PEOPLE.	
European discovery of Japan—Early rumours—Arrival of the Jesuits, and their expulsion	288, 289
Arrival of the American Squadron—Commercial Treaty—Action of Lord Elgin	289, 290
Outward aspect of Japanese society—The true estimate—Heyleyn's account of Japan, A.D. 1664	290, 291
The Mountain Fusi-yama—Sketch of Yeddo—Area of the city—Impressions of the Bishop of Victoria—Houses of the people	291, 292
The People—Position of the women—Dress of the gentlemen—Mode of dressing the hair, &c.	292, 293

CONTENTS.

Moral Standard of the People—Severity of the Laws—Drunkenness—Mendicity, &c.	293, 294
Laws enforcing Suicide—Dualism of the Japanese	294

Illustrations.

(Engraved by Johnston.)

Fortified Pa, Taranaki, New Zealand	1
First Visit of Missionaries to a South-Sea Island	25
Mission Church, Galle Face, Colombo	51
Group of Church Missionary Native Agents at Benares. <i>From a Photograph</i>	75
Fort Garry, Red River	99
"The Fox," Chief of the Plain Crees	125
Bay of Simoda, Japan	149
Fort Seymour, Russian Tartary	173
New Plymouth, New Zealand	199
Hindu Coolies in the Mauritius	223
Entrance to the Bolan Pass from Dadur	247
Residence of the British Embassy, Yeddo	271

Map.

The New Hebrides, &c.	41
-----------------------	----

Recent Intelligence.

Supplement to January Number—News from the Niger.

Female Education among the Parsees.
Report of Indigo Commissioners in Bengal.
Death of Rev. H. Whitley, Ceylon.
Letter from Rev. P. Ansorge, Mauritius.
Affairs in New Zealand.

February—Bible in Indian Government Schools.

Affairs in New Zealand,
Appeal for Prayer.

March—New premises in Salisbury Square—Ceremony at laying the Foundation-stone.

Letter from Rev. J. Long, Calcutta.
Death of Rev. P. Daniel, Tinnevely.
Departure, return home, and decease of Missionaries.

April—Letter from Rev. H. Townsend, Abbeokuta.

Minute on the Indigo Question.
Letter of Rev. S. Hobbs, Ceylon.
Affairs in New Zealand.

May—North-West Provinces—Extract from the "Homeward Mail."

Death of the Bishop of Madras.
Parcels for North-West America.
Dismissal, departure, and return home of Missionaries.

June—Sixty-second Anniversary of the Society—Annual Sermon and Meetings, Movers of Resolutions, Committee, Finances, and Conclusion of Report.

Affairs in New Zealand.
Departure and return home of Missionaries.

July—Rev. J. T. Wolters' visit to Syra, Greece.

North-West Provinces—The famine and the Secundra Orphanage.
Affairs in New Zealand.
Dismissal, return home, and decease of Missionaries.

August—Letters of Rev. F. E. Schneider, Agra.

Dismissal, return home, and departure of Missionaries.

September—Treaty with the King of Porto Novo.

Affairs in New Zealand.

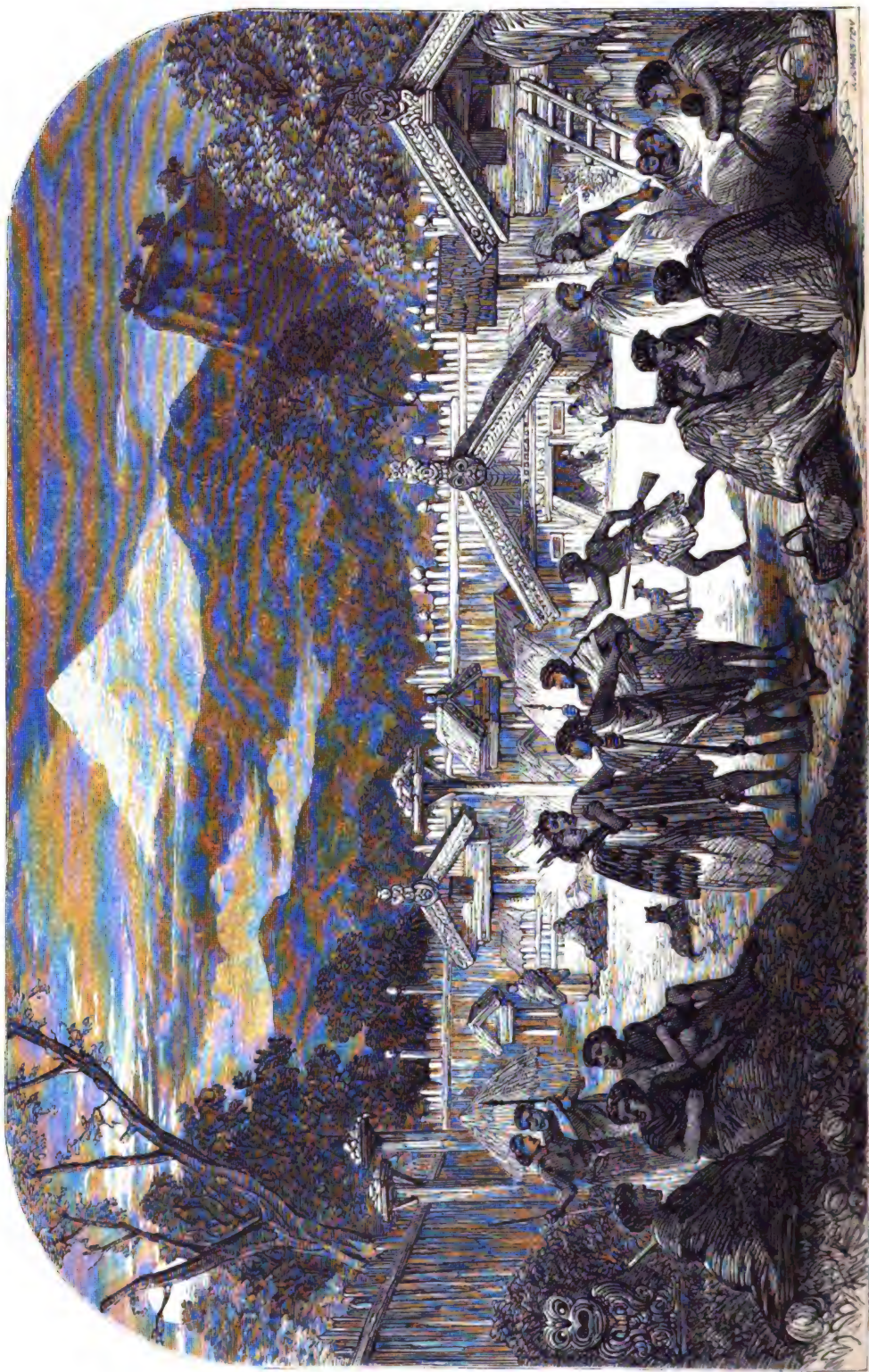
October—Affairs in New Zealand.

November—Death of Are and Ogunbonna.

Niger Mission—Letter of Rev. J. A. Maser and Dr. Baikie.
Affairs in New Zealand.

December—Tinnevely—Letter of Rev. S. Hobbs.

Niger Mission—Letter of Rev. S. Crowther.
Decease of Missionaries—Appeal for Prayer.



FORTIFIED PA, TARANAKI, NEW ZEALAND.

Church Missionary Intelligencer.

OUR POSITION AND DUTIES.

THERE is one specific which man needs, and, with great cost, it has been provided for him. The wise of this world may despise it, yet nothing else can reach and effectually deal with the miseries of humanity. That great panacea is the Gospel. The nations of the earth are afflicted with manifold sufferings; "the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now;" nor have they been left unnoticed by Him who says, "when the poor and needy seek water, and there is none, and their tongue faileth for thirst, I the Lord will hear them; I the God of Israel, will not forsake them. I will open rivers in high places, and fountains in the midst of the valleys." It shall be so: "I will even make a way in the wilderness, and rivers in the desert." In the most unlikely places strange movements shall take place. The tribes of man have long, and with intensity, expended themselves on vain idolatries, of which they may with truth say, "they have dealt deceitfully as a brook, and as the stream of brooks they pass away; which are blackish by reason of the ice, and wherein the snow is hid: what time they wax warm, they vanish: when it is hot they are consumed out of their place. The paths of their way are turned aside: they go to nothing, and perish. The troops of Tema looked; the companies of Sheba waited for them. They were confounded because they had hoped: they came thither and were ashamed." But there are amongst them deep yearnings and aspirations after an unknown something. God is teaching the nations the vanity of idols and the need of something better, and is thus preparing the way for the wide and more efficient preaching of Him who is even *now* the desirable object for all nations; for, individually and collectively, man can have no rest except in submission to his yoke; and who shall yet become the desired object of all nations, when "all kings shall fall down before Him, all nations shall serve Him."

They who thus regard the Gospel of Christ as the true ameliorative, and who, under the force of such convictions, labour for its advancement, are despised by the world as weak, although well-meaning enthusiasts. Yet we believe that in this matter we are

fellow-workers with God; and that all other undertakings on which man expends himself, are only valuable just so far as they can be taken up, and, in the providence of God, wrought into the furtherance of this great object. And thus it is, that many who deride and even oppose us, are unintentionally working out the same great problem. The decisions of statesmen, the march of armies, the dismemberment of nations, the researches of travellers, the exploration of new countries, the aspirations of commerce, and the adaptation of scientific discoveries and inventions to practical purposes, are all made by an overruling hand to work in the same direction. And thus many who have no other object in view than their own interest and gratification, and who utterly repudiate the idea of identifying themselves with any thing so vain and puerile as Missionary effort, are, nevertheless, rendering valuable contributions to this object, and furthering thus the divine purposes, although "they know not the thoughts of the Lord, neither understand his counsel."

It is well, at the commencement of the new year, that they who, as believers in the revelation of God, and who, guided by its predictions, and encouraged by its promises; desire with an increasing prayerfulness and energy, to consecrate themselves to God's work and service, should consider what the position is which they occupy, and what the aspect of the world around them. "Watchman, what of the night? Watchman, what of the night?"—such should be our inquiry. And the answer is still the same as it was in the olden time—"The morning cometh, and also the night." The day shall at length break, and He shall rise to his appointed ascendancy, who shall be "as the light of the morning, when the sun riseth, even a morning without clouds; as the tender grass springing out of the earth by clear shining after rain." Yet before that day arrives, a deep night of affliction may overspread the earth. The more reason there is to work while yet there be opportunity, and whatever our hand findeth to do, to do it with all our might. This we may be assured of, that events are approaching of portentous magnitude, and that

to professing churches and individuals they will be night or day, according to the condition in which we are found, of unprofitableness, or holy preparedness and active service. "Blessed is that servant whom his lord when he cometh shall find so doing." Then assuredly the times are not such as to admit of ease and self-indulgence, and efforts which assume to be for God, but which, from their uncertain and intermitted character, appear to be like those of one who "beateth the air." The Lord is at work. His providence is moving the earth. "I beheld the earth, and lo, it was without form, and void; and the heavens and they had no light. I beheld the mountains, and lo, they trembled, and all the hills moved lightly." His Spirit is at work, agitating human hearts with wonderful convictions, and bringing to repentance men who have long held his truth in iniquity. When God is working, it is time for us to work. His example may well shame us out of our listlessness, and move us to a renewed consecration of ourselves and our substance, to that which is the cause of true philanthropy, the conversion of sinners to the faith of Christ.

Let us look abroad upon the earth, and observe what is going forward. Kingdoms and dynasties which have long obstructed the Gospel, are marvellously passing away: "He toucheth the hills, and they smoke." The papacy is being despoiled of its temporalities; the Hildebrands and Gregorys of more palmy days have degenerated into the Pio Nono of our day. Mailed warriors have placed themselves on the steps of the papal throne, and are prepared for something more decided than words, if they avail not to detrude the old man from the hierarchal throne. He pronounced *ex cathedra* the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary—that phantom of the Romish church, which has no realization in any living existence; for between the disembodied spirit of Mary, the mother of Jesus, and the imaginary queen of heaven, who "with the authority of a mother commands her son," there is no resemblance. Why, then, does not the deified one appear to the help of her votaries? No doubt her aid is often invoked; and, if no one else does, at least the superstitious pontiff himself, with bended knee and oft-repeated aves, craves her interference. There is no time to be lost, or soon the sovereign priest will be divested of his sovereignty, and the mitred cap be denuded of the crown. Redouble your outcries, ye priests of the mysteries of the papacy; call upon the names of your gods: Alas! it is as of old; "there is neither voice,

nor any to answer, nor any that regarded." The current of events rebukes the idolatry; and she, in whose adulation Rome has so debased itself, refuses on critical emergencies to put forth that miraculous power, which, if we are to believe her priests, is often exercised in matters of no moment. The position of the Roman church in relation to the Virgin was scenographed, on a recent occasion at Vienne, in the department of the Isère, during the ceremony of the inauguration and benediction of a statue of the goddess. "A platform was erected about twenty feet from the ground, and the Bishops of Grenoble and of Viviers, the Archbishop of Turin, several of the clergy, the Marquis de Castellane, and the municipal authorities, took their places upon it; several others, doubting the solidity of the erection, declined to ascend. The Bishop of Grenoble was proceeding with the ceremony of benediction, when a frightful cracking was heard, and the whole came to the ground with an awful noise, which was increased by the cries of the terrified multitude that surrounded the place. The planks and timbers were immediately removed, and the unfortunate persons who were on the platform raised from the ground. Almost every one was more or less injured, their flesh torn by the nails, and their limbs smashed or terribly bruised. One ecclesiastic had both legs broken, and the bones protruding through the flesh; another had a compound fracture of the wrist; the Maire of Vienne was seriously injured; the Bishop of Viviers had a fractured leg; the Bishop of Valence was comparatively fortunate in escaping with considerable external injury to his legs, and the Marquis de Castellane had one of his knees severely injured by falling on the blade of his sword. The Cardinal Archbishop of Lyons was to have been present at the ceremony, but, fortunately for himself, was prevented attending. It is remarked that the Archbishop of Turin had a similar mishap three years since at Montluel, when he and Bishop Chalandon fell to the ground, but happily without any serious consequences."* We condole with the sufferers, and sincerely wish them a speedy recovery from their injuries. But we wish it would open their eyes to the sinfulness of such idolatry, and persuade them that it is safer to be absent from, than present at, such rites and ceremonies. For this they may be assured of, that they who persevere in standing upon the platform of this idolatry will meet with a worse catastrophe.

The papacy is in decadence: with its loss

* Daily Paper, Dec. 13, 1860.

of power, a door is opened for the entrance of the Gospel, and opportunity of access is afforded to twenty-four millions of Italians, to whom Christ may be preached as the one name given to man whereby he may be saved. God's book, no longer arrested on the frontier, like a plague-stricken garment, is permitted free course. May that truth of uncorrupted Christianity, which alone can make a nation free, be received and welcomed amongst them! On this depends the future of Italy.

Nor is it only the temporalities of the papacy, but the throne of the Hapsburgs is in jeopardy. The provinces and kingdoms of which it is composed never had any union or sympathy with each other. The monarchy was the alone bond which held them in combination; and now that this has lost its prestige, and has become feeble, the empire is threatened with dissolution. The various nationalities refuse any longer to wear the fetters of despotism, and clamour fiercely for the restitution of long-lost rights and privileges. Hungary is ripe for open insurrection; the once loyal Tyrol repudiates the charter and constitution recently conferred upon it. Croatia, Dalmatia, Transylvania, Bohemia, and the Volvodina, demand a separate administration and constitution. The sin of Austria's rulers finds them out. The bitter oppression of their Protestant subjects which past times have witnessed; the persecution of scriptural truth, and of all who confessed it, reacts upon their present representative. Instead of profiting by past experiences, Francis Joseph, by his memorable concordat, linked himself more closely with the papacy, and participates in its paralysis and approaching downfall.

The eastern antichrist, Mohammedanism, is in a like ruinous condition; and Turkey, which has been the rod of its power, must either disembarass itself of the blighting influence of this false religion, or cease to be a nation. Mohammedanism, like the papacy, is being shorn of its temporalities.

We have before us the minutes of a Conference held at Smyrna, by the Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society. A perusal of them will at once convey to our readers the convictions of experienced men upon the spot, who are daily observant of the alterations which are going on around them, as to the condition of the once great Ottoman empire—

Minutes of the Annual Conference of the Turkish Mission of the Church Missionary Society, held at the Mission House in Boujah, near Smyrna, November 5th, 1860.

1. The first subject discussed was, the

best ways and means of making known the truth to the Mohammedans. All agreed that public or street preaching was not yet practicable, and, if attempted, would almost with certainty lead to such consequences as might endanger the work in general, and hinder its quiet progress.

"As yet, and probably for some time to come, the work must be confined to friendly intercourse with the Turks; the distribution of the Scriptures and religious books and tracts; divine service in Turkish whenever a few regular attendants can be secured; visits to the cafés and to the shops in the bazars of friendly Turks; the translation and preparation of suitable books; and travelling among them. The careful and zealous use of these means, as far as knowledge of the language, the strength of the stations, and other circumstances, will allow of it, seems for the present the only way in which the work can be carried on.

"2. Encouragements and prospects of the work among the Turks.

"No earnest spirit of inquiry is observable among the Turks, either at Constantinople or in Smyrna. Though a few converts have been the fruit of the late movement at Constantinople, connected with the labours of the American brethren among the Turks, yet the movement has not realized the expectations that have been based upon it, and it seems now to have almost entirely subsided.

"No doubt some came forward with improper motives, and, finding that such ends could not be obtained, they withdrew; and others may have been induced to draw back in consequence of the late excited state of the land. But, on the other hand, there is the fact of the Turkish converts, as well as the Turkish native assistants, both in our own and the American Mission, having met with no hindrance or persecution, though well known to the authorities and the public.

"The Turkish services also, commenced at Bebek by the American Missionaries, and by Mr. Wolters at Smyrna, have met with no obstruction on the part of the Government: the public sale of the Turkish Scriptures continues, although the purchases are just now not so numerous as formerly. To all this is to be added the present state of the Turkish empire, both in a political as well as in a religious point of view.

"The Turkish empire, as a Mussulman power, has ceased to exist; and there remains for Turkey no other alternative but either a rapid assimilation to European political and social forms and principles, or a dissolution

and division among the European powers. The well-informed Turks are aware of this position, and the other classes also are more and more opening their eyes to this altered situation of their empire. This greatly affects, also, their religious feelings and views, and loosens the old opinions they have had of the superiority of their power and of their religion, and this the more so, the closer Mohammedanism, political ascendancy, and religious faith are connected. Now, in this state of things lies for the Missionary much of hope and of encouragement. It is clear that God in his wonderful providence is preparing and opening up the way for the entrance of his Gospel into these long closed-up lands. The Conference, therefore, consider that we have every reason to be of good cheer, and to prepare and get ready for the work the Lord is opening before us.

"3. The Conference record their gratitude to God in having enabled Messrs. Wolters and Pfander to go on with their translational labours. The latter has completed the 'Miftah-ul Asrar,' and the 'Mizan ul Haqq,' and the former has finished the 'Life of Christ,' and has made a beginning with the translation into Turkish of Dr. Barth's Bible History. He has also translated the following tracts—(1.) a Summary of the Bible; (2.) 'Immanuel, or Scripture views of Christ;' (3.) 'Do you want a Friend?' (4.) 'The Two Ends and the Two Ways;' (5.) the World and the Soul;' (6.) 'the Words of Jesus;' (7.) 'Homily against the fear of Death;' (8.) The Christian's Journey to the City which is to come.' These, and 'The Life of Christ,' only await their final revision in order to be ready for the press.

"The Conference would add, that Christian books and tracts in Turkish are much wanted, and that they therefore consider the translation of books and tracts adapted to the wants of the Mohammedans as a most important part of the work.

"4. Study of the Arabic language.

"Arabic words being largely, almost unlimitedly, used in Turkish, a correct knowledge of the latter is impossible, without at least some knowledge of the former: besides this, the Korán existing only in Arabic, and almost all theological works studied by the Turks being Arabic, the Conference consider a knowledge of Arabic of great importance for a Missionary labouring among the Turks. They would therefore record, that in their opinion it is highly desirable that every Missionary and native assistant should make himself as much master of the Arabic language as his abilities and opportunities will allow.

"5. The Conference feel greatly thankful for the addition the Parent Committee has made to the Mission in sending Mr. Wolters, junior, to Smyrna, and Mr. Weakley to Constantinople. But they are obliged to add that this augmentation, however seasonable, does not yet meet all the immediate wants of the Mission. The Constantinople station should be strengthened as soon as possible with an additional Missionary, who ought to be a University man of superior linguistic talents, and a good English speaker and preacher, besides being truly devoted to the work. Exclusive of the Turkish, a knowledge of Arabic, Persian, and French is wanted. And as the Mission advances, it is desirable, or rather necessary, that the Mission should also occupy its proper position and standing among the English community there. Monthly and annual Missionary meetings for the Society should be held, and a proper part in other public religious meetings be taken. Now, for all this the proper man is wanted, and the Conference would press it upon the Committee not to lose sight of this want, and to fill it up as soon as they can, when God in his providence supplies them with a labourer for such work."

On the far eastern shore of the great Asiatic continent other dynastic changes are in progress. By despatches received by way of Petersburg, the English public has just been informed that the Chinese, having accepted the terms of the Shanghai ultimatum, the allies had concluded with them a treaty of peace; Peking had been evacuated, and the troops were on their march back to Tientsin; indemnities were to be paid out of the Chinese treasury; and Christianity and its counterfeit are to have alike free access to those millions of heathen—the one to win souls for Christ, the other to obtain, by whatever means proselytes for Rome, and, by new conquests in Asia, indemnify itself for the losses it is sustaining in the continent of Europe; while, to inaugurate the new prospects thus opening to the mischievous energy of Romish Missions, a *Te Deum* and *Domine Salvum* were to be sung in the cathedral of Peking, after the replacing of the cross on the summit.

We are to consider, therefore, that the fugitive emperor, brought back from the wilds of Tartary, is reinstated in the imperial palace of Peking. Hien-hung once more occupies his ancestral throne; yet to us it seems as though this dynasty had received its death blow. We have completely broken down its prestige, and have left behind us a breach so wide that the Tae-pings, unless they prove more wanting to themselves than they have

hitherto shown themselves to be, will not be slow in attempting to enter in. With an exhausted treasury, a discouraged army, and a disaffected population, how shall the Tartar defend himself against a new invasion from the south? Perhaps before our ships shall have reached Hong Kong, he shall have fled again, deep into the recesses of Mongolia. Should it be so we shall have no lament to utter at the obsequies of the Tartar dynasty. Under its blighting influence the entire nation has suffered; places of greatest responsibility have been sold to the highest bidder; a venal magistracy has fleeced the people that they might enrich themselves; and Europeans have been placed in the most disadvantageous of positions; for while the worthless portion of them have had the fullest opportunity to demoralize the Chinese, they who desired to benefit that people, by introducing amongst them the truth and saving power of Christianity, have been stolidly and pertinaciously interfered with and obstructed. It is true a new treaty has been obtained, embodying, no doubt, stipulations of a very advantageous character. But this we feel assured of, that from the Tartar court no fidelity to treaties can be expected. So long as the presence of an imposing European force, with their Armstrong guns and other appliances of war, places the emperor under restraint, so long will he be subservient; but with the wind that fills the sails of the last ship that leaves the Yellow Sea, treaty engagements, if he finds it practicable so to do, will be flung away, the reverses of the war will be forgotten, and the emperor and his mandarins will relapse into their wonted imperturbability and forgetfulness of engagements. After the treacherous and cruel murder of our officers and other English gentlemen, on a recent occasion, we feel that whatever supervenes, we can have no worse than the Manchoo dynasty, and that almost any change must be for the better.

All the dynasties to which we have referred, and on which the stroke of political paralysis seems to have so remarkably fallen, have been obstructive to God's truth, and antagonistic to the progress of his kingdom. The sentence appears to have gone forth against them, and they are being moved away, that the divine message may have unimpeded circulation, and the Gospel be preached for a testimony to all nations.

But again, the progress of geographical discovery is remarkably working in the same direction. The mysterious depths of the great Asiatic continent are being laid open. Atkinson has penetrated the regions of the Amoor,

and from his researches, as well as from other quarters, we are made aware of the southernward progress of the Russian empire, and the stealthy, yet important, inroads that it is making on the Chinese empire and the regions of Central Asia. On the banks of the Angara, not far from its embouchure into Lake Baikal, stands Irkoutsk, the capital of oriental Siberia, a vast territory, the importance of which has been amazingly increased by the addition of regions of which the great river Amoor constitutes the southern frontier. It contains a population of 20,000, and the number of its buildings has increased considerably of late years. Forty miles below the city the river enters the great lake, a mighty stream, more than a mile in width, and, as it rolls down a steep incline, forming a rapid nearly four miles in length. The lake itself spreads out like a sea, dashing its waves against the rocky shores, which, in some parts, rise in precipices 800 and 900 feet, and in one place to the elevation of 1200 feet. On its waters a steamer plies; the engines, boilers, and all the machinery having been transported from St. Petersburg overland, a distance of 4000 miles. Amidst the mountains to the south-east of Lake Baikal are to be found the sources of the head waters of the Amoor; the Keroulun, its longest affluent, and the Onon, which, with the Ingoda, forms the Shilka. The Keroulun, which subsequently becomes the Argoun, and the Shilka, after a course, the former of 1000 miles, and the latter 760, have their confluence at Strelkoi Karaoul, lat. 53° 19' 45" N., and long. 121° 50' 7" E., and together form the Amoor. From 1689 to 1854 this was the most easterly point of the Russian empire in the regions of the Amoor. It was not from the want of persevering effort on the part of the Russians that their further acquisitions were so long delayed. Nothing can surpass the indomitable energy of this people in acquiring territory and extending the limits of their empire. In a nobler cause, which knows no selfish interests, they present to us an example which we would do well to imitate. Dangers, privations, nay, even the sacrifice of life, all are without hesitation risked, if so be their grand object may be forwarded. The results are obvious. In 1854 the whole country between the Amoor and the Russian frontier to the north of the Yablonoi range was transferred from China to the grasp of Russia, and "she has now possession of the great watercourse, and the only one through which access from the sea to the vast plains and mountain districts of Central Asia can be obtained."

We are now becoming acquainted with the

caravan and Cossack routes of these regions. From Orenburg to Khiva, south-west of the Sea of Aral, there are two routes ; from Orenburg to Bokhara, lat. 39° 40' N., and long. 64° 45' E., is a sixty-days' journey, being the great road from Central Asia to Nijne Novgorod : again, between Semipalatinsk there is considerable intercourse with Tashkend, Kokhan, Samarkand, Kashgar, and Yarkand. These are points which are reached by English calicoes, and these are from thence carried by the Tartar merchants among the nomades of Central Asia. Nor is this surprising, when it is remembered that between these places and Cashmere caravans often pass, and thus there is already traced out the great commercial route between the regions of the Indus and those of Central Asia.

Yarkand is a large town, containing a population of from 85,000 to 90,000, and here reside Chinese, Tartar, Bokharan, and Cashmerian merchants. The bazaars are three and a half miles in length, and on market-days present a busy scene. From hence one route stretches north-west to Kashgar and Kokhan, while another penetrates north-east into Mongolia, and, advancing through mountain tracts, attains the regions to the south-east of Lake Baikal, where the Russian town of Kiachta and the Chinese town of Mai-ma-tchin, or "the place of trade," confront each other.

In the western regions of Independent Tartary, as well as from the Siberian frontier on the north, Russia is extending herself. The capture of Schamyl has brought under her yoke the Eastern Caucasus, and now nearly the whole of Caucasia between the Black Sea and the Caspian is covered with Russian fortresses. With that stronghold in her possession, Turkey in Asia and Persia are at her mercy. Over the Kirghiz hordes of Tartary she has been gradually acquiring power, until a large portion of the great horde has established itself within the Russian frontier.

As for British India, we trust that the Suleimans will continue to be regarded as our natural frontier, beyond which no attempt will be made at territorial acquisition.

But we as earnestly desire that commercial enterprise may be pushed far beyond their limit, and that the opportunities of amicable intercourse with the interior Asiatic nations will be vigorously prosecuted. The materials are already in existence, and require only to be fostered and developed. There is a trading class which carries on a traffic between India and Central Asia, through the routes of Peshawur and Dehra Ismael Khan. From the far west they bring furs and wool,

raw silks, fruits, groceries, drugs, leather, chintzes, and horses ; and they remit British piece-goods, European hardware, Indian fabrics, and the sugar of the Punjab. Fairs should be opened on the banks of the Indus, like those of Orenburg and Nijne Novgorod. "One great fair, as far up the Indus as possible, would be the best." "Whenever there shall be fairs on the Indus, the Kirghiz will send into India vast numbers of good horses annually. Silver and gold also are plentiful in their country."

And surely wherever the merchant obtains a footing, the Missionary, charged with a mission of so far greater importance, will not be far behind. They who have devoted themselves to this great work will never permit themselves to be outstripped by the enterprise and forward movement which characterize the secular European in the pursuit of trade and of discovery.

As a further evidence of the opening up of the great continent of Asia by the progress of geographical discovery and commercial enterprise, we may refer to the statements which have been put forward with reference to the possibility of various lines of overland route between India and China. At a recent meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, papers were read on this subject, of which the following is a *résumé*—

"The first paper read was, 'Communication with the South-West Provinces of China, from Rangoon, in British Pegu,' by Captain R. Sprye and Mr. R. H. T. Sprye. The authors stated, that unless the provinces of Western China possessed, in their climates, products, populations, transport facilities, and commercial capabilities, it was useless to discuss the proposed line of approach to them. Having adverted to prevailing errors and misrepresentations respecting this subject, and dividing China Proper into equal parts by the 111th degree of east longitude, a detailed account was given from the best authors of the two western provinces nearest to Eastern Pegu, viz. Yunan and Se-chuen. A more succinct account followed on the same points of the other four western provinces, and of the four cultivated central provinces, a portion of which lies west of the assumed longitudinal dividing line. The result of this review of the western half of China Proper, with which England has no commerce, showed that it comprised an area of 600 square miles, of which at least 25,000,000 acres were cultivated ; 100,000,000 people, exclusive of the independent hill tribes ; seventy cities of the first, and 400 of the second and third orders, with numerous

forts and garrisons; and that, enjoying the advantage of every variety of climate, this western half of the empire yielded in abundance gold, silver, copper, iron, coal, millet, rice, wheat, together with a variety of valuable vegetable and tropical products, including grass cloth and other textile fibres. The Chinese of these provinces are described as being equally desirous of acquiring riches by commerce and trade, and also as being far more independent of the Imperial Court at Peking. According to that most able Governor of Singapore, the late Sir Stamford Raffles — 'India cannot manufacture sufficiently cheaply or abundantly for the Chinese: England can. But it is idle to talk of the extent and cheapness of our manufactures unless we bring them into fair competition. There is no reason why all China should not be in a great degree clothed from England.'

"The geographical position of Esmok, the frontier town of Pürh, the most south-western department of Yunan, was described as within 250 miles of our north-east Pegu frontier, at the point of the Salwan river. The intermediate Burman Shan Princes were most desirous of the establishment of such a commercial route between British territory and China across their states.

"The second paper read, by Dr. M'Cosh, late of the Bengal Medical Staff, was on the various lines of overland communication between India and China. The author proposes the appointment of a scientific mission to survey and report upon these routes with a view to the selection of the best. Of the five different routes he gives the preference to the one by Munnipur. There is a good steam communication from Calcutta, by Dacca and Sylhet, to Banskund, on the Barack; thence a good road to Munnipur, an inferior one to Mong-fong, on the great Ning-tse; and a road might easily be constructed to Bamo, on the Irrawaddi, where the great line of communication between China begins, and leads up the valley of the Pinlang into Yunan. In this province the main channels of the great rivers of Martaban, of Cambodia, and of Nankin, are in close proximity. Thus, if an expedition leaving Calcutta on the 1st of November could be at Munnipur on the 1st of December, on the Ning-tse on the 15th, at Bamo on the 1st of January, across the Chinese frontier on the 1st of February, and safe in summer quarters in the mountain of Northern China and Tibet before the hot season, early in October it might cross over into Assam by the line of the Dihong, after having settled the still doubtful course of the Tsan-poo, and be

again in Calcutta on the 1st of January. At Bamo an annual trade, estimated thirty years ago at 700,000*l.*, is carried on between Burmah and China, which, if thrown open to England, might be more than doubled. Before any expedition could be allowed to cross the Burmese and Chinese frontier, Dr. M'Cosh mentions that passports from both those Courts would be essential. Such a commercial line, if ratified by a tripartite treaty between England, Burmah, and China, could not fail to add another link to the world's chain of communication, scarcely second in importance to that of the Isthmus of Suez or of Panama."

On the circumstances of the great continent of Africa we shall not now dwell, the progress of discovery on its shores, and the remarkable solution of some of the mysteries of its great central area, having been frequently dealt with in our volume for 1860. Sufficient is it to observe that there also, as in Asia, the position of the interior nations, and the internal traffic carried on by means of great caravan routes, are becoming better known, and a way is being prepared, by which the Gospel may penetrate its midnight darkness, and hasten the coming of that predicted period, when "Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands to God."

We shall advert to one more feature of encouragement at the present moment, which should put heart into the friends of the Missionary cause, and arouse them to increasing earnestness—the importance of the results attained by that work of evangelization during the last fifty years, and the healthful aspect of our churches and congregations throughout the world. The elevation of land from the ocean's depths, until, surmounting the surface level it becomes dry land, and eventually a home for man, is one of the most magnificent of natural phenomena. It is one not of bygone days merely, but one which, at the present time, is silently progressing, and operating great changes on the crust of our globe. New Zealand presents one of the most interesting specimens of this uplifting. Similar movements may be traced throughout the vast extent of the Pacific, even to the extreme north, where the Aleutian isles, a group of black masses of lava, rising perpendicularly above the sea, and peering above the clouds, have been increased in number, by at least two islands, within the limits of the present century.

Volcanic action prepares the foundation on which the coral insect raises its wondrous superstructure. Slowly, yet powerfully, a submarine ridge is elevated from the vast

profound, and on this, when it has approached within a few hundred feet of the water's edge, the coral insects begin to pile, until they reach the surface, which terminates the structure as to height. The growth of the coral ceases, when no longer exposed to the washing of the waves, and the reef continues to extend itself laterally, until a horizontal field is formed, raised by multitudinous insects upon the volcanic formation beneath. On this platform a key is formed by the tide, loose pieces of coral, sand, and other materials being heaped upon it. The sea-birds visit it; salt plants take root upon it. Floating upon the waves, perchance from Ceylon's shore, comes a more valuable contribution. The cocoa-nut palm affects the margin of the sea, and seems to court the dashing of the spray. There, where other trees suffer, and withdraw themselves to a greater or less distance, the palm flourishes. Its fruit ripens over the waves as they dash upon the rocks where its roots have hold, until at length, from weight of full maturity, it falls, and seems to be lost amidst the waves. But it has a destination and a home to reach. It is to become the parent seed of a numerous progeny. The waves bear it onward. It is caught by some of the great river-currents of the ocean, and is hurried on. Its future home at length is reached. The clouds have gathered round that home to prepare it for the reception of the coming seed. There, amidst the island regions of the Pacific the voyager beholds "with wonder and delight the gorgeous piles of cumuli, heaped up and arranged in the most delicate and beautiful masses that it is possible for fleecy matter to assume. Not only are these piles found capping the hills among the islands, but they are often seen to overhang the lowest islet of the tropics, and even to stand above coral patches and hidden reefs, a 'cloud by day,' to serve as a beacon to the lonely mariner out there at sea, and to warn him of shoals and dangers which no lead or seaman's eye has ever seen or sounded out. These clouds, under favourable circumstances, may be seen gathering above the low coral island, and performing their office in preparing it for vegetation and fruitfulness, in a very striking manner. As they are condensed into showers, one fancies that they are a sponge of the most exquisitely and delicately-elaborated material, and that he can see, "as they drop down their fatness," the invisible but bountiful hand aloft that is preparing and squeezing it out.*

Thus to prepare new homes for man, influences of various kinds are brought into operation. Volcanic forces upheave the earth's crust; tiny insects become a building agency of extraordinary power and perseverance; seeds enveloped in mucous matter, so as to preserve their vitality for a lengthened period from the injurious influences of the sea-water, and committed to the currents of the ocean, are wafted to the newly-formed, and as yet barren shores; the numerous islets of the great Pacific arrest the trade-winds, and force from them a contribution of fertilizing rain ere they pass entirely by. And then, after a time comes the human sea drift. It was thus that the Polynesian race migrated from its original nidus amongst the large islands of the Eastern Archipelago, and spread themselves about from the Sandwich group in the northern hemisphere, to New Zealand in the southern, and from the Tonga group in the west to Easter Island in the east, until it peopled the island world.

There are formations rising out of the deep sea of heathenism far more interesting and important. They are often preceded by moral earthquakes and the fiery eruptions of human passions, causing political convulsions and alterations, distress of nations, with perplexity. These prepare the way for the work of evangelization. The agency employed is one as apparently unequal to the accomplishment of changes in the character of nations, as the coral insect to the formation of the rocks and foundations of islands which it rears. Like the sea-workers, toiling and spinning beneath the waves, it carries onward, with a minute and persevering toil, its labour of love, never contemning the minutest opportunity, contented, in the first instance, with increments so small as to be scarcely perceptible, willing that its primary results should be of such a nature as to remain unseen for a considerable period, until they have gathered strength enough to appear above the surface of society. Meanwhile, Missionary agents are contented to be despised, and patiently to endure the scoffs of an unbelieving world. The old taunt, which troubled the children of the captivity when they addressed themselves to the erection of the second temple, still meets them, and they are reproached with their unfitness for the work which they have attempted, and the feebleness of the results they have produced—"What do these feeble Jews? Even that which they build, if a fox go up, he shall even break down their stone-wall."

* "Physical Geography of the Sea," p. 347.

Yet even thus new formations have uplifted themselves above the waves, the loftier summits of a new world slowly, yet surely emerging from the deep sea of heathen ignorance and superstition. Christian churches and congregations, brought into existence in various parts of the heathen world, have assumed sufficient consistency to be designated as permanent structures. Temporary islands have been raised occasionally from the ocean's depths: they assume a tangible outline, but a few months suffice to terminate their existence, and they subside and disappear. And delusive results have, just in the same way, been raised up for a time in the midst of heathenism, like the far-famed Romish Missions in South India, Japan, and Paraguay. They counted their converts by hundreds of thousands. But they had no consistency. What has become of them? In the rapidity of their disappearance they have resembled the temporary island of Sabrina, when it rose from the deep off the coast of St. Michael, in February 1811, and sank again in the subsequent October. With such a complete and sudden subsidence did Romish Missions sink amid the deep waters of Japanese heathenism. They rose for a time, but with no mild influence. They emitted fires; they sent forth sulphureous vapours. They were a distraction and a trouble, instead of a blessing, to the natives. A brief struggle, and they collapsed; and where they once stood, the scornful waves of heathen superstition have resumed an undisputed ascendancy.

The system carried out in Evangelical Missions has been altogether different. We have been contented to put into requisition God's mode of action; to make known, in their respective languages, to the perishing nations of the world, the saving truths of the Gospel; and these have been effectual, because God has wrought by them. The Christian formations, which, in different directions, have risen to the surface from amidst the depths of heathenism, are solid and reliable, fitted to become the foundations of more ostensible structures. Already they are assuming shape and form, as new converts are being added, and to the eye, even of the indifferent spectator, appear as something entirely distinct from heathenism. On these the clouds of the divine blessing manifestly rest, and an invisible hand distils upon them reviving and refreshing influence. The work of revival has commenced amongst our Missionary churches, bringing them to a fuller realization of what it is to be a Christian, and drawing forth their sympathies on behalf of the perishing heathen around. Men who have experienced in their

own characters and lives the converting power of the truth, are girding up their loins to do the Lord's work, and going forth as evangelists amongst the heathen. The churches, whose messengers they are, afford to them supplies, and await, as their recompense, the happy intelligence that the Lord does not disdain to employ, in this great work of saving souls, their simple agency. From the churches of the Karens, the churches of the Tamils, the churches of Sierra Leone and Yoruba, the churches of Polynesia, the churches of the scattered Armenians, as well as from many others, native evangelists are going forth, and the hand of the Lord is with them, and will be so increasingly. Names might be mentioned of many whom the Lord has thus used, but it would not be wise or well to do so. Perhaps, in our anxiety to convince hesitating minds at home that the Lord is at work amongst our Missions, we have too often pushed aside the overshadowing leaves, which, if they conceal the blossoms, protect them from a too great exposure to the sun's glare, and thus the Lord's work has suffered.

And now these Christian churches afford to us, each one of them, a fulcrum, on which may be planted the lever of new and extended operations. It is a time to work. The results of the past encourage us as to the future, and our old Societies must put on the strength and vigour of their youth, that they may rise to the grandeur and importance of the present opportunity. Is this a time to relax effort? Now that there is needed a largeness of grasp and a promptitude of action, to consolidate the results of past victories, and to prepare the way for more, shall the heart beat feebly, and the vital energy of our Missionary bodies be found to flag? Shall we have throughout the country a diminishing interest and an inferior income? What a moment the present is to offer largely to the Lord's treasury! What an invitation the cogency of the crisis addresses to able and devoted men to offer themselves to the Lord's work and service. Our great and leading Missions need to be strengthened. Reinforcements might, with the greatest advantage, be thrown into the Punjab, where varied populations and languages required distinct appliances. Throughout India generally there is a necessity laid upon us to enlarge our sphere of action, both as regards the young and old, the male and female population. On the west coast of Africa, where Dahomey is perpetrating its ruthless hecatombs of human sacrifices, and where the slave-trading interest, by its pernicious machinations, has succeeded in kindling intestine war, and setting one free city in arms

against another, we need to put forth a mighty movement for the purpose of grasping the whole country from the Bight of Benin to the banks of the Niger, and occupying the cities with an army of Missionaries. In China we know not the moment when urgent demands will be made upon us to avail ourselves of great and unexpected openings.

We have to inform our readers, that at this juncture the income of the Church Missionary Society is below the average of five years by some 3000*l*. There are still three months left to recover the deficiency, and place the Society in advance of former years ;

an object most necessary to be attained, inasmuch as the expenditure does not diminish, but, with the growth of the work, of necessity increases. Let prayers arise that the whole Society—officials, members, and friends—may be pervaded with a hearty earnestness, until the old experiences of the Lord's people be repeated—"And the Lord stirred up the spirit of Jerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel, governor of Judah, and the spirit of Joshua, the son of Josedeck, the high priest, and the spirit of all the remnant of the people ; and they came and did work in the house of the Lord of hosts, their God."

MAORI NEW ZEALAND.

IN a previous paper we dealt with Colonial New Zealand. We stated, that in 1858 the colonial population amounted to 59,234, and that this small section of population, not larger than that of a second-rate English town, had placed at its disposal not less than forty-five millions of acres, purchased from the Maori proprietors, at rates varying from one farthing to sixpence an acre.

During the year 1859 there occurred a very considerable increase of immigrants : the number of new arrivals for that year presenting the large total of 12,180, "viz. 7428 males and 4752 females; an augmentation, the magnitude of which becomes evident when it is shown centesimally, the increase upon every 100 of the gross population having amounted to 20·54 ; on taking the comparative numbers of the sexes separately, to 22·10 on the male, and 18·50 on the female population respectively." Auckland, Canterbury, and Otago have been the chief points of attraction, and received the largest dividends. The peculiar advantages of the two latter settlements, amongst other points, in the absence of a native tenure, sufficiently accounts for this. In the province of Auckland the desirableness of being located in the vicinity of the capital is, with many, a chief ground of preference. But something also must be attributed to the advertisements put forth on behalf of that province in the "New-Zealand Examiner,"* offering "Free grants of farms of forty acres and upwards to every suitable emigrant, male or female, proceeding to that settlement." "Capitalists, farmers, agricultural labourers, mechanics, servants (male and female), are therefore informed, that, on paying their own passages,

or the passages of their families or others, to Auckland, they may, on arrival, receive land orders for free grants of land, viz. forty acres for each person aged eighteen years and upwards, and twenty acres for each child aged five years and under eighteen." We observe a difference between the inducements offered to emigrants by Auckland, when compared with Otago and Canterbury. The two latter settlements want population, even more than Auckland. They offer, therefore, "Assisted passages" to shepherds, ploughmen, labourers, carpenters, masons, or female domestic servants ; that is, the Provincial Governments pay a part of the passage-money, equal to the sum paid by the emigrant : half the passage-money, therefore, is all that is required of him ; and even this, if the emigrant be unable to pay it, the Government will advance, as a loan, upon the promises of repayment in the colony. The difference in the mode of action is obvious : Auckland offers land and no money ; the southern settlements offer pecuniary aid to reach the colony, but make no promise of free grants of land ; they aid the moneyless emigrant to reach the island, but on his arrival they throw him for support on his own labour. Auckland offers land but no money. The colonists of that province have published to the world, in heartrending terms, the inconveniences to which they are subjected in consequence of the insufficiency of land. In May of last year we found them thus writing to the Colonial Secretary—"How are our increasing stock to be fed ? Where is the land to produce wheat and other necessities for our present population ? During this year, many of our stockholders have been compelled to feed their sheep and cattle on potatoes. Two months after har-

* Printed and published in London monthly.

vest the whole of the wheat grown by the settlers of this province was consumed. In three months there will be an increase of 40,000 lambs. Some of the flockholders have not allowed the rams to run with their young ewes, because they have not sufficient food for their increase. Many of our cattle are killed at two years old, when they could, with considerably increased profit, be grazed another year, if there was a sufficient supply of grass. And, further, no flockmasters, within this province have attempted a flock of wethers; they have been compelled to part with this source of profit to the butcher, before the sheep were two years old, to make room for their coming increase." And then, after this preamble, comes the great point intended to be urged on the authorities—"The land hitherto acquired from the natives is insufficient in grants, indifferent in quality, and quite inadequate to the increasing wants of the public." And yet, with all this extreme deficiency of land, so calamitously affecting alike pastoral and agricultural pursuits, the provincial authorities offer free grants of land to all emigrants, male and female; so that a man and his wife, with six children, three of them above, and the others under, eighteen years of age, are assured, on arriving at Auckland, of having placed at their disposal 240 acres of land. If, during a year, one third of the 12,000 immigrants of 1859 should select Auckland, one-half above eighteen, and of the moiety, one-half above five years, the authorities would be pledged to free grants of land to the amount of 100,000 acres; and, if the same rates of increase should be sustained for six years, to upwards of half a million of acres; and this at a time when, if we are to believe the statements made, the deficiency of land, and the consequent disadvantages of the colonists are such, that, in order to obtain more, the Government is strenuously urged to an abandonment of the system under which native land purchases have hitherto been made, to so large an extent, and with so much quietude, and the adoption of a new policy, by which land might be acquired more rapidly, and at less cost.

Now to the acquisition of more land, so sadly needed, there exists a double difficulty, the unwillingness of the natives to sell, of which we shall speak presently more fully, and, besides this, the inability of the colonists to buy. This they very naïvely admit in a letter to the Duke of Newcastle—"In reference to the pecuniary difficulty, namely, that of obtaining money wherewith to extinguish the native title, after the 180,000*l.* borrowed for that purpose shall have been expended, which, we are informed by

the despatch, 'is one which it is in the power of the local legislature to provide against,' we have only to observe, that many of the subscribers to this letter are members either of the Assembly, or of the Provincial Council, and that we are unable to perceive how the legislature will be enabled, out of the ordinary revenue of the colony, not only to make provision for meeting liabilities already incurred, but also to furnish the [requisite sums for continuing the present system. No one acquainted with the financial position of the colony can entertain any such expectation."* Thus Auckland appears to be doubly impoverished from want of land—and of the money to buy the land. Yet it would seem that there is more land to spare than money, as, in order to induce immigration, she offers not the latter, but the former. What element of prosperity does she expect to acquire by this artificially-induced immigration—money or labour? Experienced men do not hesitate to say it will yield neither one or other. The emigrants who go forth from the home country under such inducements, as a class, will be neither pecuniarily or industrially independent. The prospect of so many free acres of land will serve as a glittering bribe in the eyes of families, who, not having succeeded at home, do not know what to do with themselves. Their friends are anxious to get rid of them. By some means or other, as much money is scraped together as suffices to pay for the passage. They arrive in New Zealand with scarcely a penny left, and find themselves in possession of free land without the means of cultivating it. The free farm is in the wildness of nature. The bush has to be cleared away; the ground subdued to the use of man; the necessities of life are high; the settler, even if he has brought with him industrial habits, gets discouraged, for he finds he has the land, and no capital to work it. His little child of five years of age owns twenty acres of land; they must lie waste until the little fellow grows big enough to work it himself, for the father has more than enough to do with the eighty acres which belong to himself and his wife. Perhaps he finds himself disadvantageously situated, and the communication with Auckland difficult; and as his day-dream fades away, he becomes restless and discontented. He would do better, he thinks, if he was elsewhere, and his mind fixes itself on this spot or that spot, where he would wish to be; but they are in the possession of the native. Thus the native comes to be regarded as in his way, and he wishes him out of the way; for is he not a white man, an En-

* Blue Book, pp. 149, 150.

glishman, and why should these "niggers" divide with him the land? Is he not of the superior race, and must not the inferior race give way before it? Of what use, then, are laws which recognise the rights of natives? Would they not far better be repealed, and leave the question of the land to be settled between the native and himself after the *old* colonial fashion? for, after all, if the native should resist the attempt to oust him from his land, and a conflict ensue, it would only be to expedite the procedure of that law of extermination, which, sooner or later, must close the existence of the Maori race. Such, we fear, are not unfrequently the thoughts which suggest themselves. Auckland, it appears, wants both land and money. Immigrants of substance would help to relieve her of these difficulties. They would bring money, and we doubt not, that if the Maori can get the money, he will be sure, after a time, to sell the land. But the immigration she is inducing is a pauper immigration, which brings no money, and makes no provision for the lawful acquisition of more land. What, then, can be the object of inducing the arrival of such a population? Is it that, as numbers increase, Auckland may get land without money? We may be quite certain of it, that the uneasy feeling which has manifested itself of late amongst the native tribes has not arisen without a cause. The king-movement and land-selling league, in their commencement, were simply measures of defence. They were the manifestations of a strong conviction which had possessed itself of the native mind, that if, as a nation, they were to be preserved, they must cling together for mutual protection. They were like the precautionary measures of the mariner, when he takes in sail, and sends down his topgallant masts, because he sees the storm coming. It is our duty to search into the complicated tissue of colonial events, in order to discover, if possible, the cause of this alarm. The Maoris would never have set up a king, had they felt that they were so secure under the shadow of Victoria as to be shielded from unjust aggression. But if they have had reason to think that they, the original proprietors of the land, whose rights had been guaranteed by national compact and royal pledge, were regarded as intruders, to be thrust out as soon and with as little ceremony as possible, it is not surprising that they have proceeded to adopt such measures as they conceived might help them in this emergency.

The following extract from an Auckland

newspaper, the "Southern Cross,"* will confirm the truth of the foregoing observations.

"The forty-acre dodge still continues to work, and probably will only be thoroughly exploded by the news of the war at home. The results of the forced immigration, which has been going on so long, are evident to all: discontent, idleness, and want. The forty-acre victim of twelve months date is, in many instances, as little naturalized as when he first set foot on shore; whilst those who remember the immigrants of former days—when men came out, not at the instance of paid agents, nor bribed by the promise of imaginary farms—will recollect how speedily they were absorbed into the mass, and how difficult it soon was to distinguish them from older settlers. . . .

"One natural result of the forty-acre system is beginning to develop itself. People are leaving the country within a very short time of their arrival here. Now of these, such as have made a selection of land, leave behind them forty acres which nobody can touch, sell, or do any thing with, for five years. If the exodus goes on much longer, we shall soon have in this province the novel sight of a large quantity of the soil belonging nominally to absentees, who have no power to do any thing with it, neither to sell it nor to lease it—for a four or five years' occupation of forty acres, whatever agents may say in England, would hardly, we think, make a man's fortune—and the land itself taken out of the market, where it might have been bought by real settlers, who knew what to do with it. The province is beginning already to feel the bad effects of forgetting one of the first principles of political economy, namely, that attempting to force any branch of industry, instead of leaving it to its natural development, is ultimately ruinous to all concerned. An attempt, by means of provincial agents and lectures, and a delusive bribe, to convert everybody in England, who was foolish enough to listen, into farmers, was not the way to cover this province with flourishing farms; but will, we fear, on the contrary, soon have the effect of creating useless wastes, where productive farms might have been.

"The province of Auckland, from its land system, which offers no inducement to capitalists either from England or the neighbouring colonies to settle here, is fast falling behind its sister provinces in the race of improvement, and will soon present the pitiable spectacle of a British colony obliged to im-

* September 1, 1860.

port, not only articles of manufacture, but actually agricultural produce. How every thing is to be paid for, when the grand day for balancing accounts arrives, is a problem which it is as well, perhaps, not to be too curious about; but the future is gloomy, and unless a most advantageous peace throws open to us native lands, and gives enterprise a field to work in, the province will never be able to hold its own. Should the native war extend, and our out-settlers once lose confidence, and nothing subsequently occur to restore it, we shall be reduced as a community to do, what many, as private individuals—most forty-acre men of course included—are already doing, namely, expend our capital on the very means of existence.”

We now pass on to a review of the Maori New Zealand. We do not mean, by this expression, New Zealand under Maori sovereignty, and independent of the British crown, but the Maori, as joint-tenant with the European colonist, holding under the protection and supremacy of the British crown; for let it be remembered, that he also is a British subject, and that his rights, as obtained, not by purchase, but by hereditary proprietorship, have been guaranteed to him in the most solemn manner. Let the language of the treaty of Waitangi—a treaty which has been recognised by British ministers and statesmen, and by successive governors of New Zealand, as a valid and binding compact—be attentively considered. The second article runs as follows:—“Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the chiefs and tribes of New Zealand, and to their respective families and individuals thereof, the full, exclusive, and undisputed possession of their lands and estates, forests, fisheries, and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess, so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession. But the chiefs of the united tribes, and the individual chiefs, yield to Her Majesty the exclusive right of pre-emption over such lands as the proprietors thereof may be pleased to alienate at such prices as may be agreed upon between the respective proprietors and such persons as may be appointed by Her Majesty to treat with them on that behalf.” And then, article third—“In consideration thereof, Her Majesty the Queen of England extends to the natives of New Zealand her royal protection, and imparts to them all the privileges of British subjects.”

In these stipulations there is an express recognition of that kind of land tenure which existed amongst the Maoris, which was

handed down to them from their forefathers, and which they still retain in its tribal, family, and individual aspects, and as exercised by the chiefs, heads of families, and freemen, according to their several rights. In explanation of the peculiarity of tenure which prevails amongst them, and which was distinctly recognised by the treaty of Waitangi, we shall quote from a pamphlet* which has recently been transmitted to England from New Zealand, and which contains very much that is valuable and important, although, at the same time, we do not agree with some of the views and statements put forward in its pages.

“Every tribe owns large tracts of land. These are the common property of the tribe. Particular hapus, or individual freemen, appropriate by occupation, cultivation, and otherwise, small portions of the common estate. Such occupation vests in them the ownership of the portion appropriated, and gives a right of separate ownership, as against all other individuals. But it does not confer the right of absolute alienation. To other members of the tribe, the hapu or individual may alienate; but they cannot alienate from the tribe, without the consent of the tribe. The power of giving this consent is usually vested in the chief, who is a trustee of the rights of the tribe. This limitation is founded on reason, the political status of the tribe, as a whole, depending on its maintaining the integrity of its territory, and on the exclusion of foreigners who might be members of a hostile tribe. ‘The cultivation of a portion of the forest-land renders it the property of those who cultivate it, and this right descended from generation to generation. But this individual claim did not give the individual the right to dispose of it to Europeans.’ ‘The sale of territory, to be valid, must be effected by the chief of the tribe and all the chiefs of the various hapus acting together. Such a sale, whatever be the price given, would never be disputed.’”

Such is the tribal right, and to the full and unreserved recognition of it, as long as it continued to be the land-tenure of the natives, the British crown solemnly pledged itself. It might of course be altered with the consent of the Maoris, both chiefs and people acting in concert, and it was perfectly consistent with good faith, should it be found that this tenure acted injuriously to the mutual interests of native and colonist, to counsel the native to decide on its alteration and re-ad-

* “The War in New Zealand.” By William Fox, Member of the House of Representatives.

justment to the altered circumstances of the islands; but until his free consent had been obtained, its stipulations required to be scrupulously observed, nor could any conviction on our part of its undesirable action, however well founded that conviction might be, justify us in proceeding to disregard it or set it aside, without the consent of the native.

Let it be observed, also, that it was left entirely to the discretion of the native as to what he decided respecting his land, whether to alienate it or otherwise; that it was simply as he pleased; that, so long as it was his wish and desire to retain his lands and estates, he was at liberty so to do; nor were his rights in this respect to be interfered with because his exercise of them was against the wishes, and even prejudicial to the interests, of the Europeans. He was not the less a British subject because, according to his own pleasure, he exercised those rights which the British crown had recognised and confirmed; and in the use of those rights that crown was bound to protect him, just as much as any other of its subjects, so that neither should he be forced to act against his will, or, when he had so acted, assailed and injured for so doing. The Maori landholder was guaranteed in the retention or disposal, sale or reservation, of his lands, just as much as any British land proprietor. It might be the wish of certain parties that a landowner in this country should part with a portion of the estates handed down to him from his forefathers, and it might be for their advantage that he should do so. But what should we say if, on his refusal, an outcry were immediately raised against him, and forcible measures were adopted to oust him from the land? Why, even the sovereign power dare not commit itself to such a proceeding; and if any functionary, however high his position, should so far lower his high office as to compromise himself with such a proceeding, his acts would at once be disavowed, and his prompt supercession prevent for the future such mistaken action.

It is requisite that all this prefatory matter should be kept distinctly in view, in order that we may clearly understand the great wrong which the British authorities have perpetrated against the Ngatiawa tribe and their chief, Wiremu Kingi.

We have already seen that the Maoris have sold largely and cheaply to the Europeans. The Middle Island, a few blocks excepted, has been entirely surrendered, and the native title extinguished. In the North Island, the peninsula constituting the northern projection may be considered as alienated; while in the

southern province, Wellington, they retain only one million of cultivable acres. Altogether, of that island they have alienated between seven and eight millions of acres, retaining in their hands between seventeen and eighteen millions. This, now the proper Maori territory, occupies the great central area of the North Island, extending east and west from sea to sea, and north to south from the westerly bend of the Waikato as far south as to include the northern parts of the Wellington province. Of these tracts, large portions are wholly unsuited for agricultural or pastoral purposes. The centre of the island is occupied by a group of mountains, from whence ranges are thrown out in different directions, more especially in a backbone extending in a southerly direction as far as Cook's Straits. Tongariro, one of the peaks, is an active volcano, the smoke which it emits evidencing that the fires are not extinguished which laid waste the surrounding districts, and formed, by the subsidence of the earth, Taupo and its kindred lakes. The richest districts are the valleys of the Waikato and Waipa, the valleys of the Thames, the tracts which, on the east, abut on the Bay of Plenty, and the province of Taranaki on the west. Let the traveller be supposed to have landed at some harbour on the western coast—that of Wangaroa or Kawia—with the intention of visiting these interior districts. A wooded ridge, separating the valley of the Waipa from the sea-coast, has first to be surmounted. The formation of the hills is volcanic. Portions of them are covered only with fern; others, especially in the ravines, are clothed with the forest, which seems once to have entirely prevailed. From the summit an extensive view presents itself. Towards the north-east stretches out the broad and open valley of the Waipa, bounded on the east by distant hills. This valley has an average breadth of about thirty miles. The lower part, which is flat and even, especially up to the point at which the river Waipa joins the Waikato, rivals in fertility the best districts in the island. Sheltered from the gales which are so prevalent on the coasts, it is particularly adapted “for grain, tobacco, safflower, and hops:” higher up, the country is broken and undulating. Through these extensive and fertile districts flows the Waipa, having its source in the Rangitoto mountains, a range connecting the western-coast hills with the central group of the Ruapahu. This river, navigable for sixty miles above its junction with the Waikato, brings these interior districts into easy communication with the sea:

there is thus an almost uninterrupted water communication with the Manukau harbour and Auckland.

The valley of the Waipa is bounded on the east by the hilly range of the Maungatautari, which separates it "from another valley more to the eastward, in which three rivers flow—the Waikato, the Piako, and the Waiho, or Thames." The most easterly of these rivers, the Waiho, runs at the foot of the hilly chain, the Aroha mountains, which shut in the valley from the east-coast districts. The Thames and the Piako form an extensive agricultural valley in easy water communication with the Frith of the Thames, and the Waitemata harbour and Auckland. This valley is about a hundred miles in length, the lower part of it being separated from that of the Waikato by hills which run towards the gulf of Hauraki.

The Waikato, the most westerly of the three rivers, is a considerable and deep stream, which issues from Lake Taupo, and, winding around the northern slope of the Maungatautari, is joined, about a hundred miles above its embouchure on the western coast, by the Waipa.

This river is described as one of the finest rivers in New Zealand, "meandering through a rich country, amidst lakes clothed with trees." The vegetation in the forests along its margin is magnificent. "Gigantic flax and tohi-tohi grass, with its razor-edged leaves, form a complete jungle, whilst the dragon, or ti-trees, impart quite a foreign character to the scene." "The graceful rimu and the koroi pine, seventy or eighty feet in height, mingle their evergreen foliage. The large white stars of the clematis are wreathed like garlands round the sombre foliage of the tall trees, and the golden blossoms of the kowai are scattered in showers over the bosom of the stream." Occasionally the forest vegetation is varied by open fern-hills, with peeps of the distant blue ranges beyond.

Mr. Swainson says—"The Waikato, to be seen to advantage, requires bright and genial weather: its characteristic features are the numerous aits, or small islands, to be met with throughout its course. They are low, and flat, and commonly of a long oval form; some of them having evidently been formed by the gradual accumulation of sand and pumice-stone, thrown up from the bed of the river by the shifting of the current; others, again, by portions of the river's bank cut away by the gradual inroad of the stream. The smaller islands are devoid of wood, being overgrown with reeds, Raupo-tohitohi, and

tall sedge grass; while the larger islands are covered with clumps of the dark and stately kahikatea, their borders fringed at the water's edge with the light and graceful tohitohi. The most beautiful part of the river is in the neighbourhood of Tuakau, fifteen or twenty miles from the sea; and if he happen to encamp for the night, the traveller can scarcely fail, in the camp of sunset or early dawn, to be charmed with the grand beauty of the scene.

"Here the English lake tourist will be reminded of the scenery of Rydal Water. Twenty miles higher up, the river expands into a broad, open, lake-like sheet of water, and flows through an extensive level plain, bounded on the east by the mountain range, which divides the plains of the Waikato and the Piako. . . . From the summit of Taupiri, on the eastern bank of the river, and about three miles below its junction with the Waipa, is to be seen one of the most extensive views in the northern district of New Zealand. The broad plains of the Thames, the Waikato, and the Waipa; the river Waikato itself, through a large part of its course, and many of its lakes and tributaries; the track of the Waipa in the distance, and here and there a peep of the river itself, are all distinctly visible; and in the far south, in clear weather, the snow-clad ranges also of Ruapehu and Tongariro."

Strangely contrasting with these fertile districts is the volcanic wilderness which extends for about sixty miles round Tongariro.

"The grand centre of volcanic action extends from White Island to Rotorua, and thence by Taupo and Tongariro to Wanganui, a distance of nearly 200 miles, forming a continuous line across the entire width of the island. The number of boiling gulfs, solfatare, and boiling mud pools in that line are extraordinary. They are seen in every direction—in the forest, in the plain, and in the water. A large number of them are concentrated at a place called Tikitere, and a most extraordinary assemblage of them is found at Ohinemotu, which renders that place one of the most remarkable in New Zealand. At Paeroa, near the Waikato, there is one of the largest of these mud pools; it is from sixty to a hundred feet wide: in the centre, first an enormous bubble of mud arises, which gradually increases in height and size, and at last becomes a jet of mud eight or ten feet high, with several smaller ones on each side: the mud is thrown up in large masses on the

* Swainson's "New Zealand," pp. 247—250.

sides, where it dries, and assumes a cubical form : it readily separates into laminae of different thickness, which bear a very close resemblance to slate, and, perhaps, in this mud vortex is to be seen, on a small scale, what was once the state of a large portion of the earth's crust, during the formation of slate.

"At Orakorako, on the Waikato, the boiling springs are almost innumerable ; some of them shoot up a volume of water to a considerable height, and are little, if at all, inferior to the Geysers of Iceland. A village is placed in the midst of them : the reason assigned for living in such a singular locality was, that as there is no necessity for fires, all their cooking being done in the hot springs, the women's backs are not broken with carrying fuel, and further, from the warmth of the ground they were enabled to raise their crops several weeks earlier than their neighbours ; but, as a counterbalance for these advantages, many fatal accidents occur from persons, especially strangers and children, falling into these fearful caldrons, and being boiled.

"Rotomahana, a warm-water lake of considerable size, is surrounded with innumerable boiling gulfs ; in fact, it is itself nothing but a crater, the sides of which are full of action : it is perhaps one of the most singular places in the world : its boiling gulfs, and natural snow-white terraces, formed from silicious deposits, are as wonderful as they are beautiful. Thence to Hohake and Rotokawa there is nothing to be seen but jets of vapour, and so on to Taupo, where fearful boiling gulfs abound at the two extremities of that noble lake, at Rangatira and Tokanu. One of the boiling springs at Tokanu possesses the property of changing the nature of any thing which may be placed in it, and converting it into a beautiful silicious substance of pure white, and this is done without any apparent addition of matter ; but if the article be not entirely immersed, having only the water flowing about it, then it becomes enlarged by a silicious deposit upon its surface. The process of thus converting wood into stone is very rapid, and in some localities, water does not appear to be a necessary agent in accomplishing this change. At Rotorua, large pieces of wood are thus lignified by the aid of heated gas, highly charged with sulphur, alum, and iron, or other chemical substances, which penetrates the pores of the wood, and fills them up with silex, converting them into agates, and even giving them the transparent form of chalcodony.

"Again at Roto-nira, a beautiful lake at the base of the Tongariro range, which attains an elevation of 10,236 feet, boiling springs abound. Tongariro itself is not so

lofty, but from its cone it constantly belches forth a volume of smoke, and occasionally of flame, which has been distinctly seen at a distance of 150 miles, and although the powers of this fearful volcano appear to have long lain dormant, there is no security that it will not break out again. The size and active operation of Mount Erebus appear to be the greatest security of New Zealand, and that crater may be viewed as its safety-valve ; for, if any thing were to impede its operation, the entire line of New-Zealand craters would, very probably, break out again. Lofty as Tongariro now appears, there is reason to suppose that its present height is much less than it was formerly ; or rather, that the grand crater of former days has sunk down, and, in doing so, caused Mount Taranaki to rise up. This is agreeable with native tradition, and, moreover, with the general features of the spot, a space of nearly twelve miles intervening between the two principal mountains, Tongariro and Ruapehu. This, at a distance, appears to be an elevated table-land, but it is, in fact, a deep lake.

"The matter ejected from these craters has been immense, chiefly pumice-stones and sand ; formerly, the central plains had a superstratum of yellow ochre, and were heavily timbered. The hot pumice ejected from the neighbouring volcanoes appears to have first charred the forest, and then covered it to the depth, in many places, of a hundred feet, and wherever there is a deep ravine, the charred timber is seen jutting out in large masses. This deposit, in some places, extends a very long way ; and, even at the mouth of the Wanganui, the low lands are deeply covered with it, as well as with solid lumps of charred wood. That Tongariro has caused the formation of the great Taupo lake, by the subsiding of the land to supply the place before occupied by so much ejected matter, appears certain ; and further, that this occurred at different intervals is also evident ; for although the ancient extent of the lake was nearly double what it is at present, it seems to have become wider and deeper than formerly. Many trunks of trees are still visible in its waters, which were there when the country was first peopled, and are so well known that each bears the name of some ancestor. What is here said of Taupo, applies to all the neighbouring lakes as well ; but whilst their basins were thus formed to the extent of the matter ejected, it is evident that the throes of the volcanoes mainly contributed to the elevation of the country. From the sea to the base of Taupo there is a regular series of stages, one rising higher than another, until we reach the central

plains of Tongariro: thence the country gradually slopes to the north. But although much of the upheavement of the land occurred during the time these volcanoes were in eruption, it is also evident that even yet the land is rising. This must now solely be attributed to the agency of earthquakes. The southern and central parts of the island appear to be the principal seat of their action; and though, in general, the shocks are slight, yet, periodically, every five or six years they have been more violent, and attended with serious consequences.”*

The east-coast districts alone remain to be noticed. These are separated from the open tableland of the interior by a range of wooded hills. These hills, somewhat flat on the top, on their western slopes terminate abruptly like an artificial embankment of the tableland of the Thames, but on the eastern side slope gradually towards the coast, spreading out into flat land as they approach the shore. From these summits an extensive and splendid prospect presents itself of the coast-line, from Mercury Bay to the north, the Bay of Plenty, with White Island, emitting from time to time volumes of smoke, and thence, far away to the south, its smooth outlines extending themselves. Descending along the crest of one of the spurs, whose ramifications form swampy valleys, the plain country is reached, the vegetation of which indicates the richest soil.

We have thus given an outline of these important territories, of which the Maori continues to be the proprietor. According to the map of New Zealand appended to the Blue Books, for the purpose of showing approximately the extent of land acquired from the natives, it appears, that of fifteen and a half million acres comprised within the province of Auckland, thirteen and a half millions, extending over the tracts which we have run cursorily over, remain in the hands of the native. While a certain portion of the territory is mountainous and barren, it yet comprises some of the richest and finest districts in New Zealand. It is, in fact, the choice territory of the North Island, the grand central and commanding region through which flow the largest rivers, and which, notwithstanding its central position, is thus brought into easy communication with the sea. It is here we find concentrated the great body of the native race. There are probably not less than between 30,000 and 40,000 Maoris in the occupation of these districts, the Waikatos alone numbering nearly 10,000 souls.

* Taylor's "New Zealand," &c., pp. 223—226.

This territory, then, the Maori appears determined to retain for his own special use, and, after the review which we have taken of the circumstances of the island, many of our readers will be disposed to think that he is perfectly justified in so doing. In the land which gave him birth, and which his forefathers possessed for generations before him, it is but right that he should have a fair inheritance. Two-thirds of the territorial extent of these islands he has transferred to the European: it seems not unbecoming that he should retain the rest for his own use. He cannot reasonably be expected to part with the entire fee-simple of his estate, and submit to be thrown on the blocks reserved for his use amidst the newly-acquired estates of the Europeans. The race, to be preserved, must be kept together, whereas this would be to break it up into fragments, and ensure its speedy extinction. The feeling of nationality is strong in every race, nor is the Maori less sensitive on this point than other tribes or races. The determination, therefore, to which they have come, to retain intact the territories in which the race is massed together in the greatest number, is necessarily that natural course, which a feeling of self-preservation would lead them to adopt, as well as one which, according to the provisions of the treaty of Waitangi, they are perfectly justified in maintaining.

That such an arrangement, however, should be regarded by many amongst the colonists as in all respects inconvenient and undesirable is precisely what might be anticipated, and accordingly various objections are urged against it. Some say that the reserved territory is much too large; that it is far more than the Maori can ever by possibility require, for the numerical aggregate of the race throughout the islands amounts only to 56,000, and these under a process of rapid decrease.

It appears to be generally admitted that a decided decrease of the Maori population is going forward, and this is regarded by certain speculators as a matter of congratulation rather than of regret. The Maoris, in their eyes, are no better than the wild forest that overspreads the land while in its natural state, and the sooner they are stubbed up and cast aside the better. A sample of such philanthropy as this will be found in the following extract from the "New-Zealand Examiner" of November 14, 1860, purporting to be a portion of a letter addressed by Dr. Mackay, of the Melbourne circuit, to the Governor of Victoria, through the "Geelong Advertiser." He suggests—

"That 900 men, volunteers if possible, be raised, to be forthwith sent to New Zealand, to be placed under the command of the commander of the forces there, to be selected and appointed by the commander of Her Majesty's troops here, to serve for six months. I think these troops could be raised, drilled, and ready to be on board in one fortnight, the drill to be carried on while on the voyage. I venture to say the war would be well over in three months, and nineteen-twentieths of these troops home again without a scratch. From 15,000*l.* to 20,000*l.* would, I should suppose, be amply sufficient for the expenses of this expedition. This to be advanced by this Government, to be repaid by sales of land in the conquered portion of New Zealand. The savages to be entirely subjugated. The males carried over here to be prisoners of war, to serve in this country as slaves for seven years; the females to be carried away and dispersed as wives for the Chinese and well-conducted white convicts, Dr. Cairns and the Bishop of Melbourne, and all other ministers of religion, to be at liberty to use all fair means for their conversion. Every man who returned alive to receive a grant of land, of not less than eighty acres, or not more than 160 acres, according to his deserts, or an equivalent in money. The deficiency of the expenditure to be sought for (if any) from the British Imperial Government, and Acts of Parliament of this colony, New Zealand, and Great Britain, to be passed, sanctioning the above."

This gentleman, residing in Australia, appears to be as little informed of the actual condition of the natives of New Zealand as he does of Orotchous, Manyags, and other races in the regions of the Amoor. The Maoris, in his estimation, are all savages and heathen, to whom he proposes that Dr. Cairns and the Bishop of Melbourne should become the first Missionaries, while to facilitate the process of conversion, and leave the islands open to the grasp of the white adventurer, the whole race is to be transhipped to Australia, the men to be sold as slaves, the women to be handed over as wives to the Chinese, or whoever else might be disposed to take them. Seldom has a more disgraceful document met our eye, or one that is more richly deserving of reprobation. But it serves to show the animus that is abroad on the subject of native races, and how readily, if they appear to interfere with the white man in his process of emigration, they are denounced as worthless, and their enslavement and extirpation advised by free-born Britons. We deny the existence of any ethnological law of

nature which dooms the black savage to disappear before the white settlers; but this we can understand—when a race, elevated by Christian influences to a superior state of civilization, and brought into contiguity with another race as yet only emerging from barbarism, uses its superior intelligence, not for the purpose of improving the native, and raising him to a level with itself, but for the purpose of oppressing him, and depriving him of those just rights which belong to him as a man, then indeed the black race must perish before the white; but we are persuaded whenever such a catastrophe takes place, retributive dispensations never fail to follow.

With respect to the decrease of the native race, we suppose it must be taken for granted. We have before us several writers on New Zealand, and they all agree in affirming this point. Mr. Swainson says—"There is no longer any doubt that the Maori race are fewer in number than they were twenty years ago."* Mr. Hursthouse concludes that sixty years ago they were full thrice as numerous as they are at present, and refers in proof of this to the deserted gardens, villages, strongholds, as evidential of the former existence of a much larger population. From this conclusion, however, our Missionary, Mr. Taylor differs.

"Our countrymen are inclined to fancy that various circumstances are conspiring to exterminate the native race, and that, before many years are past, it will be extinct; that the Maori population is rapidly diminishing. . . . There is good reason, however, for doubting the accuracy of this conclusion." He is of opinion that the alteration for the better in their food will not fail to exercise a beneficial influence on the race. "Ten years ago the native did not cultivate wheat, and did not possess cattle: he has now abundance of both; in fact, of the former more than he consumes. Hitherto the chief mortality has been amongst the children, who literally were starved, having nothing but the breast until they could eat the potato, which was the main support. It was not to be wondered, therefore, that the poor little creatures should be cut off: having so little stamina, the influenza became peculiarly fatal to them.

"The insecurity of life in former days compelled them to dwell in fortified places, and these were always situated near their cultivations. The native had no idea of renewing his land when exhausted by succes-

*Swainson's "New Zealand," p. 12.

sive cropping, and, in fact, had no necessity for doing so, having such an unlimited extent at his command: therefore, when he found the land no longer able to yield him the usual return, he abandoned it, and sought a fresh locality for cultivation, and there erected a new pa for his defence. When I first came to Wanganui, I laid down the course of the river, and marked the pas on its banks: there are scarcely any of these places now inhabited, all having been abandoned for fresh ones. In fact, their abodes may be regarded rather as fortified camps than towns, their stay in one place being only until they have exhausted the surrounding country. The conclusion, therefore, is, that the native race was never very numerous, and the present ills which threaten its existence are more than counterbalanced by the advantages of better food and clothing, and an altogether improved way of living. As religion, civilized habits, customs, and peaceful pursuits gain ground on the savage life of former days, the New-Zealand race may not only endure the evils consequent on civilization, but even gain thereby.

"The population of these islands has been variously estimated, some rating it at 100,000, others at 80,000: perhaps the latter may be the nearest approximation to the truth."*

But while we may be prepared to admit that the race has diminished, we doubt the accuracy of the census referred to by Dr. Thomson, which reduces the Maori totality to figures so low as that of 56,049. Taylor, as we have seen, rates them at 80,000; Hursthouse at 70,000; Swainson at the same number. These are all recent writers. It is only the census of 1858, made, as we are informed by intelligent European and native enumerators, which reduces them so low as 56,000. But this census is, after all, only an estimate, and possesses very little reliability. The native enumerators very probably reckoned after the native fashion, which is to omit the women and children, and number the fighting men only. And that such has been the case is rendered more probable by the confusion respecting ages and sexes which pervades the census.

Dr. Thomson, indeed, offers evidence as to a positive reduction of number in certain localities, and a certain district of the Waikato country is referred to, where it appears that there has been, during the period 1844-1858, a reduction to the amount of nineteen per cent. But we more than doubt whether, from data of this kind, any positive conclusion can be drawn as to the general de-

crease of the race. Is there no other way of accounting for this and similar cases of local decrease? Has not the country become freed from that condition of disturbance and insecurity with which it was afflicted previously to the introduction of Christianity, and may not the people, who had crowded together at certain places for mutual defence, be now more equably dispersed over the face of the country, the tribe extending its occupation of the land, and, in doing so, becoming scattered over a wider area? We believe this to be the case, and that, while it be true that in some localities the reduction of numbers is considerable, in other directions it will be found that the lonely place is resonant with the sound of human voices, and that the land is, in fact, being sown with the people, which had previously been housed in pas and strongholds. And it is this we conceive that renders the formation of an accurate census impracticable, except by a measure of co-operation on the part of the natives, which has been attainable in the Punjab, but which the colonists of New Zealand have not yet been successful in securing.

But let it be supposed that the lowest average is correct, and that 56,000 constitutes the entirety of the native population, we have then to dispose of the objection, that the lands which they retain are far more extensive than they ever can by possibility require, and therefore that the decision to which they have come, to sell no more land, is one which cannot be permitted, and must be set aside. Yet surely this is an objection which comes with a very bad grace from a New-Zealand colonist; for if thirty-five millions of acres be not enough for 71,000 people, how can nineteen millions of acres be too much for 56,000, or more probably 70,000 Maoris? How would it be, if the proportions were reversed, and the colonial population found themselves in the position of the native, with nineteen millions of acres at their disposal, and no more? How earnestly would they agitate for an enlargement of territory? and how indignant would they not feel, if instead of obtaining for their case due consideration, they were informed that they had too much already, and must be prepared to have the quantity reduced. The fact is, for the European much is thought requisite; while for the native any thing will suffice; and we are inclined to think that there are many, who, if they could only rule matters in their own way, would reduce the native to the minimum of nothing, and raise the European to the maximum of all.

But it will be said the European knows how to employ the land placed at his dispo-

* Taylor's "New Zealand," pp. 256-258.

sal. He brings industry and intelligence to bear upon it, causes it to yield forth its hidden treasures, and makes it available for the common good; whereas, with the native, every thing is left in the wildness of nature, and the best land is little better than a run for pigs. Is this precisely true? A considerable amount of ignorance exists as to the condition of the Maori people. It may be well to look a little into this part of the subject, and see whether they have not evinced themselves to be an improvable race, one which has so very decidedly responded to the efforts made for their amelioration, as to show that not only are they already a very valuable portion of the New-Zealand population, but that, if fairly and equitably dealt with, and permitted peaceably and without oppression to go forward in the path of progress, they promise, at no distant period, in intelligence and productive powers to rise to a level with the European.

True civilization results from the renovating influence of Christianity on the national mind, and is always characterized by progress. When this healthful progress has been commenced, it will not rest until all in the moral and social habits of the people of an injurious character has been corrected, and the race has been set free for a corresponding growth in whatever is becoming and praiseworthy. There are inferior kinds of

civilization, but they are very defective in their operation. They leave many evils in society uncorrected, to the removal of which they are unequal; and having reached a certain point of outward progress, are arrested there, and become dwarfed and stunted. Such, is the civilization of China, and of other nations which might be mentioned. The principles in operation have been incompetent to the greatness of the task, and they have done little more than polish the surface of society. Now the principles at work among the Maoris have been of the right kind, and they have accomplished all that could be expected of them during the brief period they have been in operation. Nations are not raised from a savage to a civilized state in a generation; and Christianity in New Zealand is not yet a generation old; for there are many persons, both here and there, who remember its first introduction into the islands! But what and how much has effected, and what encouragement have we in the past, that, if opportunity be afforded it, it will accomplish yet more! The measure of improvement which has been attained by the Maoris under the influence of Christianity, we shall now proceed to show, availing ourselves, for this purpose, of the following chronological statement, taken from "Thomson's Story of New Zealand."

Chronological Statement showing the progressive Civilization now going on among the New Zealanders.

State of the New Zealanders in

1770.	1836.	1859.
1. Cannibals.	Cannibalism practised.	No instance of cannibalism since 1843.
2. Wars frequent.	Wars frequent.	No general civil war for eighteen years.
4. Murders frequent from superstition.	Murders less frequent than in 1770.	Murders less frequent than in 1836.
5. Child-murder common.	Child-murder less frequent than in 1770.	Child-murder less frequent than in 1836.
6. Strangers not tolerated.	Strangers tolerated.	Anxiety to have English settlements near villages.
7. One-tenth of the people slaves.	One-tenth of the people slaves.	Slavery extinct.
8. Population estimated at 100,000.	Population variously estimated.	Population estimated at 56,000.
9. Language unwritten.	Language written, portions of Scriptures translated.	All the Scriptures translated, several books printed in Maori.
10. Not protected from small-pox.	Not protected from small-pox.	Two-thirds of the people vaccinated.
11. No potatoes, pigs, or cattle.	Potatoes and pigs abound, few cattle.	Potatoes, pigs, and cattle numerous.
12. Plough unknown.	Plough unused.	Plough in frequent use.
13. Wheat unknown.	Wheat rarely cultivated.	Extensive wheat cultivations.
14. No commerce.	Trade limited to ships.	Extensive trade with English settlements.

1770.	1836.	1859.
15. Native laws in force.	Natives laws in force.	Occasional reference to English Courts, anxiety for English laws.
16. Huts badly ventilated.	Huts badly ventilated.	Huts badly ventilated, a few wooden houses.
17. Native dress in use.	Blankets in occasional use.	Blankets and imperfect European dress common.
18. Native food.	Native food, with pigs and potatoes.	Native food, with pigs, potatoes, and wheat.
19. Dead not interred.	Dead occasionally interred.	Dead almost always interred.
20. No half-castes.	A few half-castes.	Nearly 2000 half-castes.
21. No fire-arms.	Fire-arms and ammunition abundant.	Double-barrelled guns and ammunition abundant.
22. Tea and sugar unknown.	Tea and sugar never used.	Tea and sugar in frequent use.
23. No European settlers.	About 1000 Europeans in the country.	Nearly 60,000 Europeans in the country.
24. European ships plundered.	Ships occasionally plundered.	Ships never plundered.
25. Tobacco and spirits unknown.	Tobacco-smoking in use, spirits rarely used.	Tobacco - smoking universal, spirits occasionally drunk.
26. Iron, nails, and coloured clothes taken as payment for curiosities.	Gunpowder, tobacco, and blankets, taken in exchange for flax, pigs, and potatoes.	Money alone an article of exchange, no idea of interest for money.
27. Women subjected to much labour.	Women lead lives of labour.	Women do much labour.
28. Native cookery in use.	Native cookery in use.	Pots, pans, and native cookery in use.
29. Christianity unknown.	1500 Christians.	35,000 Christians.
30. Believed in a future state.	Believed in a future state	Believed in a future state.
31. Property in common.	Property in common.	Moveable property individualized, land occasionally,
32. Wars, tapus, feasts, subjects of conversation.	Wars, fire-arms, selling land, Christianity, the subjects of conversation.	Trade, ships, land, flour, laws, ploughs, horses, wheat, &c., the subjects.
33. Tribes kept apart by ancient feuds.	Tribes kept apart by ancient feuds.	Union of some ancient foes for mutual protection.
34. Stimulated to work by hunger.	Stimulated to work by hunger and the wish for fire-arms, &c.	Stimulated to work by hunger, and to obtain various articles of use and luxury.
35. The people distrusted each other.	The people distrusted each other.	With few exceptions the people trust each other.
36. "Come on shore, and we will kill and eat you all," were the defiant words addressed to some of the early navigators.	Several chiefs dying about this time exhorted their followers to protect the Missionaries, even if they waged war against the traders.	"Were we to turn against the settlers, we should be shutting up the road by which we receive many advantages," said Moanui, in his letter to the "Hawke's-Bay Journal," in 1857.

The reader is placed, as he peruses this statement, mid-way between two extremes. He is enabled to look back and see what has been done. He is enabled also to compare the present measure of attainment with the high standard of moral and social culture which Christianity is capable of affording to man, and see at once how much remains to be effected. But let him mark what deep-seated evils have been eradicated, and let him feel assured, that if the Maori race be not crushed by cruel and oppressive wars, and if the efforts hitherto put forth for their improvement be sustained with the same measure of Christian diligence and perseverance, results will be reached still more decided and encouraging.

There are some points in which the preceding table fails to bring out the whole of

the results which have been accomplished. Thus, for instance, it numbers the professing Christians among the Maoris at 35,000; whereas, if the statements of those who are best competent to give an opinion are to be accredited, heathenism in the land is but a remnant, and that one so rapidly hastening to extinction, that "nationally the land is Christian." Of the Christianized natives, probably one-fourth are Wesleyan, and three-fourths Church of England. The Romanists are not more than 3 per cent. of the entire population.

Interesting evidences continue to be presented of the strong hold which Christianity has taken upon the native mind, of the value the people attach to it, and the sacrifices they are prepared to make in order to secure amongst them the continuance of its

healthful ministrations. In the "Church Missionary Record" for November there was published *in extenso* an interesting journal of a visitation carried out by the Bishop of Waiapu throughout a large portion of those extensive districts which we reviewed in an earlier portion of this article, and which may with propriety be called Maori land. The Missionary stations in the Waikato district were visited. The country was crossed to the Bay of Plenty, and then the route lay through the villages along the coast. On entering the diocese of Waiapu a hearty welcome awaited the bishop. "We were now," writes the Rev. R. Burrows, "among a people who for several years have been under the immediate charge of a native pastor, with occasional visits from an English Missionary; and as we passed through this part of the Waiapu district, and witnessed the order and regularity with which the people attended the services of the church, the care which had been taken to prepare the candidates for the Lord's Supper, the respect with which both the native teachers and the congregations of the several settlements treated their pastor, and the general influence which he exercised over the people at large, I could not help remarking to the bishop, that here was encouragement for him to look out from among the people other men of like spirit whom he might ordain to this holy work."

"As we travelled along the coast, and met the various congregations which assembled to meet the bishop, the fruits of the past labours of those several Missionaries, who had for a longer or shorter period laboured among them, were very apparent. Waiapu is doubtless the most thickly populated native district in New Zealand; and, as far as I have had an opportunity of judging, I believe the most prosperous in a Missionary point of view. The whole population, with scarcely an exception, are church-going people, and, for the most part, are regular attendants at the Sabbath services. No doubt there are many among them to whom the language addressed to the church of Sardis might be applied—'I know thy works, that thou hast a name that thou livest and art dead;' but no man of proper feeling could pass through this extensive district, and meet, as we did, the large congregations of orderly and attentive hearers, assembled in commodious and substantial churches of their own building, and witness the serious behaviour of the numerous members who partook of the Lord's Supper, and then compare the present state of this people with what they were thirty years ago, and not exclaim, 'What hath God wrought!'"

Further on, at a place called Whareponga,

the long-trying native teacher of that place was presented to the bishop for holy orders; his name Raniera, a man of middle age and of sterling worth. Fully 500 natives witnessed the interesting ceremony. All along this portion of the East Coast substantial weather-boarded churches showed the anxiety of the Christian natives to afford becoming maintenance to the ordinances of Christian worship.

After a long day's journey, Turanga, the bishop's own station, was approached at dusk, when "the whole settlement turned out to welcome him home. There were middle-aged married couples, with their families, young married couples, grown-up young men and boys of all ages, besides a limited number of girls, who, for want of more accommodation in the way of buildings, are domiciled and taught in the bishop's own dwelling, which will account for then number being limited. The whole establishment numbers about 130."

Here various and important operations, having especial reference to the increase of native candidates for the ministry, and the consolidation of the native church, are being actively prosecuted. "Besides the ordinary routine of school duties, there were buildings in the course of erection—land being cleared, fenced, and ploughed—cattle and other stock being attended to, besides a variety of other employments suited to the younger children of the establishment, so that the whole settlement presented one busy scene of life and activity."

This institution promises to become "in a few years one of our first training institutions for native pastors and teachers. The bishop will have the advantage of constant intercourse with the young men who are brought together for instruction, and thus be able to judge of their fitness for the work of the ministry, or as teachers."

Here the native deacon to whom reference has been already made, Rota Waitoa, "having purchased to himself a good degree, and much boldness in the faith which is in Christ Jesus," was admitted to priests' orders, in the presence of a large congregation, several of whom had accompanied him to Waiapu for the express purpose of witnessing the ceremony.

We have introduced these fragments as specimens of the work which is going forward throughout New Zealand; and we introduce them that our readers may clearly understand what sort of people these Maoris are, whom Dr. Mackay designates as heathen savages, and whom he recommends to be sold as slaves.

With the progress of Christianity, intellectual and industrial action are awakened.

The native has learned to read and write. "One half the adult population can read their own language ; one-third can write, add up figures, subtract and multiply."* "There are New Zealanders who have a good knowledge of geography, arithmetic, and history ; are deeply read in the Bible ; are in holy orders ; lend money, and keep running accounts at banks ; treat women with consideration ; can read and write, and act as interpreters between settlers and their own race ; can calculate the cubic contents of a heap of firewood, the area of a plot of ground so as to sow two bushels of wheat to the acre, or the live weight of a pig, and its value at three-pence a pound, deducting one-fifth as offal ; are conversant with the principle of striking for higher wages ; can make gunpowder, hew stones, plough, and navigate ships with the compass ; can play chess tolerably and draughts inimitably ; can build wooden houses ; prefer sitting on chairs to squatting on the ground, and the wearing of spectacles to seeing imperfectly, &c."†

From statistical tables furnished by Thomson it appears, that during the four years from 1852 to 1855 inclusive, there reached Auckland and Orehunga annually some 2000 canoes loaded with native produce, manned by crews of from 8000 to upwards of 10,000 persons, and bringing to the Auckland market kits of potatoes, onions, maize, kumaras, cabbages, peaches, flax, bundles of grass to the amount of 6000 ; 2000 tons of wood ; fish, pigs, goats, ducks, fowls, tons of flour, geese, turkeys, kits of pumpkins, melons, grapes, apples, quinces ; upwards of 2000 bushels of wheat ; bundles of straw ; kits of raupo ; tons of kauri gum ; kits of pipi ; oysters ; bushels of bran ; amounting in value, in the minimum year (1852), to 6460*l.* ; and in the maximum (1854), to 16,180*l.* This sum, the produce of their own industry, is expended by them in articles promotive of their comfort and gratification. They buy ploughs and carts, horses and oxen ; they pay large sums for the erection of flour mills ; they purchase trading vessels ; they provide themselves and their families with articles of European clothing. "Not less than 6000*l.* were invested in flour mills in 1853 by the natives living within fifty miles of Auckland.‡

In 1850 it was calculated that every native around Wellington spent twenty-five shillings in buying European articles ; while it has been estimated that in 1858 upwards of

40,000*l.* of the customs revenue was paid by the natives, the net customs revenue of the Northern Island for the year 1857 amounting to not more than 79,689*l.*

We cannot refrain from noticing a state paper on native affairs drawn up by Mr. C. W. Richmond, in which he estimates the contributions to customs revenue of the Maori population of the Northern Island at not more than 15,994*l.* ; and that in the face of the fact that in two years (1855 and 1856) our merchants of Auckland shipped to the East Coast alone goods to the value of 52,479*l.* The native Secretary in a memorandum very properly corrects this error.—

"In estimating the amount of native contribution to the customs revenue, it should be remembered that, not only as consumers, but as producers, they swell the amount of receipts. In enumerating the causes operating to make the contributions in the Northern Island exceed, per head, those of the southern provinces, the large native population is omitted. It cannot be doubted that the produce of native labour, and the exports they mainly contributed to furnish, were not without considerable influence in causing the excess of revenue. It is believed that double the amount set down by ministers as the Maori contribution to the customs would not be an over-estimate of the revenue accruing through their means, exclusive of the land revenue. Their labour and productions support a considerable proportion of the European population, who, as consumers of all excisable articles, contribute a full share to the revenue.

"With respect to the balance of customs revenue, it should be remembered that the land revenue is also derived, indirectly, from the natives, and should therefore be added to that balance."*

Enough has been said to show that the position of the Maori is changed ; that he is become himself an agriculturist and an owner of flocks and herds. And as they become sensible of the value of land, and how by its cultivation their means may be increased, they become less willing to part with it. They understand it is better for them to sell the produce of the land than the land itself ; and that, when they sell the land, they are like the man who, thinking he might have all at once killed the goose that laid the golden eggs. Experience has shown them, that when they sell the land, the money soon goes, and they find themselves without any money or land ; but that, when they keep the land and till it, they have the land and the money likewise.

We desire to put the case of the Maori

* Thomson, vol. ii. p. 297.

† Thomson, vol. ii. pp. 293, 294.

‡ Thompson, vol. ii., p. 298.

* Papers relating to New Zealand, p. 55.

fairly before the British public, that they may decide whether his refusal to sell more land, and his anxiety to keep the last district remaining to his race intact from European purchasers, is, after all, an act of such exceeding criminality, as to justify a recurrence to extreme measures, which reduce the Maori to the alternative of surrendering rights secured to him by the treaty of Waitangi, or of defending them by force of arms. Let us hear the Bishop of New Zealand on this point, whose acquaintance with the Maori character and customs, renders his testimony of especial weight—

"If the present native population were to adopt English habits and ideas, the available country, which they at present occupy, would not be more than sufficient for the maintenance of their flocks and herds upon the proportionate scale of the same number of English colonists." Yet, "the belief is growing that this territory belongs to the province of Auckland; and that it is the outlet for its immigrants, and the means of its aggrandizement;" and "every vituperative epithet is heaped upon them in the public journals, and even threats used openly in the Provincial Councils, because they are accused of not selling their land fast enough to supply" the "thousands of immigrants brought into this country by the promise of free grants of land."

Thus the pauper settler who has land without the means of cultivating it, looks upon the Maori occupant as in his way, and abuses him as a nigger whenever he has the opportunity; and the Maori, with his usual acuteness, perceiving the unfavourable light in which he is regarded, and conscious that his position is becoming one of increasing peril, unites with his native brethren for defensive purposes. "It is but natural they should cling to their rights with more tenacity, the more they are called in question. Land-leagues are the unavoidable protest of an unrepresented majority against an aggressive minority."* Archdeacon Kissling takes the same view. "The keen eye with which the natives watch immigrant ships bringing accessions of Pakehas to their shores, the deep feeling heaving from their breast when hearing of the injudicious and exaggerated statements, set forth in local newspapers, relative to the rapid diminution in their population, the excitement caused by a movement of Europeans to effect a direct and individual purchase of land from them, together with other circumstances too numerous to be mentioned, are,

to a competent observer, significant enough to show that the New Zealanders mean to strain every nerve for the preservation of their nationality and their landed possessions.

"On the other hand, the new-come race assumes a bolder tone of voice, selfishness interferes, objects tempt, vice increases, the country is overrun by various characters, and the immigrants call for the land promised them before their departure from England."*

There is another consideration which may be introduced, with a view to facilitate a correct judgment on these questions. It is said that the Maoris are decreasing, and that with great rapidity. If it be so, then all that the colonist has to do is to be patient for a little while, and then the Northern Island, like the Middle Island, being depopulated of natives, will be entirely at his disposal without purchase or difficulty. It is scarcely worth while to knock a dying man on the head. It is also somewhat dangerous to approach too near a wounded lion. He is dying, but irritate him, and it will be found that the stroke of his paw is still dangerous. The Maori, if assaulted, will die hard. He will turn to bay, and defend the national fortresses of his island to the last extremity. The existing war is a proof of this.

But the native does not think he is dying out, nor do we think he is either. Let it be conceded that the Maoris have decreased, and that for some years. Still the race has been in a transition state, undergoing a complete change of habits and mode of life, affecting their dress, food, habitations, &c. That is always a weakly season: it is like the moulting time to a bird. It is sickly while putting off the old plumage, and while the new plumage is as yet but imperfectly developed, and to an inexperienced person it seems as though it were dying. But it revives and recovers its pristine strength. And so with a native race. Under influences such as have been referred to, it may dwindle down to a seed; and yet that remnant may become the root of a new and healthful and increasing population. It has been so in other cases, and if war had not intervened, we are persuaded it would have been so with the Maori; and we are still hopeful enough to think that, if this outbreak be brought to some happy termination, and the mutual distrust which has grown up between the races be removed, the Maori will yet increase and fill the districts which he now retains with a numerous and healthful population.

* Bishop of New Zealand, Papers relating to New Zealand, p. 7.

* Archdeacon Kissling, Blue Book, p. 117.



FIRST VISIT OF MISSIONARIES TO A SOUTH SEA ISLAND.

REVIVING INFLUENCES.

IN our last Number we referred to the Christian churches and congregations which, by the powerful action of the Gospel, have been raised up in many and benighted portions of our earth, and which have now assumed sufficient consistency to be regarded as permanent structures. In these lesser, yet deeply interesting results—the precursors, we are persuaded, of still more remarkable movements—we are reminded of the first grand expansion of the Gospel which is recorded in the Acts of the Apostles. There we see the type of all our present labours. Evangelists went forth from a common centre of action. Directing their steps to some commanding point, on which Christianity, when kindled, might be as a beacon fire on the hill-top, they commenced their work, often amidst great discouragement. Thus it was at Philippi. Specially directed thither, as much so as the Israelites were when the pillar of fire went before them in their encampments, the door seemed closed on their arrival. No synagogue of the Jews afforded opportunity for immediate action. A few women, meeting for prayer without the city, by the river's side, were Paul's first hearers, and one of these his first convert. Yet this sufficed to awake the watchful jealousy of the god of this world. A wild commotion ensued, and Paul and Silas, bitterly scourged and their feet made fast in the stocks, became, as often before, sufferers for the Gospel's sake. Yet here, in this very place, where its messengers were bound, the word of the Lord had free course and was glorified. Lydia, the one convert, multiplied into a noble band of devoted brethren; and Paul, whom the Philippian had revered, was subsequently supported, in his Missionary itinerancies to far distant parts of the earth, by the contributions of the Christian church which was raised up from amongst them.

And thus the work of evangelization wondrously proceeded. Christian churches were raised up here and there, points of light on the dark expanse of heathenism, like a few of the more powerful stars coming out, in a dark night, on the face of the heavens. They were to be found in the Holy Land, throughout Asia Minor, in Macedonia, Greece, and Rome; and it remained that these churches should reproduce themselves, and thus extend the knowledge of Christianity among the surrounding heathen. That they might be capable of this, great pains were taken in laying their foundations. Their members were brought together amidst the severity of a

fiery persecution, and thus the strongest possible security was obtained as to the soundness of the materials. The apostles were careful to expedite their organization, so that, being furnished with all due helps, their growth and efficiency might be in every possible way facilitated. Elders being ordained in every city, they were placed under their own native pastorate. Epistles were addressed to them, corrective of evils as they arose, and admonitory of diligence in the cultivation of the Christian character. In these they were reminded of their obligation to be as lights in the world, and to communicate freely to others that light of truth which they had so freely received themselves. They were told that as Christian churches they had special duties, which they were expected with fidelity to discharge, and that they existed, not only for the edification of the members, but the conversion of the world around. Built on sure foundations, they were intended to serve as lighthouses, where the flame of divine truth might be carefully maintained, and light be thrown on the troubled waves of this world. The Saviour assigned this high office to his church—"Ye are the light of the world." St. Paul expected the same of the churches which he had been instrumental in planting, and therefore he did not work out from a permanized centre, refusing to take up a new standing-point, until the localities which intervened between it and the original centre had been subdued by a gradual process; but having raised up a church in any given place, he left it there, and, passing on to some distant spot, commenced a new series of operations, looking back on the old points of labour, only just so much as might be needful to invest them with an increasing fitness for their work. To the Philippian he writes, "Be blameless and harmless, the sons of God, without rebuke, in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation, among whom ye shine as lights in the world, holding forth the word of life; that I may rejoice in the day of Christ, that I have not run in vain, neither laboured in vain." To the Corinthians he expresses his hope, that, when brought to a more healthful state, they would not be wanting in this their proper work, "having hope, when your faith is increased, that we shall be enlarged by you according to our rule abundantly, to preach the Gospel in the regions beyond you." And just as the churches were spiritual and earnest, they did so exert themselves. The church at Thessalonica is thus commended—"Ye were

ensamples to all that believe in Macedonia and Achaia. For from you sounded out the word of the Lord, not only in Macedonia and Achaia, but also in every place your faith to God-ward is spread abroad." And that the churches were led promptly forward to the fulfilment of this their true vocation is evident from the way in which St. John, in his third Epistle, speaks of the brethren and strangers, who, engaged as they were in the evangelization of the heathen, needed to be helped by settled and affluent Christians, like the well-beloved Gaius, "because that, for His name's sake, they went forth, taking nothing of the Gentiles;" and then he adds, "We, therefore, ought to receive such, that we might be fellow-helpers to the truth."

Christian churches of the present day have the same duties to perform, especially our new organizations among the heathen. They are surrounded by decidedly antagonistic influences, and in their vicinity, light and darkness, truth and error, come into direct and sharp collision with each other. In old settled and nominally Christian countries, there is a belt of twilight where these elements so fuse that it is difficult to say where darkness ceases to rule and light is in the ascendancy; but in heathen lands there is thrown around our Christian communities no penumbra of this kind. In those countries if the light were disposed to compromise, and to forego all further conquests, on the condition that it should be left in the undisputed possession of whatsoever it had already obtained, the energy of evil would never rest contented with a divided empire. There must be conflict, and light must prevail against the darkness, or darkness will extinguish the light. The continued existence of Christian organizations in the midst of heathenism depends on their being indomitably aggressive. Nor can the old churches at home derelict this great duty with impunity. Their desistence from it is a compromise with the world, which must be fatal to themselves; and under such a system of dishonourable tergiversation, they may continue to exist, but with a name to live whilst they are dead.

A church which is faithless to this high responsibility is not deserving of the name it bears. The world is not so enlightened, the truth of God is not so universalized, that the churches have no longer to discharge this high responsibility. There is no church, no congregation, which has not around it, in greater or less numbers, unconverted men who need to be brought to Christ. They may be as cold and dead under a profession of Christianity as in professed heathenism.

Their ears may be familiarized with Christian truths, and their intellects may have become conversant with them, and yet the heart be as estranged from God, and the life be as devoid of Christian consecration, as the far-off heathen who have never had any opportunities at all. But besides these, there are now, as of old, "the regions beyond," the unreclaimed wildernesses, in the subjugation and culture of which every settled church ought to be engaged. These Christian churches, dispersed as they are over a wide area—the great old centres at home, the new organizations on the frontier and in the midst of heathenism—all are most advantageously circumstanced for aggressive action. Were they all so endued with holy faith, and love, and zeal as to place them at once in effective working order, efforts for the salvation of souls and the world's regeneration might at once be commenced on a most extended scale.

Of the action of his churches, in relation to these high responsibilities, He who is Head over all things to his church is no inattentive observer. He was not so of old, and we may be assured of it He is not so now. When John was in Patmos for the word of God and for the testimony of Jesus Christ, he heard a great voice as the sound of a trumpet, and when he turned to see who it was that spoke, he beheld a glorious vision, one whom he promptly recognised, his divine Lord, whom he had known as the man of sorrows, but now wondrously glorified; as became Him to whom all power was committed in heaven and on earth. He was there in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks, holding the seven stars in his right hand. His professing churches, and the ministers of those churches, are then objects of his special concernment. He has expectations of service to be rendered, and He looks to see that those expectations be fulfilled, that his ministers be as stars, and his churches be as golden candlesticks. He looks to see that his ministers be as planetary bodies, shining not with an inherent but with a reflected light. As the planet has the sun for its centre, by which it is influenced, around which it describes its prescribed orbit, and from whence it receives its light, so that, becoming thus illuminated, it gives light to others, so is it with a faithful ministry. Christ is its sun and centre; around Him it describes its orbit of dutiful service; by Him it is ruled; to Him it looks for encouragement; from Him through the word it receives its light, and thus becomes a light to others; and a ministry thus faithful to its Lord is upheld by his right hand, as the pon-

derous globes are upheld by his almighty power in the position He has assigned them. He looks also to see that his churches be as candlesticks, holding up, in suchwise that men may perceive and be enlightened by it, the light of revelation. These Gospel times in which we live, when compared with the ages which have preceded them, are as the day which succeeds the night ; but when compared with the brighter period which awaits our world, when "the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold, as the light of seven days ;" and as in the night-season we light lamps in order that each, shining with the measure of brilliancy that belongs to it, may illuminate a portion of the darkness around, so the Lord has set up his churches, that, shining as lights, they may illuminate, in some measure, the spiritual darkness of the world. This is his purpose, and He is observant of the degree in which his high intentions are fulfilled. He walks in the midst of the golden candlesticks. He looks not on the outward appearance, for the Lord looketh on the heart. He notes the effectiveness of each, its fitness for the work, and its truthfulness in discharging it. He institutes, in this respect, a searching scrutiny. He did so of old, when He examined the Asiatic churches ; and as, with eyes like a flame of fire, He looked each through and through, He said, "I know thy works." In what condition did He find them ? Some faithful and effective, others the reverse. We have, in the pages of revelation, the records of the Lord's visitation of his churches, as well ministers as people, and his judgment upon them. They are ranged out before us, with a striking dissimilarity, in almost every possible phase of religious condition, the extremes of the series strongly contrasting with each other. We have the church of Smyrna, poor in temporalities, and poor in her own estimation of herself, yet rich, because dependent on Christ and on his fulness : we have the church of Laodicea, rich in temporalities, and rich in her estimation of herself, but poor, because self-complacent, and, in proportion as she was so, neglectful of her Lord : we have the church at Philadelphia, with limited capabilities, "a little strength," yet earnest, indefatigable in the use of them, while Laodicea is lukewarm, neither hot nor cold, neither openly opposed nor heartily consecrated to the Lord's work ; the expression "lukewarm" carrying with it a beautiful allusion to the tepid waters at Hieropolis and

Laodicea, in which the inhabitants loved to luxuriate and enervate themselves, so as to become unfit for action. And so with many professing Christians at the present time ; they love a lukewarm temperature, somewhat of the world and somewhat of religion : not all world, lest conscience be disquieted, and so mar their ease ; not all religion, lest conformity to the world be precluded ; but just the lukewarm medium, in which the man may enjoy himself, and yet keep conscience sleeping. There is Sardis, high in reputation, flourishing in name ; but all this, like the richly-ornamented bier on which the dead body lies in state, with a name to live whilst she was dead, and, unless revived, only remaining to be buried out of sight. "Remember, therefore, how thou hast received and heard, and hold fast and repent. If, therefore, thou shalt not watch, I will come on thee as a thief, and thou shalt not know what hour I will come upon thee." There is Ephesus, with much to admire, with works, and labour, and patience, but yet in danger ; for He who trieth the heart and the reins, perceived that the diminution of gracious affection had commenced. "I have somewhat against thee, because thou hast left thy first love ;" and this is a disease of the heart, which, unless arrested, must paralyze the whole body.

There is the same scrutiny now ; the same rigid investigation. He walks in the midst of the golden candlesticks ; He investigates each church ; He knows its state, and which of these ancient churches, in temperament and features, it most resembles. And undoubtedly there are now, as of old, some He can commend ; some, as well individuals as churches, who, poor in all other respects, are yet rich in the Lord ; some, like Philadelphia, zealous in his service, and anxious to enter in at every open door. But are there none like Ephesus, who, content with the praise of man, neglect to approve themselves to God, and whose works are not perfect, not filled up, like an ear of corn in the time of harvest, when there are found but a few grains in it, and those meagre and without fulness ? Are none like Laodicea, rich, self-satisfied, and self-indulgent, and, just in proportion as they are so, distasteful to the Lord ? Is there not generally throughout the Lord's churches a consciousness of great deficiency—not merely that feeling of short-coming which a devoted man has who measures his service by his sense of obligation, but that self-condemnation which a man feels who knows he might have done much more, but that the world has so intruded itself on his affections, that the Lord

has not had the heart, and has therefore been defrauded of the service?

Take the most favoured of the old and settled churches of Europe, whose names are most prominent in the great work of evangelization, at home and abroad: have they responded as they might have been expected to do, to all that God has done for them? Some of them, at least, are in the position of the Corinthian church of old—"Ye are full," "ye are rich." They have had peace within their borders, and the Lord has filled them with the finest of the wheat. Has grateful affection kept pace with outward privileges, and the large measure of wealth bestowed upon them yielded a proportionately large revenue for the Lord's work? Have they equalled in their large-heartedness the ancient Hebrews, when "they came both men and women, as many as were willing-hearted, and brought bracelets and earrings, and rings, and tablets, and all jewels of gold," &c., until they had brought more than enough for the service of the work? Has the present time witnessed the same readiness to part with superfluities, and to take from the store of personal luxuries and comforts, that the Lord's work might have enough? Or has so much been expended on conformity to the world, that even persons professing serious godliness have but little left to give to God? Is there not prevalent throughout the churches of our own land a deep-seated conviction, that in unction and spirituality, in holy tone and consecration, we are below our privileges, below our time, below the means of action at our disposal? that, instead of the going forth of earnest affections, the Lord is often grieved with dull hearts, and met with formal and perfunctory, instead of with prayerful, laborious, and self-denying services? And when God's providences afford new and marvellous opportunities for action, and important junctures occur in the history of kingdoms and nations, in which, by an effort corresponding with the magnitude of the opening, the Gospel might at once be placed in a position of commanding influence for a people's good, is there amongst us the ready appreciation of the emergency, and the prompt reply, "Here am I; send me"? Where are the Brainerds and Martyrs of former days? Where is the spirit of Paul, when he said, "None of these things move me, neither do I count my life dear to myself, so that I might finish my course with joy, and the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus?" Do not our own great and leading Missions require to be promptly and powerfully reinforced? And yet, so far from enlarging our sphere of action, is it not

a fact that we can do little more than supply the casualties which are made by sickness or by death? And our churches raised up from amongst the heathen, have they not filled us with solicitude, lest, instead of opening out in love to the heathen, they should narrow down into a selfish anxiety respecting themselves; lest they should make the European evangelist, instead of Christ, their centre, and lean on the resources of the Missionary body at home, rather than on the Lord's grace and their own honest efforts in dependence on that grace? We need our Christian congregations amongst the heathen to be as leaven in the mass: have we not had betimes reason to fear lest, instead of this, they might become nothing more than a piece of new cloth on an old garment, which never succeeds in bringing the threadbare parts into assimilation with its own newness? In short, at home and abroad, is there not a great deficiency? Is there an honest Christian, that, laying his hand upon his heart, could refrain from acknowledging, "I need to be anointed with fresh oil?" Is it not, then, just the moment when it might be expected that the Lord would visit his churches with gracious outgoings of his favour? The church of the Old Testament had its seasons of need, and did not holy men of old feel themselves emboldened to supplicate God for revival blessings? In olden times the people of God, brought back from captivity, prayed for a further liberation—a liberation from the narrowness and contractedness of a worldly spirit, and wrestled for a blessing when they cried, "Wilt thou not revive us again that thy people may rejoice in thee?" And had not such entreaties a marked and abundant answer, when "the Lord stirred up the spirit of Zerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel, governor of Judah, and the spirit of Joshua, the son of Josedech the priest, and the spirit of all the remnant of the people;" and they who had been so selfish as to dwell in ceiled houses while the Lord's house lay waste, "came and did work in the house of the Lord of hosts." And if in the twilight of the preliminary dispensation holy men felt the need of refreshings from the presence of the Lord, and found themselves emboldened to pray for such, and to say, "O Lord, revive thy work in the midst of the years," shall the churches which live in the full sunshine of revealed truth be less prayerful and expectant on this subject? When the New Testament church was in the weakness of infancy, and wholly unequal to the fulfilment of the great responsibilities which the Saviour, before his ascension,

devolved on his people—"Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature"—the Spirit in his advent endued her with unwonted strength. Nothing could be more arduous than the required duty—"Ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth;" and nothing more unequal to the exigencies of the moment than the scanty band of one hundred and twenty names gathered together at Jerusalem in an upper chamber. They from whom most might have been expected, because they had been so long under the instruction and training of the Saviour, had exhibited a more than usual measure of timidity; for although they fervently loved Him, they had all forsaken Him; and yet these men were to be witnesses (*μαρτυρες*), a word which bears the double meaning of witness and martyr; for so important was this great duty to be regarded, that, rather than prove unfaithful to it, his people were to prefer the surrender of their lives.

Never, in the future history of the church, could there occur a moment of more utter weakness. The duty lay before them, great, and glorious, and comprehensive. It was a giant's task, but they to whom it was entrusted had but an infant's strength. It was the opportune moment for a special interference, and the manifestation of the Spirit's power. They wanted power, and they were endued with it. Out of weakness they were made strong, and waxed valiant in the fight. These timid, shrinking men became bold as Jonathan when he said to his armour-bearer, "Come, and let us go over unto the garrison of these uncircumcised: it may be that the Lord will work for us: for there is no restraint to the Lord to save by many or by few." "And they went forth and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word by signs following."

In that great introductory manifestation, the Lord designed to teach his people what they would be justified in expecting at any subsequent period of their history.

Whenever the church should find itself weak, and without commensurate energy in the presence of great opportunities, then would be the time to seek and expect gracious visitations; and such has been her experience. The great promise, "I will pour out my Spirit on all flesh," when used in faith, has never failed to yield forth new unction. There have been reviving seasons in which the Spirit has come, sometimes like the dew upon the tender herb, sometimes with the fulness and freshness of

a summer shower. And now we need a new refreshing, for a like necessity has supervened. The position of the church is in no wise changed since the beginning of its history. There are the same responsibilities; there is the same work to be done. Around us is the world still lying in wickedness; and if there be with us, as with those first Christians before the advent of the Spirit, a want of power, the same great remedy is available, the same promise awaits our use. The promise of the Spirit was not so fulfilled on the day of Pentecost as to be terminated or shut up: it is as full of the oil of gladness now as it was then; and, whensoever pleaded in faith, will not fail to outpour fresh unction on the church.

Well, God's people have felt this, and they have been earnestly pleading that they might be endued with power from on high. There has been, during these many years past, a growing consciousness in the church that this was our great need, and holy men of God have been praying for it. With each new year, Haldane Stewart raised his voice, and summoned faithful Christians to prayer for a renewed outpouring of the Spirit of God. And yet now, when the answer comes, we are incredulous; when the Lord breaks up the stagnation, and men's minds begin to be powerfully moved on those subjects which, although of most importance, have been least regarded, men are astonished, and exclaim, "What new thing is this?" The people of God have mourned over the prevalent deadness, the dulness, the lack of fervent affections, the stinted measure of service, and they have prayed, "Awake, O north wind, and come thou south; blow upon the garden that the spices may flow forth;" and yet, when the Lord takes up their prayer in the way of answer, and gives the command, "Awake, O north wind, and come thou south; blow upon *my* garden that the spices may flow out;" and the wind comes, as it often has done, before, "a rushing, mighty wind," causing the branches to bend and the leaves to rustle, men are alarmed at the answer to their own prayers: they seem almost as though they would stay the movement, and reduce all things to their previous state of tame insipidity and feeble action. There have been—there are now—revivals. Some, aroused out of a deep sleep, have become suddenly and powerfully troubled about their souls. The isolated instances of conversion, the ones and twos of former days, have been multiplied into hundreds. From all sides the eager, earnest inquiry has been heard, "What shall I do to be saved?" and prayer has been resorted

to : in other words, God has been called upon as alone able to relieve such deep distress ; and from crowds of praying people, petitions for mercy have been put up in the name of Jesus. Is there any thing in this contrary to the genius and spirit of the Gospel ? Is the wind always blowing ? Is there not often a calm, and with it, betimes, a heaviness and unwholesomeness of the atmosphere, in which disease is generated, and life is in an unhealthy state ; and then comes the wind ? And is it not to the action of this element that the Spirit, in his movements, is compared ? Does He not act gently or powerfully as the necessities of the church require ? Does He not sometimes breathe softly as the south wind ; and does He not sometimes come with irresistible force and majesty ? Does He not act by gusts, by an intermitted, yet faithfully repeated and wisely regulated action ? And what if now we are in the midst of one of these remarkable manifestations ; shall we not awake to the grandeur of the moment, and wisely yet energetically, throw ourselves into the purposes of God, and, instead of doubting and questioning, pray and act ; pray that the movement, instead of diminishing in intensity, may deepen and strengthen, reproducing itself in many places ; and act, that it may be a blessed season for the salvation of many souls ! We want reinforcements. Let the standard of the Gospel be uplifted, and, while the disposition lasts, let men be enlisted under the banner of Christ !

What is there in these movements which justify us in recognising them as the work of God ? They have occurred in America, in the north of Ireland, Scotland, and Wales ; and homogeneous as these countries, in many respects, are, the first of these movements may be regarded as having helped to generate the others ; but now we trace a like awakening in a far distant part of the earth, and there, not amongst old and settled Christian churches, but amongst new organizations, which have hitherto existed with a feeble light, and on a limited scale, amidst masses of heathen. It is this which we propose to submit to a special analysis, pointing out the features in which it is identical with the movements which have taken place in our home churches.

And first the areas of revival influence in the old countries have been prepared for such visitations by Gospel teaching : and the populations, to a great extent, were thus rendered conversant with Bible truths. Yet of the knowledge thus acquired much remained barren and unproductive, and over the generality of men sin and the world continued to

be the predominating influences. The districts of Tinnevely, in which similar movements have manifested themselves, has been also under Christian husbandry of a very earnest kind for several years.*

This is so far satisfactory. We cannot understand a harvest springing up in a field which never has been sown ; but where this has been done, the springing may be retarded, and the seed delay to germinate. It is awaiting the quickening influence from above, the rain that, as it falls, fertilizes ; and when that comes, the change from apparent death to manifest life may be rapid and almost instantaneous, over the whole breadth of the field. Wherever there is faithful Gospel-teaching there should never be discouragement. Hard and unimpressed as the field may seem, the mighty power of God can clothe it with verdure. But the Lord would teach us that there must be "thorns and briers," until "the Spirit be poured upon us from on high." then "the wilderness shall be a fruitful field." Let ministers "sow the seed withal," and pray, and "then shall He give the rain of thy seed ;" and when He does so, we shall have "bread of the increase of the earth, and it shall be fat and plenteous."

Again, the thoughts which have occupied men's minds, and which have stirred their souls to the very depths, have been precisely those grand points which are most prominent in the faithful teaching of God's word—sin and salvation, the ruined state of man, and the means of recovery in Christ. In proof that in these important particulars the movement in Tinnevely is identical with those which have manifested themselves nearer home, we refer our readers to details already published in our Number for August last.†

The deep sense of need thus generated has led to an earnest frequenting of the means of grace. Just as a hungry man craves food, and as one sick applies for medicine, so the consciousness of spiritual wants brings men to the Lord's door, where they know they can only have relief, and keeps them waiting : and there they may be found "watching daily." Examples of this class of results have been already afforded : we add some few more. The Rev. W. Gray, in a letter dated September 10, 1860, writes thus encouragingly—

"Let me now go on with my account

* *Vide* Vol. 1860, p. 176.

† Ditto p. 177, &c.

of what I have seen in my visit to those places which God in his mercy appears to have especially blessed.

"I had reached Irlavandhur (one mile to the east of Melapatti, where our agent, Moses, is) on Wednesday evening, September 5. I spent the following day quietly in the tent, preaching in the evening to the heathen people in the town, and afterwards to our little congregation there. At about nine P.M., Moses, who had been away during the day at Mr. Vedhanayagam's weekly class, came to the tent, and we made an arrangement that I should meet the Melapatti people the following morning, and address them. Accordingly, at six o'clock A.M., I went over in my bandy, and in Moses' house (the church being altogether too small) I had the great privilege of addressing seventy-eight attentive hearers. Some had come from the neighbouring villages of Vadakapatti and Pillirainattham.

"I was astonished to find so many assembled, and when I compare this with the state of things four or six months ago, the change does really appear wonderful. I am quite sure that, six months ago, not all the wit and eloquence of man would have got twenty people together at that hour in the morning, or, indeed, almost at any other hour, in that village. To the Almighty Spirit let us give thanks, and rejoice. After service was over, and the people had gone, I had a long inquiry with Moses into the state of the congregation. I find that almost every member of the congregation in Melapatti (in all twenty-nine souls) has been awakened. Twelve heathen people have joined: thirty Pallars of the little village of Vadakkapatti have also come over, and are now under Christian instruction. All appear to be going on well, and growing in the knowledge and fear of the Lord. In the evening I went with Moses to Vadakkapatti to preach to the people. They all came together, and made up twenty-eight. They are of course very ignorant, having but just joined; but Moses says that several awakenings have taken place amongst them. As I was preaching, we were joined by David Perinbam, one of our permanent itinerating catechists, whom I had directed to meet me at Irlavandhur. After service he went, at Moses' request, to Melapatti, to spend the night with him, instead of coming to the tent with me. I mention this, that I may have occasion to tell you what he found with regard to the people. After Moses and he had supped together, the people came in for evening prayers. They first sang a Tamil hymn,

Moses' wife leading. They then proposed to sing another, and then another. So the time went on, and it was very late by the time that poor David, wearied with his long journey from Strivilliputthur that day, was able to get to rest, after prayers were over. At half-past three o'clock in the morning he was roused up again. The people had come for prayers, and he was enabled at that early hour to address them from the words, 'Those that seek me early shall find me.' These poor people are obliged to go out before dawn to their work, and for this reason it is their habit, ever since the blessed change came on, to meet together at that hour in Moses' house, to hear him read the word of God, and to join in prayer. You will remember that I once before mentioned this to you in one of my letters, telling you of an incident that had happened to Vedhanayagam. He had been spending the Sunday with these people, and had preached to them three times during the day. He retired to rest rather wearied, and was awakened at three o'clock the following morning by a rough voice crying out, 'Are you not up yet? May the Lord, by his quickening Spirit, uphold them always in this forwardness and diligence, even unto the end, for Christ's sake!'

In the immediate vicinity of Melapatti lies a group of villages, Sippipare, Irlavandhur, Pillirainattham, and Vadakkapatti. Amongst these villages two valued native agents are labouring, and in each of them a point of Christian vitality is in action. In the case of one of them, Sippipare, this is the more interesting because of former disappointments.

"Once, in Sippipare, there had been a congregation of no less than 500 Naicks. A fine large church had been built for them, and an active catechist had been placed amongst them. But they had come from a merely temporal motive, and so it was, that, when Mr. Every most rightly resisted their worldliness, they had all to a man relapsed into their original heathenism. Several years have now passed over, during which we have not had one person in the congregation, and even an attempt to get up a school has proved a failure. Jacob is now there, and I do think that, by the blessing of God, our work has begun on a more solid foundation."

Respecting these villages Mr. Gray continues—

"The light has begun, apparently, to expand in them. Good things, I feel a strong hope, may be, by God's grace, expected from them. It would be interesting to watch how

the work goes on, our prayers going up on their behalf. May God fulfil his servant's hopes, and grant that forth from their villages may yet go a power, which may be mightily effectual to the weakening of the great adversary's kingdom in these parts!"

From the more settled districts like testimony is afforded. The Rev. A. Dibb writes of the Pannikulam district, Sept. 17, 1860—

"The revival work in the Pannikulam district has decidedly progressed since I last wrote to you. It has extended to several more villages, and it has continued and deepened where it had already appeared. The heathen have been roused to attend to it. It has forced Christianity into their notice in a way, I believe, entirely unprecedented. But they do not appear to have been at all extensively the subjects themselves of the benefit. Except in a few marked cases, that benefit seems to have been limited to professing Christians, men with but a name to live in many instances, in the church but of the world, over whom we could do little but mourn, of whom our fears were many, and our hopes few; but still men within the pale of the church, under the sound of the Gospel, and having access to the ordinances of religion: so that I feel the lesson which this circumstance teaches to be a very powerful one. It is to show us that the outward means of grace are invaluable, even, where, for the present, they are not savingly useful. It is to give us a better understanding of Romans iii. 1, 2, &c., 'What advantage hath the nominal Christian; or, what profit is there of the mere means of grace?' Much every way; chiefly because to such are extended the knowledge of God, and the offers of mercy, which, though now ineffectual through the power of human corruption, may soon be effectual through the greater power of Divine grace and thus, finally, it is to show us how forbearing, and hopeful, and longsuffering we ought to be, even with those who for the present seem to be altogether unpromising."

The Rev. J. T. Tucker finds the same increasing desire for instruction among the people of his district, that of Paneivilei, South Tinnevely. He writes, Oct. 22—

"Although we have not been favoured with any apparent especial outpouring of the Spirit of God; yet I perceive a great increase of apparent real devotion among the Christians, and a shaking in the minds of the heathen in many directions. If it pleases God to spare us a few years longer to work, as we are now going on in this Mission, I calculate we shall have an immense increase of

converts; so that the time must come when the whole neighbourhood will be Christians in profession. Every corner of my large church is now filled with people at the noon-day service on the Sabbath. I feel it indeed a great privilege to be allowed to preach to such a number of souls on the all-important subject of eternity. Oh may the Lord pour down his Spirit abundantly on these poor people. Among the new converts there are upwards of a hundred in Perungkullam, the village to the south of the bungalow. Others, who joined us in the beginning of the year, are going on very satisfactorily, and I am just starting on a trip to baptize a good many of them. We have been working upon the heathen for some years, and now the strong hearts of many appear to be cracking at the repeated blows of the Gospel hammer."

The moral effects produced in the character and conduct of those who have come under the influence of these awakenings, are decisive and satisfactory. This is of first importance. Without it the whole movement would be a delusion; and accordingly this is precisely that feature of the work which opponents have most laboured to discredit.

It may be well, on this point, to enlarge our circle of reference so as to embrace the movements at home as well as abroad. On the subject of Irish revivals we give the following clear and satisfactory testimony—

"The work is decidedly prospering: if it is everywhere less spoken of, it is everywhere less spoken against. It is pursuing the even tenor of its course, blessing and being blessed. What it has lost in notoriety, it has gained in solidity and depth of piety. It was predicted by some that the excitement would have been transient, and leave nothing behind but heresies and divisions. Had it been of earth, this would have been the natural result. But the contrary has been the case. None of those who had exhibited genuine marks of having embraced the faith of the Gospel have been removed from it. The people manifestly grow in grace, and their love of the truth and for one another increases. There is no such thing as man-exaltation; there have been no revival preachers; the work has been carried on, sustained less by preaching than by prayer. During the whole of last winter, cottage and school-house prayer-meetings have been held universally, the people crowding to them, and conducting themselves with exemplary devotion. The men whose power of prayer has been most striking have been men who had previously lived most ungodly lives. Men who had formerly been a scandal and disgrace to the country, and had been most

zealous in drawing their neighbours off to haunts of iniquity, are now gathering them to the prayer-meeting, and conducting them to the mercy-seat. A very large amount of influence in favour of true Gospel religion is prevalent. The proportion of those who now serve the Lord, compared with former times, is as ten to one. The drunkard, the profane swearer, the open Sabbath-breaker, are scarcely to be met with. The Lord's-day is no longer a day of idleness and sport, even to the young. Public-houses, on market-days and fairs, are not now so much frequented by buyers and sellers; the business of the day is now commonly conducted in the street. The gathering of young people to dancing-schools and punch dances, which, in former times, was the occasion of much immorality, are entirely discontinued. The occupation of the dancing-master is gone. The greater amount of good appears amongst the labouring classes. The desire for instruction is very great, and their improvement proportionable. Old people are now learning to read; and persons who formerly were perfectly ignorant, and to whom all religions were the same, are now not only constant under the hearing of God's word, but impatient under any teaching where the atonement of Christ and the work of the Spirit are not prominently brought forward. Parents are much more alive to their domestic duties. Mothers are taking more pains with their household affairs, in the exercise of proper discipline in the family, and training their little ones 'in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.' There is far more peace and comfort under the poor man's roof, less quarrelling and disputing, and a much better system of economy. There is plenty now in houses where there was scarcity before, good clothing enabling the inmates to go out to worship, where formerly there was nothing but wretchedness and rags. 'If the good done by this gracious revival could be estimated by money,' said one witness, 'he would say the neighbourhood was richer now by thousands of pounds.' If so much precious seed be now sown broadcast, who can estimate the value of that harvest which, under the divine blessing, shall be gathered in by future generations?"

In Wales, also, like results are manifested. We quote from a pamphlet by the Rev. J. Venn, of Hereford—

"The effect upon the population generally has been highly beneficial, both in a religious and in a moral point of view.

" 'The impression left upon the community at large,' observes the Rev. D. Charles, 'has been very beneficial, in leading the mind to a deep-felt concern for the interests of another world; and this, I am convinced, is not in the large majority of instances a transitory feeling, but will remain a permanent influence for good. I understand that many of the corrupt practices which had still, notwithstanding our high privileges in Wales, too largely continued to prevail among the lower classes, have yielded, in a great degree, to the gracious influences of the Gospel, and the morals of the community have accordingly been considerably improved. Indeed, I might appeal to the circumstance that the principality was complimented, in several of our late assizes, for the very small number of criminals that appeared in the calendar. In more than one county it was *nil*.' Mr. Phillips informs me that nearly 3000 copies of the Scriptures have been issued during the last year from the depository in Carnarvon, being an increase of 900 on the issues of the previous year; and the Rev. D. Roberts, of Carnarvon, states that the Independents in that town have considerably increased their contributions to the Bible Society, and to the London Missionary Society; whilst in the county of Carnarvon there are either preparing for building, or in course of erection, or recently opened, no fewer than eighteen new chapels, with sittings for 5000 people, in connexion with that one body alone.

"There are numerous testimonies to the diminution of intemperance—that monster sin and disgrace of the whole kingdom, which has already thinned the ranks of professing Christians in Wales, and may yet thin them still more—that sin which all Christians and philanthropists will one day, it is to be hoped, unite together to repress, though now all the customs and usages of society seem to combine together to support and encourage it! One of Mr. Phillips's correspondents, quoted by him in his work on the revival, states, that in Aberystwyth eight publicans had taken down their signs and become total abstainers; another states, that at and near Bethesda, in Carnarvonshire, about twelve public-houses had been closed, partly from the falling-off of other customers, and partly from the change in the views of those that kept them. Another says, "The effect the revival has had on the community at large is wonderful. Drunkenness has all but disappeared for some time past. The inhabitants of my district are about 2000; but we have only two public-houses, and they have had

* Hon and Rev. W. Ward, at anniversary meeting in Belfast, June 20, 1860.

scarcely any business done in them during the winter.' Mr. Gee, of Denbigh, writing on the 13th of last February, says, 'Drunk-
enness is scarcely known in the neighbourhood. So much has it decreased, that the Mayor of Denbigh has not had a case before him since the 9th of November, except one, and he was a "tramp," an entire stranger to the town.' And another correspondent states that in the last winter fair at Carnarvon, the young men of the quarries, 'instead of spending their time in the taverns, drinking and feasting, held meetings to pray for the salvation of sinners, and to thank God for their own salvation.'"

Like facts exist in Tinnevely. We refer our readers to some marked details which have appeared in previous pages, more especially in Mr. Valpy's account of Ukkerankottei, published in our December Number; and to these we add a few more of these harvest fruits, gathered from subsequent accounts.

The effects of the revival on the conduct of the people in the Northern district is thus stated by the Rev. W. Clark—

"In the month of May the revival movement spread to this district. The first congregation affected by it was, that at Parvathipuram. An extraordinary excitement was produced. Many became deeply affected by a sense of their sins, and very diligent in their attendance on the means of grace. So earnest were they, that they attended prayers at church three times a day—in the morning at dawn, between five and six o'clock, that they might not be deprived of the opportunity of uniting in prayer by the ordinary occupations of the day, and that those occupations might not be interrupted by prayer. Nor was the change which had taken place confined to mere attendance on the outward means of grace. Their general conduct also underwent almost a complete reformation. Like all of their class, they were in the habit of drinking toddy and arrack, occasionally to excess, but, under the influence of this change, they have altogether abandoned the practice. In other respects, too, their conduct became greatly improved, and afforded much reason to hope that they had really been visited and renewed by the Holy Spirit."

From the Pannikulam district, the Rev. J. Gritton writes to the same effect. His letters refer to several villages, thus exhibiting more clearly the diffusive character of the work. Of the village of Atchampetti he says—

"We have cause to rejoice heartily in the

good which the Holy Spirit has wrought at Atchampetti. I cannot but think the work is God's own powerful energy among the people. My reasons for these statements are as follows—

"1. Church members formerly quarrelsome are now living in peace and love, with changed tempers.

"2. A good many have a deep sense of sin, a feeling of its abomination, and are heartily forsaking it.

"3. There is greatly increased prayerfulness and more study of the word of God, which seems to some at least among them more necessary than food. They appeal to it as the end of every question, and when their views are disproved from it, they submit.

"4. Parents formerly careless about their children bear them on their hearts in prayer, and seek their good.

"5. There is, in some few cases, the birth and growth of a Missionary spirit, leading the Christians to care for and love the perishing heathen.

"6. There are cases of decided conversion from heathenism arising from this movement.

"7. There has been a wonderful increase of regularity of attendance in the house of God."

Four days after, we find him at another place—

"I write this to let you know of my visit last evening to another of the revived churches. It is the Pannikulam congregation, ten miles to the west of this (Pannikulam). Our service, to which some twenty heathen came, making a gathering of eighty-five or ninety, was very solemn. I preached on Matt. xxi. 10.—'The whole city was moved, saying, who is this?' The results here on the life of the church, and on the social condition of the people seem most blessed. Two things which fell under my own observation greatly pleased me; first, the exceeding Christian beauty of their faces, some of them seeming to me as really beings of a world of purer atmosphere and more loving affections. The second thing was their ability, which I tested after service, to give a reason for the hope that is in them."

And from a third locality he bears the same testimony.

"I reached this place (Kallattikenaru) on Saturday morning, and have held service with the people five times, had intercourse with several different individual members, examined the children, and spent two hours in the village, going to the houses of the Christians.

"As far as I can judge, this place has been

visited by a gracious outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Some of this people went in July to the west, and came back awakened. In August, or late in July, Mark (whom I knew a very unsatisfactory reader in Madras 1857, but who is now full of zeal and love), and two or three others from Ukkerankottei, came here preaching and praying. The results of these efforts followed up by the devoted zeal of the catechist here, a young man of great power, appear to me very great.

"There is greatly increased regularity at prayer. Three heads of families, once shameful drunkards, are now sober, and, to all appearance, pious: a man who was full of anger and passion, so that none dared reprove him, and who confessed to me his previous extremely sinful life, is now quiet, loving, and his very nature changed. Another, whose common reply to the catechist when invited to church was, 'Let the Committee pay me well and I will come,' is now the foremost to be in the house of God. These things are cheering. The intelligent interest of the people strikes me. There are more Bibles in the hands of this people when in church than I have seen in other congregations put together. The women are greatly changed, and contrasted with our Pannikulam women, for instance, are intelligent, well-informed Christians. I found this out chiefly on two occasions. First, when I sat down with them yesterday at the midday service, and went over, in a conversational way, my morning sermon on Psalm cx. 7; and, secondly, when this morning I told the catechist to examine them in the article of the Creed, 'I believe in the Holy Ghost.' One fact struck me as deeply interesting. There is here an old woman who, in former years, suffered much for Christ. She is husbandless and lonely, but in her loneliness enjoys the sense of God's love and blessing. She has won the love of the boys and girls of this village, and her house is the scene of frequent prayer-meetings for these dear little ones. I saw them, and could not but think that not a few of them were really the children of God, so loving, gentle, and intelligent. I noticed with respect to these and some of the adults of this place, that same spiritual beauty of face which attracted me so much at Ilandakulam, and, to a less degree, at Atchampatti. It is not to be described, but it reminds me of ordinary scenery viewed under some peculiar and beautiful glow, by which it is made more than fair—a house, or tree, or lake, under such lights as Turner or Mulready have taught us to love.

"I might mention as a good point the se-

rious prayerfulness of the people in the house of God. Till service begins many of them stay on their knees in prayer, or read attentively from the Bible or Testament. During the sermon you see lips moving in prayer, and eyes raised imploringly, while at the close they remain some time in silent prayer before departing."

The importance of such results is indeed great. If it be the purpose of the Lord to increase the effectiveness of his churches throughout the world, the first great requisite is, that the influence of Gospel truth on the hearts of the people be so deepened and strengthened that it come forth with more decided manifestation into the character and life; that thus the Gospel may be commended to the world around, and its superiority as a principle of action vindicated; for on this subject men are incredulous. They are possessed by the same scepticism which Satan exhibited when he said, "Doth Job fear God for nought;" and when he scoffed at the possibility of the human heart being so raised from its ruins as to entertain a disinterested principle of attachment to God. And when disciples accrue, and men come forward with confession of sin, and desire to lay hold upon the promise of salvation in Christ Jesus, the world sneers, pronounces them hypocrites, watches for their halting, and, unless it be silenced by a superiority of conduct so decided that it cannot be gainsayed, concludes itself justified in rejecting a religion which makes men in nowise better than they were before. Hence the great stumbling-block to the progress of genuine Christianity has been the inconsistencies of its professors. The temple of old was beautifully decorated with carved work and precious stones, and all the artistic skill which the time could command was employed in embellishing the structure. Its singular beauty was designed to attract the attention of the heathen, and lead them to inquire after Him to whose glory it was erected. But the Lord's people and churches now are designed to be clothed with richer and more honourable attractions—with that holy consistency, that blamelessness and fidelity in the discharge of the various relations of life, by which they may best adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things. It has been no unusual thing to find churches and individuals conversant with the truth of the Gospel, and yet remaining without any of those decided results in the character and life which might be expected from the communication of such a message of grace and love. The people are well-instructed; they have a clear understanding of the great truths

of Scripture, and, if required, will express themselves suitably on these subjects; they will also readily conform to all which may be requisite to sustain such a measure of order and credibility as may help to confirm them in the persuasion that they have the substance, and not merely the name of Christian profession. But more than this is needed. Churches, in order to be effective, need to be like that of Thessalonica of old. The disciples there were "ensamples to all that believe in Macedonia and Achaia;" and thus honourably attested and commended, it is not surprising that from them "sounded out the word of the Lord, not only in Macedonia and Achaia, but also in every place" their "faith to Godward was spread abroad;" and this testimony the Gospel of Christ must have, if it is to be vindicated from the unjust disparagement to which it has been subjected, and set free to go forward on its mission of love throughout the nations of the earth. How can we expect that Romanists will arrive at the conviction that their's is an adulterated Christianity, and must be cast away in order to make room for that better faith which the Scripture, in its purity, is able to furnish forth, if they perceive that Protestants, who profess to be thus taught, as a body are not superior in moral conduct to themselves, and live in the practice of the same iniquities? How can Christianity spread amongst the heathen, if there be nothing distinctive and superior in the character and conduct of native Christians? If the churches of God were of old charged to be fruitful, and admonished to consistency and a holy consecration to God's service, is it less necessary now? These churches are to be found in diverse lands: far off on the icy shores of Labrador and Greenland, and in the dreary wildernesses of the American continent, as well as amongst the tropical paradises of Polynesian lands. Their nascent lustre is illuminating the darkness of Asia, and cheering Africa with the prospect of her coming regeneration, when Ethiopia shall lift up her hands unto God. Planted in various regions, and consisting of men of various languages, they profess alike those grand truths of the everlasting Gospel, which are essential to the salvation of souls. But the value of each one of these organizations depends on the purity of its doctrines, the spirituality with which they are held, and the holy zeal with which these churches give themselves to the great work of evangelization. Perhaps it may be God's purpose to accelerate the action of his truth. Every thing else in human affairs has been wonderfully expedited, and advances with a

rapidity which in previous generations was unknown. Wars, which used to drag on from year to year, are decided in a single campaign, and momentous questions, involving the settlement of nations and the rise and fall of empires, are solved by a few, although sanguinary conflicts. Like the flight of the comet as it approximates to its perihelion, the onward course of human events is marked by an increasing rapidity, as though we were approaching some great crisis. And shall the affairs of Christ's kingdom be excluded from participation in that providential force which is urging forward all things, and continue, as though it were obsolete and out of time, to progress at a tardy pace? One of old said, "I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting Gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation and kindred and tongue and people." As yet this is far from being the case. We have not yet the Gospel message thus universalized, and going forth, as on angels' wings, to visit the numberless regions of our earth where it is as yet unknown. But it may be the Lord's purpose to give it more accelerated action, and, as with an electric touch, to prepare his churches for a great increase of usefulness. May a revival of this nature be vouchsafed to every congregation in our land, to every church raised up from amongst the heathen!

And we have hopes it will be so. We perceive the first scintillations of the newly-kindled fire; the buddings forth of more gracious affections. There are symptoms of fresh growth in the trees which have been planted in the Lord's garden; the vine begins to flourish, and the tender grape appears, the pomegranates bud forth, and the mandrakes give a smell. There is a stir amongst our churches in heathen lands. As their own hearts are warmed by a more invigorating apprehension of Gospel truth, they are being moved with compassion towards their heathen brethren, and new efforts are being initiated. These efforts are of that kind which are most valuable, and which we have long and anxiously looked for. They are not of a formal and official character, suggested by the European Missionary, and carried out by paid agents. They are the spontaneous movement of the people themselves—that natural, unsolicited effort, which is the result of increased vitality. A man oppressed with sickness lies extended on his bed. He lives, but the pulse is feeble; and languid, and disinclined to exertion, his usual avocations are suspended. Let the sickness be removed, and the man

feels himself well again, and he at once starts into action. And so it is with these churches. Many of them have been like the sick man: they have been living, yet with a feeble life. The Saviour stands beside them, as He did beside the couch of Simon's wife's mother when she lay sick of a fever—"But He came and took her by the hand, and lifted her up; and immediately the fever left her, and she ministered to them." And now perhaps He is just, in the same way, removing debility and consequent inertness, and infusing new vigour into these churches, that they may arise and minister to Him in the service of the Gospel. How touching the description given of the people of Ukkirankottei, meeting together for prayer after the noon service of the Lord's-day, and then going forth in little companies of twos and threes to seek out their fellow-sinners, and address to them the stirring invitation, "We are journeying unto the place of which the Lord said, I will give it you; come thou with us, and we will do thee good; for the Lord hath spoken good concerning Israel." At this village a regular Society has been formed, with its Secretary and Sub-Secretaries, for the purpose of appointing and sending forth catechists to labour among the heathen of the district of Tinnevely. Already two of them, Mark and Saththianadhan, have begun to labour at Putthur. This has been entirely the act of the native Christians themselves, under a strong sense of their obligation to exert themselves for the salvation of their perishing countrymen around. "This," observes the Rev. W. Gray, "appears to me a remarkable and important step in the history of the Mission."

We are of the same conviction. For the sake of our converts themselves, as well as in compassion to the heathen, such aggressive action is indispensable. At home and abroad it is the same. Churches and congregations can preserve their spirituality only in proportion as they are living and active.

The New-Testament standard must be recovered, when all spiritual persons, made it the great business of life in every possible way to give furtherance to the Gospel; so much so, that their lawful occupations were subordinated to this chief object. The pages of the New Testament, if carefully considered, and the varied notices dispersed throughout the Epistles and Acts brought together, will be found to afford the most ample testimony to the energy with which Christian men and women gave themselves to this as to their proper work. They felt they were the Lord's servants; that they had

a rare and precious talent committed to their charge; they had the fidelity of the attached, instead of the unwillingness of the unprofitable servant. It was in this spirit that Aquila and Priscilla acted. Now we find them in Asia (Acts xviii. 1, 2); and then at Rome (Rom. xvi. 4; and, again, in Asia (2 Tim. iv. 19); yet wherever they were they prosecuted, as they had opportunity, the same great work of being fellow-helpers to the truth; and how important the services they rendered may be estimated from Paul's expressions respecting them—"Greet Priscilla and Aquila, my helpers in Christ Jesus; who have for my life laid down their own necks; unto whom not only I give thanks, but also all the churches of the Gentiles." Similar instances might be multiplied. The whole body of believers was then recognised as constituting one "royal priesthood;" whereas, in later days, from this priesthood the laity were excluded, and it came to be regarded as limited to the clergy. They alone were supposed to be charged with the communication of religious knowledge and instruction, the laity being reduced to the position of mere recipients, each for himself, without bearing in this respect any relation to his brethren around. It was the old Jewish distinction between priests and people revived, the people being incapable of any religious ministrations, except through the agency of the priests. The reality of this figure still exists. The priesthood, in its multitudinous offices, is absorbed into the person of Christ. He is now the priesthood, and through Him alone can acceptable religious service be rendered by any of the children of men. But we all, both clergy and laity, are the church, and through Him each individual has direct access to God, and express authority to go forth and do spiritual service amongst his fellow-men. We do not at all mean to confuse the respective duties of clergy and laymen. The clergy have their own peculiar sphere of action—"It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching, or ministering the sacraments in the congregation, before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same." But there is for the Christian laity a wide and important sphere of action; and as of old, so now, they may, and ought to be, evangelists, furtherers of the truth, and fellow-helpers in the service of the Gospel.

May such a spirit be vouchsafed, and a divine energy pervade the whole body of Christ's professing people. Well may we take up the language of our liturgy, and pray—

"O Lord, arise, help us, and deliver us for thy name's sake.

"O God, we have heard with our ears, and our fathers have declared unto us, the noble works that thou didst in their days, and in the old time before them.

"O Lord, arise, help us, and deliver us for thine honour."

We have thus brought out those grand distinctive features in this movement by which it may manifestly be recognised as the work of God.

Other points remain to be considered. In India, as in Ireland, there have been physical manifestations, and they require close consideration. We propose to deal with them in a separate paper. Such things are not necessarily connected with revivals; but when a powerful movement of this kind takes place, they are not unlikely to spring up concur-

rently. They need to be promptly and wisely dealt with; otherwise, if neglected or incautiously treated, they will not improbably develop themselves into such extravagances as to afford to the great enemy the opportunity of commencing a counterwork. They are incidental, not ingenerate. They ought not to be permitted, therefore, to discredit the character of a work which is bearing its own legitimate fruits; and yet do they require, on the part of those who are in charge of congregations at such a time, divine wisdom to detect whatever is inconsistent with, and injurious to, the work of God, and holy resolution to repress and remove it.

It is with thankfulness we are enabled to state, that, at a crisis so important, such desirable qualifications have been graciously afforded to our Tinnevely Missionaries.

LIGHT IN THE PACIFIC.

THE vast extent of the Pacific Ocean is studied over with insular groups and detached islets, divided, according to their physical aspect, into three classes, low, median, and high. "The low islands are coral formations, very slightly elevated above the surface of the waves, or only left dry at ebb-tide, and are not discernible at a very small distance, unless vegetation has established itself upon them, usually that of the cocoa-nut tree. The median, or hilly islands, are limestone masses, varying in height from 100 to 500 feet, probably of coral origin, crystallized and elevated by volcanic action. The high islands rise from 2000 to 13,000 feet, and generally present a conical form, exhibiting indubitable marks of volcanic eruption, either on the rocks of which they are composed, or in volcanoes at present in a state of activity." Of the latter class many are of surprising beauty, earthly Edens rising out of the deep waters of the ocean. As a specimen of these, Rarotonga might be selected, the largest island of the Hervey group, and nearly 700 miles south-west of Tahiti.

"It has a reef-bound coast, shelving slightly seaward, then sinking perpendicularly thousands of feet towards the foundation of the sea. Against this barrier the mighty waves of the Pacific, of deepest blue, rise in majestic grandeur to a height of more than twenty feet, then, curling over, break in innumerable myriads of silvery-white spray, and dash in subdued yet graceful beauty on the shore. A long, white, sandy

beach, varying from ten to a hundred feet wide, forms a natural margin to a comparatively level tract of land, round the whole of the island, and which is richly and constantly covered with fruitful groves of chestnut, cocoa-nut, bread-fruit, and banana trees. Beyond this, inland, there is, for the most part, a long, low slip of marshy ground, cultivated as 'taro' swamps, at whose base rise hills innumerable; then deep, wild, ragged, fertile valleys intervene between another range of higher hills; then other valleys; and thence, hill on hill, and mountain on mountain, piled on each other in rich variety of size and form and verdure. Some of them present a broad, bold, black basaltic appearance; others, yielding to the effects of time and weather, reveal a decomposed red sandy soil; while others betray their heterogeneous origin, by conglomerated masses of pebble, sand, and fragment rock. For the most part, however, both hills and valleys are covered with deep alluvial earth, yielding an abundance of trees and shrubs, and fruit and fern, which cover the highest mountains, whose lofty summits are seen sixty miles at sea."

But the very loveliness of this home served only to bring out in stronger contrast the degradation of the human inhabitants. The strength and beauty of the human form remained, but the moral image was entirely effaced. "Awfully dark was their moral

* Gems from the Coral Islands, vol. ii. p. 2.

character, and, notwithstanding the apparent mildness of their disposition, and the cheerful vivacity of their conversation, no portion of the human race was ever, perhaps, sunk lower in brutal licentiousness and moral degradation than this isolated people." And such they continue to be in those islands which remain under the influence of heathenism.

On these benighted regions the Sun of Righteousness dawned, with healing on his wings, some sixty or seventy years ago; and ever since, his regenerating light has been moving westward, illuminating one group of islands after another, arresting the onward course of vice and of depopulation, and diffusing amongst these widely scattered families new elements of health and life. From group to group, and from isle to isle, the knowledge and influence of Gospel truth has wonderfully extended itself. Each church, as it rose out of the depths of heathenism, identified itself with the glorious work to which it owed its existence, and increased, by its reinforcements, the army of evangelists, which, from various centres, still continue to go forth to subdue the natives to the yoke of Christ; and numberless native agents, devoted and trustworthy, are strengthening the hands of the European Missionaries, and enabling them to extend far more widely, than if left single-handed, the Gospel net in the waters of the Pacific. In March 1797 the first Missionaries reached Tahiti. In 1808 the light began to touch the Georgian islands. In 1821, the first island of the Hervey group, Aitutaki, was visited, and two native teachers located there by the Rev. J. Williams. The evangelization of Man gaia, another island of the same group, was similarly commenced in 1825; and in little more than a twelvemonth after the discovery of Rarotonga in 1823, the whole population of the island had renounced idolatry.

The Society isles had also been reached by native teachers from Tahiti: and the Samoa, or Navigators Islands, became the next point of conquest. In August 1830, the cloud-capped mountains of Savaii, were discovered; and amongst these islands a great and effectual door of usefulness was opened.

The Navigator group, lying in the vicinity of the Friendly Islands, the Fiji group, the New Hebrides, New Caledonia, and numerous solitary islands, present a central and commanding position for evangelizing and commercial purposes. Savash, the largest of the group, is some 250 miles in circumference. "The mountains of this superb island are very lofty, and visible at a dis-

tance of sixty or seventy miles. These gradually increase in height to the centre of the island, and are covered and crowned with noble forests." Upotu, the next largest, is in circumference between 150 and 200 miles. "The mountains on this island are richly clothed with verdure to their summit; and in the north-east parts of the island they present a variety in their form and character, which in some situations renders their appearance romantic and sublime; in others, soft, luxuriant, and beautiful." One small island, Aborima, which signifies the hollow of the hand, is of remarkable beauty. The crater of an extinct volcano, it looks from without barren and uninviting; but when, through the one small opening by which it is accessible, the interior is reached, nothing more unique or beautiful can be conceived. "The island is a basin, most regularly scooped out, ascending with a gentle slope from the centre to the circumference;" and there "not a barren spot is to be seen, but one verdant mass of tropical vegetation," the native dwellings appearing half revealed among the trees of cocoa-nut, bread-fruit, and banana.

The work to which we have so far referred has been that of the London Missionary Society and its agents. There are, however, other and independent centres of Missionary operations in these seas, which may not be passed over. In 1820 the Sandwich Islands were taken up as a field of Missionary labour by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. A little more than thirty years after, the same Missionary Board was enabled to report, as the result of its labours, that the Sandwich Islands had become a Christian nation, and might rightfully claim a place among the Protestant nations of the earth. And now the churches in those islands have become reproductive, and are putting forth efforts for the evangelizing of other groups in the Pacific Seas. A Missionary Society has been formed by the Sandwich-Island Christians, and native Missionaries sent forth, the field of labour selected being Micronesia, embracing "a large extent of ocean, reaching from the Mulgrave Islands in the east, to the Ladrone Islands in the west. There are two classes of islands included in this extent of ocean—the high islands, of volcanic origin, and the low or coral islands. The high islands are rise two or three thousand feet above the level of the sea. They are covered with verdure from the summits of the mountains to the shore, and produce a great variety of tropical fruits and vegetables. The number of people on these high islands is not known. "The other islands

which are much the most numerous, are the low or coral islands. All these have the same characteristics. They rise only from five to twenty feet above the surface of the water. They are sometimes called lagoon islands, because they all, or nearly all, encircle a body of water called a lagoon. This is of various dimensions and shapes. Its size varies from ten to eighty or a hundred miles in circumference. This water is nearly as smooth as an inland lake. Around the lagoon is a belt of land, or reef, from one-fourth to a mile in width. Part of this outside belt is under water, and forms a reef upon which the surf breaks. This reef is often dotted by a large number of small islets, distant from each other a mile or more. Sometimes the land is continuous for fifteen or twenty miles. In this belt, or reef of land, there is usually a break, occasionally two or more, forming a channel into the lagoon, often sufficiently deep for ships of the largest size to enter. In other cases there is only a boat channel. The Kingsmill and Marshall Islands belong to this class. But little soil is found on these low islands."

Many of these islands are inhabited by a vigorous, well-formed race of people; the population of the Kingsmill Islands being estimated at above 40,000; that of the Marshall Islands at 15,000.

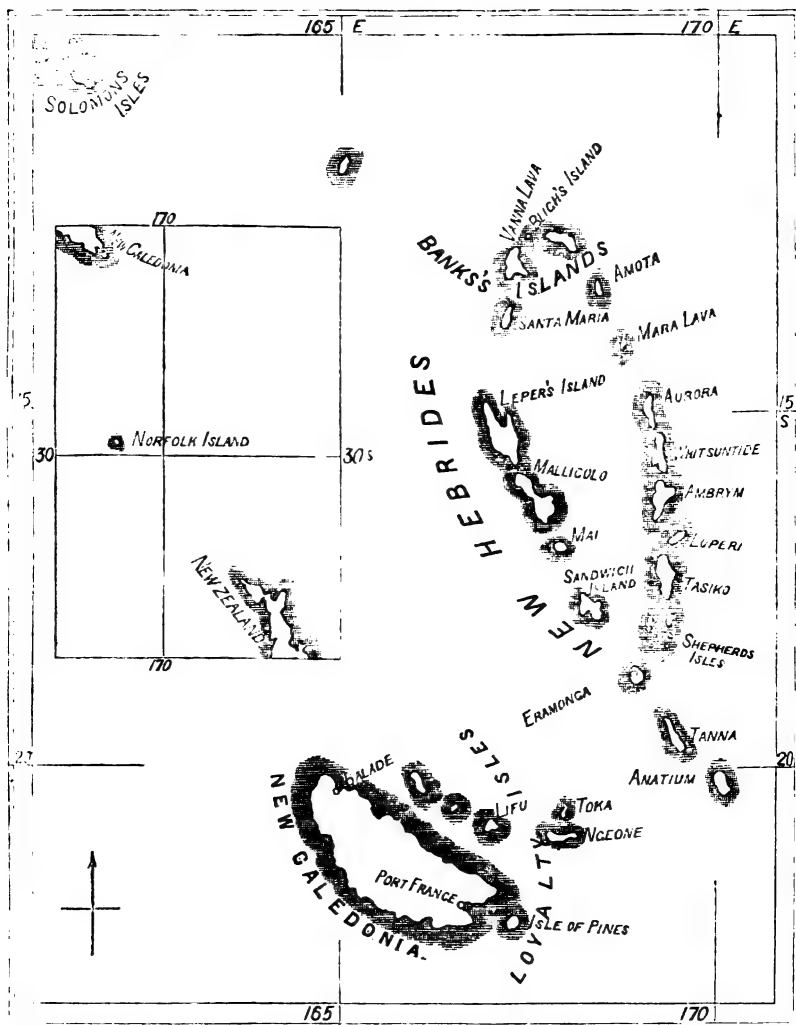
There are other groups of islands where the Wesleyan Missionary Society has been prosecuting its labours: the Friendly, or Tonga Islands, situated between lat. 18° and 25° S., and long. 173° and 176° W. They consist of three distinct groups, the most southern the Tongataboo Islands, some of which rise to a considerable height; the Kabai Islands, the central group; and the Havau Islands to the north. The work of the Wesleyan Missionary Society commenced in 1822. From the Friendly Islands Missionary effort extended itself to the Fiji group, about 360 miles to the north-west, and comprising some 150 islands, of which 100 are inhabited, the population being estimated at 200,000. In Lakemba, one of these islands, native agents were placed in 1829; being followed by an European Missionary in 1835. "The people were found to be amongst the most degraded of the Pacific islanders, and delighted in deeds of blood and cannibalism: hence the trials of the Missionaries were many, but and now, after a long, and dark, and laborious winter season, the spring-time of success is opening with large and increasing blossoms of hope.

One other centre of occupation in these seas remains to be mentioned, that of New

Zealand, through the joint action of the Church Missionary and Wesleyan Missionary Societies changed from a heathen land of hideous cannibalism to a profession of Protestant Christianity. Here, as in the Sandwich, Hervey, Samoan, and Friendly groups, instead of dark heathen, we have a Protestant population, and from this point native Christian action ought long since to have been pushed forth to the New Hebrides. It would have been for the immense advantage of the Maori people. It would have directed their energies into a wholesome channel, have materially aided in preventing the revival of a warlike spirit, and lessened that intensity on the question of land which has so unhappily involved them in a deadly strife with the colonial population of those islands. What the future of the Maori race may be cannot be predicted; but should they be spared from extermination, and, as a race, preserved, we trust that the Maori churches will imitate the example of those in the Sandwich Islands and other settled Christian communities of these seas, and commence at once the healthful exercise of Gospel communication to other lands. We are led to make these observations the more, because in the narrative which we append of a cruise to the New Hebrides in the Bishop of New-Zealand's Mission ship, a Maori teacher, who accompanied our Missionary, the Rev. B. Y. Ashwell, found himself able to converse with the people of Eromanga, and relate to them the triumphs of the Gospel in his own land. Why, then, should not the Maori church of New Zealand have its Missionary Society, and send forth its representatives to help on the work of evangelization throughout the vast Pacific?

There are groups of islands where that work has only just commenced; and there are others still entirely untouched. We shall mention some of them. The Paumotu Islands, a large cluster of reef and lagoon islands to the east and north-east of Tahiti: islands which would long since have been evangelized but for the seizure by the French of Tahiti, and the utter inability of the churches of that and the sister island of Eimeo to act with Christian liberty, and put forth efforts for the extension of Protestant Christianity.

The Marquesas, situated between 7° and 9° of south latitude, and 138° and 142° west longitude, a fine group of islands, of the high, volcanic class, beautiful and fertile, and well-peopled, notwithstanding repeated but not well-sustained efforts from Tahiti and America to introduce the Gospel, remain



shrouded in all the dismal wretchedness of heathenism.

But nearer to New Zealand, and within easy access of its shores, lie the New Hebrides, Loyalty, and Britannic groups. Of these, several islands have been approached, partly from the Samoas, and partly by the Missionary efforts of the Bishop of New Zealand in his Missionary ship.

To these islands we shall refer, so far as our space permits us. New Caledonia is one of the largest of the Western Polynesian Islands, being more than 300 miles long and seventy or eighty broad. Christian teachers were planted here in 1841. But just as the hearts of the people began to open, persecution arose, followed by prolonged and deadly wars. The people of the Isle of Pines maintaining a desperate strife with the inhabitants of the southern portions of New Caledonia slew nearly the whole of the natives who professed Christianity, and the teachers were obliged to be removed. At length the fierce passions of the natives seemed to have exhausted themselves, and a more tranquil condition of the tribes held out the hope of a speedy recommencement of Missionary effort.

"In 1852, the Bishop of New Zealand visited New Caledonia, and he was then much gratified in reporting a more peaceful state of the tribes. One of the principal chiefs of the island urged a lengthened stay, in order to be instructed. The decks of his little Missionary vessel were crowded night and day by natives, who were not only friendly, but anxious to be taught, and they urgently requested that an English Missionary might come and reside with them. Before, however, this could be secured, the French Government had taken possession of the land, and now number it among their possessions in the Pacific. How far this possession will prevent any Protestant Missionary Society in England or the Australian colonies from again making attempts to instruct the natives, has yet to be seen."*

North-east of New Caledonia, and ranging from south-east to north-west, extend the Loyalty Isles, more especially referred to in Mr. Ashwell's journal. The islands are Mare or Ngeone, Toka, Lifu, and Uea. Christian teachers were first planted in Mare in 1841, and the work, amidst many difficulties, was perseveringly prosecuted. In 1849, this island was visited by Bishop Selwyn in his Missionary ship, and by a British vessel of war commanded by Captain Erskine. More than

one trading vessel had been cut off by these people, and they very naturally concluded that they were now about to be punished for their misdeeds. The evidences of improvement under the influence of Christian teaching were, however, such, that the British officer condoned the past. "More than half the population of this island have now abandoned heathenism, and are seeking after knowledge." Similar results have exhibited themselves in Lifu, through the instrumentality of native teachers. Toka, "one of those tiny, low, isolated abodes of men, which so numerously beset the Pacific Ocean, and which raises their lofty, evergreen, graceful cocoa-nut tops far above the coral beach below," has so far received the Gospel, that by far the larger part of the adults and children are under instruction. Uea is a cluster of island reefs to the north-west of Lifu. The island has been visited by Bishop Selwyn, and intercourse held with the natives.

The southern New Hebrides include Anateum, the southernmost island, Tanna, Eromanga, Fate, Niua, and Fotuna. The native teachers, labouring alone at Anateum for seven years, prepared the way for the location of a European Missionary in 1848. There are now 1500 natives in that island who are receiving daily instruction, one-third of whom can read well. Tanna is the largest of the group. "The highest mountains are covered with the richest vegetation to their very summits." This island, after some violent outbreaks of opposition, presents at the present time a hopeful aspect.

Our space will only permit a brief reference to Eromanga, where the devoted Williams and his companion Harris fell. In order to account for these outbreaks of violence on the part of the natives, the cruelty with which they have been treated by the sandal-wood traders must be remembered. This wood, of a light yellow colours and fragrant odour, is abundant on the Sandwich, Marquesa, Fiji, and New Hebrides groups. "It has been long well known and highly valued by the Chinese, by whom it is variously and beautifully wrought, in the manufacture of fancy tables, boxes, fans, and other articles: they also burn it as incense in their private houses and temples." It is therefore sought after with avidity, bringing, as it does in the Chinese market, a return varying from 15*l.* to 35*l.* per ton. In carrying on this trade, great wrongs have been perpetrated by Europeans on the natives; nor have the latter been slow in avenging themselves on any

* Gems from Coral Islands, vol. i. p. 211.

white man that might fall into their hands. "It is now about five-and-twenty years since Eromanga first began to be visited by sandalwood traders. During the whole of the period, down to the last two or three years, the most revolting deeds have been perpetrated — foreigners murdering Eromangans, and Eromangans murdering foreigners."

Fifteen years ago Williams and his companion were murdered on this island. A few bones, all that remained of the bodies which had been eaten, were recovered by H.M.S. "Favorite," Captain Croker, and interred in the island Upolu, of the Samoan group. At Rarotonga the grief was great; and the Christians, amidst their tears, resolved, as the most suitable memorial they could erect to their departed friend, to take up the work which had fallen from his hand, and proceed at once to plant the standard of the Gospel on the blood-stained shores of Eromanga.

Eventually two well-tried Samoan Christians were set apart for this dangerous undertaking. There was indeed a perilous landing, accomplished at the risk of life. For twelve months they were protected by a friendly native of another island, a sojourner in Eromanga. But on his departure to his own land, the heathen determined to kill them by starvation. The chief of the district prohibited all intercourse with them. But they were fed. "The same God who in ancient days was with the prophet, who guided him to the brook, and who commanded the ravens to feed him, was the teachers' God. In the day of their distress, a native of the island, quite a stranger to them, had his heart stirred up with compassion for them, and day by day, for the space of five months, this stranger came secretly to their hut, and, lifting up the thatch, gave them necessary supplies of daily food." At length these faithful men were rescued from their perilous position.

It only remained to try and soften down the natives by friendly intercourse, and thus prepare the way for the introduction of Missionaries; and to this result the Bishop of New Zealand greatly contributed. Eromanga was visited by him on several occasions. "On his first visit to the New Hebrides, he called at Tanna, and, after showing much kindness to the teachers there, he took one of them on board his ship to Eromanga. Both he and the teacher landed on its blood-stained shores, and, while remembering Williams and Harris, they knelt together on the sands, and offered up a prayer to God speedily to open up a way for the Gospel to this degraded and degraded race." Some of the na-

tives were taken by him to New Zealand, instructed in the word of God, and sent back with very different views respecting white men, than those which were prevalent in the island when the lamented Williams was murdered. At length, in 1852, two Christian natives of the Hervey Islands were landed in the midst of a great number of natives, who gave them a most cordial welcome. One of the chiefs, who was most forward in encouraging them, proved to be the very man who had murdered Williams. Some foreigners just before had murdered his son, and he had avenged himself on the first white man that came within his reach; and the very club with which the fatal blow was struck was surrendered by him to the Missionaries. The work of regeneration is going on: the natives are quite accessible, and the Missionary can go without fear amongst the most desperate savages of the island.

Of the Aurora group some brief notices will be found in the accompanying journal.

The Northern New Hebrides constitute a long chain of important islands, many of them being larger than any in Eastern Polynesia. Some of these islands have been visited by the Bishop of New Zealand. The first attempt was attended with great danger; afterwards he succeeded in establishing a good understanding with the natives, and brought away with him some of their young men for instruction in New Zealand.

And still further beyond this group to the north-west lies another cluster of very large islands, called the Solomon's group, with others in the vicinity; these leading on to "an almost interminable chain of islands and groups, round the north of Australia, and thence to the still more numerous but imperfectly known clusters which bestride the Indian and China Seas."

The results of Missionary work in the Pacific exhibit in the strongest point of view the value of a native agency as preparing the way for the European Missionary. Native agents can go where in the first instance he could not venture. The Missionaries of the different Societies labouring in the Pacific have confided in the Christian natives, and they have not been disappointed. With few exceptions, they have proved to be faithful and devoted men, and the Lord of Missions has owned and blessed them.

Narrative of a Voyage to Loyalty and Banks's Islands, by the Rev. B. Y. Ashwell, New Zealand Missionary.

"In April last I wrote to inform the Society that the Bishop of New Zealand had kindly

consented to my accompanying the Mission vessel to the New Hebrides and Banks' Isles, in the hope that a change would be beneficial to my health, as I was still suffering from a chronic complaint. I trust, upon the whole, the voyage has been beneficial, although I have suffered a perilous shipwreck, the particulars of which I now forward. It will be necessary to have a correct view of the nature of the work among the Melanesian Islands. To classify them—

"First—The dangerous, or where risk is incurred in visiting.

"Secondly—Those where the natives are in a wild savage state, but who are acquainted with the Mission vessel, and some advance towards a friendly communication has been made.

"Thirdly—Those with whom a friendly intercourse has been established; the parents having committed their children to the bishop, to be taken to spend the summer months in New Zealand for instruction. My journal refers more particularly to the two last classes of islands.

"With respect to the first class, the manner of visiting is as follows—The whale-boat is manned with four good rowers. The bishop and the Rev. J. C. Patteson keep a good look out whilst approaching the island, the natives having previously shown their willingness for communication by lighting fires and calling. If, as the boat approaches, a part of them retire into the bush with their bows and arrows, and send their women and children away, it is a bad sign; mischief is intended: but if all remain together, the bishop and Mr. Patteson generally swim through the surf to the beach, leaving the boat at a short distance; the risk being, lest, touching the shore, the natives might detain it for the sake of the iron, which they are anxious to obtain. After the party have landed, they distribute fish-hooks, beads, &c., to the chiefs, exchange names, write them down, &c. After staying a short time, they swim back to the boat. Thus an intercourse is begun. These preliminary visits are sometimes perilous. I know of two instances in which they were shot at—one at Santa Maria, the other at Mallicolo; but a kind Providence has always kept them from harm.

"The second class, some of which I have visited, are to be approached with caution; but very little danger is incurred, although the natives are wild cannibals, and mostly fighting with one another. They know the Mission vessel, and that Pisopi (the bishop) is their friend.

"The third class are those friendly, which

can be visited at any time, and are prepared for Missionaries. In the preceding voyage, above sixty islands were visited by the bishop and Mr. Patteson, and about forty Melanesian scholars were brought to the institution at Kohimarama, near Auckland, for the summer months.

"*April 28, 1860*—After the bishop had commended us to the protecting care of our heavenly Father, we went from the chapel to the schooner, the 'Southern Cross,' a vessel of about seventy tons, admirably fitted up for the boys. Our party consisted of the Rev. J. C. Patteson, Messrs. Kerr and Dudley, members of the Mission, myself, a New-Zealand native teacher and a school-boy from my station, with thirty-seven Melanesian scholars—six from Solomon Isles, twenty-one from Banks' Isles, four from Loyalty Islands, and six from New Hebrides.

"*April 29: Lord's-day*—After service on board, we lost sight of the shores of New Zealand. At Cape Bull the wind increased to a gale. All the boys were very sick; but each had his hammock and many comforts on board. The gale continued a whole week, and we were obliged to lie-to, with close-reefed sails. It was not till May 7th that the merry laugh of the Melanesian boys was heard, and that they again ventured on deck. During this gale the sea was running very high, and as I observed an expression of fear on the face of the New-Zealand teacher, I said to him, 'Nana te Moana,' i.e. 'The sea is his.' These three words were of great comfort during our fearful shipwreck. With regard to the Melanesians, I must say I never met with a more cheerful, good-tempered, happy set of boys. Although from several islands, each of a different language, there was no quarrelling, as among English boys. Their love to their teachers is quite remarkable. I think they would do any thing for Mr. Patteson, who speaks the language of nearly all of them.

"*On May 11* we fell in with the south-east trades, and in the evening were 22° 13' south lat., 168° 56' east long., and on Saturday, *May 12th*, we were off Ngeone (Mare), one of the coral islands of the Loyalty group, where we landed at eight A.M., and proceeded immediately to the Mission station of the Rev. M. Creagh, of the London Missionary Society, where we received a most hearty welcome. They were in great affliction, having just buried their youngest child. The devoted Raratonga native teacher, Mark, and his companion, were the first to carry the Gospel to the degraded cannibals of these isles. They were protected, under God, by a great chief,

who would not give them up to the heathen priests, and, after his death, his son Nysolun (Nasilini) took care of them. In the mean time the leaven of the Gospel was silently working, and ere long a great number received the truth. About this time the Bishop of New Zealand visited the island, and the people desiring a Missionary, he sent the Rev. W. Nihill and his wife, who soon acquired a knowledge of the language, and translated a portion of the New Testament. A large chapel was built, and 'the word of God grew and was multiplied.' A short time after this the London Missionary Society sent out Missionaries, who, on arriving at Ngeone, found that Mr. Nihill had been removed by death, and his widow remained with them till the return of the bishop, who has never re-occupied the station. I was much pleased with the congregation here on the Sunday: between 400 and 500 natives were assembled in the chapel, all clothed, and during the service the greatest attention prevailed. The singing was excellent, and my heart was filled with joy and gratitude to God while hearing these so lately heathen singing the praises of the triune Jehovah. After service we accompanied Mr. and Mrs. Creagh to their hospitable home. Whilst conversing on the nature of the work, I observed that the whole weight of their service seemed to rest on the Missionary, which must be very fatiguing. We enjoyed social prayer and communion with each other in a strange land, and, at the request of my Christian brother, I told 500 natives of Ngeone what God had done for New Zealand (Mr. Creagh interpreting for me). They were exceedingly interested, and on our leaving we found piled up presents of yams, taro, cocoa-nuts, &c. Being Sunday, we did not like to take them, but left them for the native teachers of the island, who took them away on the following morning. Whilst returning to our vessel, more than 500 natives lined the beach, crying, *Aloha, aloha*, i.e. 'Love, love,' which is also the meaning of the New-Zealand *aroha*. The Raratonga teachers had taught the Ngeonese this mode of salutation. The New-Zealand and Raratonga languages are so similar, that the New-Zealand teacher could talk with Mrs. Creagh, who was a Miss Buzacott, from Raratonga. What struck me was the great difference at once discernible in the heathen and Christian natives as they stood together; the former naked, with painted bodies, and weapons in their hands; the latter clothed, and the countenance altogether different. It is most remarkable how the reception of the Gospel changes and softens a fierce and savage ex-

pression. This beautiful coral island is considered healthy. Groves of cocoas and other tropical trees render the scenery good, but it is tame when compared to the New Hebrides and Banks' Isles. Temperature about 74 deg. Fahrenheit; length of isle about twenty miles, breadth ten miles; population between 3000 and 4000, two-thirds of whom are Christians. There are eleven whites on the island, besides the Missionaries.

"We said farewell to our kind friends, and sailed for Lifu, an island where Christianity has made great progress. It is to be regretted that the French claim these Loyalty Islands as appendages to New Caledonia, and have sent a Romish priest to Lifu, quite against the consent of the majority of the people. The wind was contrary, and blowing a gale. We could not reach the isle, although three attempts were made; therefore, to the regret of all, we were obliged to continue our course without visiting it. We called, however, at the beautiful isle Toka, twenty miles from Ngeone. Mr. Patterson was anxious to seek a stray sheep, one of the Melanesian scholars, a young man who had not been going on satisfactorily. The lost one was found, and accompanied us to the vessel. Most of the natives of this isle are well disposed to Christianity. The principal chief of Lifu, John Cho, had been to New Zealand with the bishop, who baptized him there, as well as the daughter of the principal chief of Toka, to whom he was married after their baptism. This union strengthened Christianity, both at Lifu and Toka, and John is using his influence to keep the people from Popery. We now made sail for Mae, or the Three Hills, an island dreaded by the sandal-wood traders, but where the Mission vessel is always most warmly welcomed, and where the bishop is anxious to form a station which shall take in many of the neighbouring isles.

"May 17—Instead of the trades we had a strong westerly wind. Sighted Eromanga, where the Missionary Williams was murdered. We also passed the south-west coast of Fate, or Sandwich Island, which has a bad name. Nevertheless, two Samoan teachers are living here. This beautiful island is richly wooded to the summit of its lofty hills, which are from 2000 to 3000 feet in height. Fearful atrocities have been committed here by sandal-wood traders, one of which I will mention. After purchasing a cargo of sandal-wood, and getting it conveyed to the vessel, they sailed away without paying the natives. Consequently, when another vessel visited the island, one of their men was murdered by the natives. To re-

venge this, several vessels joined their crews, and, after firing upon the natives, followed them to a cave, where they had taken refuge with their women and children. These white savages piled up brush-wood at the mouth of the cave, fired it, and smothered them all. Can we wonder that they are not willing to receive the white Missionary? The bishop has landed here several times. In the evening we reached Mae, where we had to leave four Melanesian boys. When we landed the cry was, 'The vessel of Pisopi and our children.' We had a most hearty welcome. The excitement was very great, the people running from the villages, assembling to see their children and the white Missionaries, bringing yams, cocoa-nuts, &c. At last the chief, by smacking his lips, enforced silence, and Mr. Patteson, in their own language, pointed to the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world. Mr. Dudley, who well understands the language of Mae, also addressed them. The greatest silence and attention prevailed; and when we all knelt in prayer with these poor heathen, who, for the first time, bent the knee to the true God, I could say, 'My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit doth rejoice in God my Saviour.' It was an earnest that these isles should see the salvation of our God. The natives were anxious that one of us should remain with them; and when we told them that possibly a Mission station might be established among them they were much pleased.

"May 19—Sunday services on board with Europeans and Melanesians. Our little schooner ran close to the shore of Tasiko, where, with the glass, we counted more than 400 natives in the short space of about half a mile, who were calling us to visit them; but it being Sunday, the boat was not lowered, as no one could speak their language, and we feared lest any might be tempted to trade on the Sabbath. From Tasiko we crossed to Ambryn—where there is an active volcano—Luperi, Whitsuntide and Aurora islands, from twenty to thirty miles in length; and of the scenery I can only say that the grandeur and beauty of creative goodness here was overpowering. Never did I witness elsewhere such a rich verdure, very much superior to Sierra Leone, although its scenery is grand; and the most beautiful parts of New Zealand are tame when compared with these splendid islands. The rugged, broken character of Whitsuntide and Aurora, with their immense chasms densely wooded, so that no naked rock or spot of earth can be seen; groves of lofty cocoa-nuts; the beautiful bread-fruit tree; the jack-fruit palms;

lofty and huge banians, forty yards in circumference; presented so magnificent a sight of rich verdure, that we felt sad to think that 'only man is vile;' but when once the Gospel has won its way, how wonderful the change: grace and nature can rejoice together.

"As our little vessel ran along the eastern shore of the island of Aurora, on a fine moonlight night, we heard the voices of the natives and the beating of their tom-toms, over, perhaps, some cannibal feast, which gave a painful and vivid reality of our proximity to all the darkness of heathenism, and my soul yearned that these our poor benighted brethren might soon rejoice in the beams of the Sun of righteousness.

"May 23—In the morning we landed at the north end of Aurora, and left two of the Melanesian boys. Mr. Patteson addressed the natives, all of whom were armed, and looked very wild. They were attentive. At four P.M. we drew near Mara Lava, an island about twelve miles in circumference, with a population of 600: it consists of a large volcanic hill, about 1800 feet above the sea, very beautiful. Here we landed two other of the scholars; and again Mr. Patteson addressed the natives, speaking of the love of Christ, and showing them that war and bloodshed were wrong. This they all acknowledged. Every man and boy was armed with bow and arrow. They were rather noisy and clamorous; but, when Mr. Patteson addressed them, quite quiet. They wanted the vessel to go to Santa Maria in search of a boy whom some sandal-wood traders had carried away, and left there. They feared he was murdered and eaten. The poor father was very earnest in his entreaties.

"May 24—At six A.M. we came to the extent of our voyage (Amota), a little paradise, where the first Mission station in Banks' Islands was formed. About eight A.M. we landed. The natives showed great joy at seeing Mr. Patteson; and when we began to land the boards for the Mission house, and they knew that he and Mr. Dudley would remain with them, their joy was increased. They carried the boards from the vessel; and some brought food of all sorts—bread-fruit, cocoas, yams, &c.—for which they would not receive any payment. When the house was landed we sailed over to Vanna Lava, a large and beautiful island, where the bishop discovered, a short time ago, a splendid harbour, which he named Port Patteson. Here we let go our anchor. The scenery was most grand; hills 2000 feet high, sending forth volumes of smoke from hot springs at their summit, the sides richly clothed

with verdure. Two rivers run into the harbour, and a sandy beach nearly surrounds it. We filled our water-casks, these friendly natives standing by, anxious to assist. These and those of Amota were the only unarmed natives which we saw. A way for the Gospel has been prepared, under God, by our Missionary bishop, and a great work commenced.

"The people of Vannā Lava were most anxious that one of us should remain with them, and each was invited. This island is decidedly unhealthy; elephantiasis is very prevalent: miasma prevails during the rains, when the low lands are flooded. Thermometer in the shade 85°.

"On Whit-Sunday, *May 27*, we partook of the Lord's Supper on board the schooner, after which we all accompanied Mr. Patteson to the villages on the beach, where he preached to and catechized the natives, inviting them also to ask questions: all seemed interested, and again entreated for a Missionary. I believe we all prayed most earnestly that a Pentecostal blessing might be given to these islands.

"*May 28* — Messrs. Patteson and Dudley crossed in a whale-boat to Amota to see the erection of the house. The natives were very anxious for barter, crying, *Talle, talle*, 'Iron, iron.' They brought cocoa-nuts, yams, coral, bows and arrows, &c., for sale. The wind sprung up, but being light and against us, we had to beat, and it was evening before we could near Amota. On Tuesday we landed: the house was nearly finished. The natives had uprooted some of their own houses in order that the Mission house might soon be covered. About a hundred of them were at work. I walked alone to several villages, and everywhere received a welcome, and fruits were offered me.

"This lovely island is equal to Aurora in beauty. From the Mission station you see six islands—Vanna Lava, Bligh's Island, Vanucollo, Santa Maria, and Mara Lava. The site of the station is well chosen. It is surrounded by bread-fruit, cocoa, and tack-trees, and a huge banian, which we measured, was forty-five yards in circumference. A most lovely spot and well shaded. Thus I had the privilege of seeing the first Mission station in Banks' Island commenced. In the evening Mr. Patteson preached to the people, who were very attentive. Oh may the blessings of God descend on the labours of his servants, and the leaven of the Gospel go forth from this place till all the isles of these seas shall rejoice in the name of Jesus.

"After mutual prayer, commending one

another to the care of God, we said farewell to our Christian brethren. More than half of the Melanesian boys had been restored to their respective islands; the remainder stayed with Mr. Patteson at Amota, as the vessel will not go to the Solomon Islands till the next voyage. Our party now consisted of Mr. Kerr, my two natives, and myself. Mr. Patteson requested us to call at Eromanga, and see if any of the Scotch Missionaries were in want of anything, as, if out of health, they were welcome to a passage to New Zealand. The Rev. Mr. Gordon, of Eromanga, told me how much he and his brethren felt the uniform, disinterested kindness of the bishop, whom he looked upon as a father in the Gospel. After several days of light winds, it was not till Tuesday, June 6th, that we came in sight of Eromanga, a beautiful coral isle. We ran along its rugged coast, richly covered with trees; amongst others, the much desired sandal-wood, which has been the source of so much misery to the poor natives. One instance, which occurred a few months ago, was related to me by Mr. Gordon. A man, named Mears, purchased from the natives a quantity of sandal-wood. He crossed to Fate, a neighbouring island, about fifty miles distant, and procured 200 islanders to accompany him to Eromanga to carry his sandal-wood to the beach. He did not provide food for them, but told them they must rob the cultivations of the Eromangans. He accompanied them with his musket. They destroyed four or five native villages, and took their food. After some time, a large party of the Eromangans attacked the Fate natives, and drove them from their isle, with the European. Many lives were lost on both sides. Mr. Gordon assured me that this had hindered the reception of the Gospel. Many accustomed to attend the Sabbath and week-day services had been driven away, as those villages which had been destroyed were near the station. They were now prejudiced against, and were determined to resist, the Gospel. One chief called a feast on the Sabbath in order to desecrate it. Mark the sequel. God removed by death two of his children on that Sabbath. He acknowledged the finger of God, and said he could not fight against Him. We received a most hearty reception from Mr. Gordon: the hours flew away in social chat and mutual prayer. My native teacher told the Eromangans of the progress of the Gospel in New Zealand, which interested them much. Mr. Gordon said that the heathen priests were doing all they could to oppose them, charging them with being the authors of the

epidemic which had prevailed there so fearfully, and also at the neighbouring island of Tanna, where the Rev. Mr. Paton is labouring. He had lost his wife and child about twelve months ago, and as yet he has had no success to cheer him in his lonely labours. The natives threatened to kill him, nothing softened by the sorrow which they saw he suffered by his bereavement. The bishop, in his last trip, begged him to come to New Zealand for a change, but he declined, as he said he was getting on with the Tannese language, and hoped that, ere long, an impression would be made. He has lately been joined by the Rev. H. Hentson and wife. Very different is the account of the work at Aniteum, where the Rev. Messrs. Inglis and Geddie are labouring. This island is a short distance from Tanna, and nearly the whole of the people have received the Gospel.

"It was nearly midnight before we parted. Being moonlight, our Christian brother accompanied us to the scene of the murders of the Missionaries, Williams and Harris. He gave me the following particulars. Mr. Harris attempted to go inland, which the natives opposed, as there was some ceremony about to be performed. He thought them friendly, because they had given them cocoanuts shortly before. He persevered in going, was struck on the head, staggered to the river near the beach, where he fell. Mr. Williams, hearing his cry, went to see, and was met by the murderers, who threatened him: he fled towards the boat, and was murdered on the beach. The natives, seeing the distress of the Europeans in the boat, were quite softened; and if the bodies had been demanded then they would have been given up. This is Mr. Gordon's account.

"The bishop, with a Samoan teacher, was the first to visit this blood-stained isle after the murder. When he arrived at the spot, they knelt down, and prayed that the blood of the martyrs might make a path for the Gospel. We reached the vessel at two A.M.

"June 8—A strong westerly wind, with a high sea: wind fair.

"June 9, 10—Gale continued. On this day we saw Norfolk Island, but could not land as we intended, the surf being too heavy. I felt much disappointed, having a great desire to see the state of the Pitcairns, who have had so much done for them. The gale continuing, we passed the island at seven P.M.

"June 11—The anniversary of the foundation of the Melanesian Mission. We had special prayer for a blessing upon this great work. We did not forget our friends at Amota.

"June 13—Two A.M. off the Three Kings nearly a calm. We thanked God for bringing us again in sight of our adopted land.

"June 14—Very light wind at four P.M. Whilst off Wangaroa the wind changed to N.E. We could not weather Cape Brett. Went out to sea, as we feared being too near the land, as it had now increased to a gale. All felt dispirited, as we had hoped (D.V.) to have been in Auckland the next day. Dark tempestuous night: gale very heavy.

"June 15—Gale increasing, caused a high sea: our little vessel was almost under bare poles, rising beautifully to the billows, and shipping but little water. The constant rolling of the vessel gave me much headache. I felt depressed, but was much comforted by David's prayer (Psalm vi. 2), 'Have mercy upon me, O Lord, for I am weak.' I felt weak in body and weak in spirit. Anxiety respecting my family, gloomy forebodings, want of faith, did not render my situation amidst this gale more comfortable. Great prostration of bodily strength, owing to want of sleep for several nights, made me feel really ill. The gale fearfully increased, accompanied by thunder, lightning, rain, and hail. It was a dreadful night. Oh how delightful to feel safe in a Father's hands!

"June 16—Rained in torrents at four A.M., which caused the sea to go down, and at twelve we were becalmed. At two P.M. a northerly breeze sprung up, and we hoped to be in Auckland on the Monday.

"June 17: *Lord's-day*—I had morning service with the sailors, and a service with my natives. I felt exceedingly oppressed with a sense of impending calamity: my anxiety was respecting my home and district. I reasoned with myself on the sin and folly of meeting things half-way, and dishonouring God by unbelief. I felt great comfort from that beautiful verse—

'Renew my will from day to day,
Blend it with Thine, and take away
Whatever makes it hard to say,
Thy will be done!'

which remained on my mind the whole of that eventful day. The accounts of the close of this day I copy from the newspaper 'The New Zealander' of June 23, and forward the following extracts—

"At ten minutes to five P.M. we sighted the Poor Knights, having passed close to leeward of them: hauled up to S.E. in order to pass eastward of the Hen and Chickens. About this time the wind backed to the north-east, and increased to a gale, with very thick weather and rain. At ten P.M. we were sur-

prised by the report of land on the lee-bow. By press of sail we were providentially enabled to weather a small islet, which, from the course we made, was supposed to be the Eastern Chicken. We now stood on south-east by south, intending, when half-way to Cape Rodney, to wear and stand to the northward, having the harbour of Wangarei under our lee, the wind now blowing a violent gale: at one A.M. land was seen on the lee-bow, about Patawa River. We wore to the northward, the wind shifting south-east, blowing with redoubled violence, soon after we were round. In about half an hour we again saw land on the lee-bow, the south-head of Ngunguru Bay. Standing on, we made the islet at the north-head of Ngunguru Bay, the same islet we had seen at ten P.M.: the weather being so thick, the hills were not visible. Finding we could not weather that islet, the helm was put up to leeward, having again lost sight of land. Thinking we had accomplished our purpose, the ship's head was brought up to north. We then took the ground on what appeared happily to be a spot somewhat sheltered from the full violence of the sea, the range of our vision being the end of the breakers. Imagining deep water to be beyond them, and with the rising tide, the ship being gradually brought nearer, we were alarmed lest we should be carried right over, and foundering in the deep water beyond; for in less than half an hour the surf had completely filled the ship, and we were all obliged to take to the rigging, the masts, most providentially, not having been cut away, although repeated attempts had been made to do so. The boats were soon washed away, and, with them, our last hopes of getting to the shore; and from two A.M. till daylight we remained at the masts' head, in the most dreadful suspense. As day dawned we discovered we were in a bay, and near the high-water of its low sandy shore which the darkness of the gale prevented our seeing. We were also gladdened by the sight of European houses. By nine o'clock the tide had so far left us, that we were enabled to get a line to the shore, and, through the mercy of God, after seven hours in the rigging, we were all drawn through the surf safely to land. We received a hearty welcome, and every kindness and assistance from Captain Stewart and his guests, and the Europeans at Ngunguru. The gale had now somewhat abated.

"We would beg to call attention to the following remarkable providences in answer to prayer. Any one link being wanting, all must have perished. Whilst all was being

done on deck that man could do to keep us from a lee-shore, I called my native teacher, Taniora, into the cabin, and we engaged in prayer. My prayer was, that as our blessed Saviour had manifested his power in saving his disciples from shipwreck in the Sea of Galilee, and as his hand was not shortened that it could not save, nor his ear deaf that He would not hear; so that it would now please Him to appear in our behalf, and to save the lives of all in the vessel.

"Now, mark the answer. First: if the wind had not shifted to the south-east we should all have been on the rocky beach to the north of Patawa. Secondly: when the sea was making a clean breach over the deck, had the masts not been standing to fly to, nothing could have saved us. The reason why the masts were not cut away was, that the captain having, for some cause, laid down the axe, it was not again to be found. Further, when the captain and mate, with knives in their hands, were about to cut the lan-yards, some unaccountable feeling prevented them, which no doubt was the finger of God in answer to prayer. Thirdly: if we had grounded a quarter of a mile further northward, we should have been on the rocks of the Ngunguru River."

"I have only to mention a few additional particulars. When the vessel struck, all the seamen cried, 'We are lost; farewell, Sir.' Mr. Kerr came into the cuddy, and said we must trust in God: nothing more could be done. In a quarter of an hour after striking, the cuddy filled: we were up to our waists in water. We now went to the main cabin, which we were soon obliged to leave, for a sea broke over us, extinguishing all the lights, and filled the cabin. We feared being swept off the deck, but went forward, and got a little shelter under the lee of the anchor. We were, however, soon obliged to take to the rigging. My own mind was calm: much strength and comfort was imparted from the hymn—

'Just as I am, without one plea,
But that Thy blood was shed for me;
And that Thou bidd'st me come to Thee,
O Lamb of God, I come.

Just as I am, and waiting not
To rid my soul of one dark blot;
To Thee, whose blood can cleanse each spot,
O Lamb of God, I come."

This I begged all to use as a prayer, and repeated it aloud, reminding each one that our time, in all probability, was short. I was so cold, that it was with difficulty I held on the rigging. Mr. Kerr helped me greatly. We both felt the privilege of Christian commu-

nion, particularly under such circumstances. After again speaking to the seamen, a silence of three hours ensued, when I spoke a few encouraging words to my poor natives. Oh how welcome was morning light ! Taniora, my native teacher, was the first to try to get a rope on shore, but the drawback from the ebb tide was so strong that he was glad to swim back to the wreck. After waiting another hour, the tide had gone out so far, that he, with one of the sailors, again tried, and succeeded. Thus, through the mercy of God, we were all saved. We all knelt down on the beach, and thanked God for our wonderful deliverance. After remaining two days at Ngunguru, we went overland to Wangarei, when we were

kindly received and welcomed by the resident magistrate. The next day, June 22d, we sailed in the 'Janet' for Auckland, where we arrived at eleven p.m. Nothing could be kinder than the manner in which we were received by our bishop, who was thankful that all our lives were saved. I arrived at my beloved home, the Mission station, June 29th, and found, thank God, all well.

"The object of this journal is to make known the progress of the Gospel in these seas, and to declare to all the goodness and mercy of our God, in our wonderful deliverance from shipwreck."

LIFE OF THE REV. T. G. RAGLAND.

THE College of Corpus Christi, Cambridge, witnessed, on the 12th of December last, a remarkable celebration. That day has been for more than 500 years set apart for the annual commemoration of benefactors, and probably since the old Benedictine community—the germ of the present—first met in the fourteenth century to recall the remembrance of those to whom they were indebted, few occasions more significant have occurred. Our revered and honoured Missionary, the late Rev. T. G. Ragland, was a Fellow of Corpus; and some of his friends, desirous to perpetuate his memory, having procured a portrait of him in oil-painting, and presented it to the College, the Master and Fellows determined to place it in the College Hall. The inauguration of the picture took place on the commemoration-day just mentioned. It is an honour that has been sparingly bestowed. Two Archbishops and two Bishops look down from their frames on the fugitive college generations that assemble year by year within those walls, one of them the famous Archbishop Parker, who enriched the library with those MSS., in which it is still unrivalled. These appeared alone till Ragland was thought no unworthy associate; and now each successive race of students will look up to that benign and tranquil face, beaming with the peace and love which was the very atmosphere he breathed, and they will learn that he is to be "had in everlasting remembrance," not because he was a high wrangler or a devoted parish priest, but because he was a Missionary—a "messenger of the Churches, and the glory of Christ." His biographer, the Rev.

T. T. Perowne,* was appointed to preach the annual sermon, usual on such occasions; and he sums up, in a few emphatic sentences, the impression made on himself, and which he would fain make on others, by the beautiful character which he has so successfully portrayed. "When we see him," says he, in that sermon, "quitting home, and comforts, and position, and friends, and fatherland, to bear the name of Christ before the heathen; when we hear of his presenting the whole of his small patrimony, ten years before he died, as a jubilee offering to the Missionary cause; when we learn that for years he laboured entirely at his own charges, supported by the bounty of the founders and benefactors of his college; when we follow him in his noble work of self-denying love, and find him, late at night, weary with his journey, sitting in a small shop in the bazaar of a heathen town, and by the dimly-burning lamp reading to a few men whom curiosity had brought round him the story of the Philippian jailer, and bidding them to believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and be saved;—or on another occasion, though naturally unfitted for the encounter, braving the taunts and jibes of hostile Brahmins in their own village, into which he had ventured, and pressing on them, in spite of themselves, the message of the Gospel;—

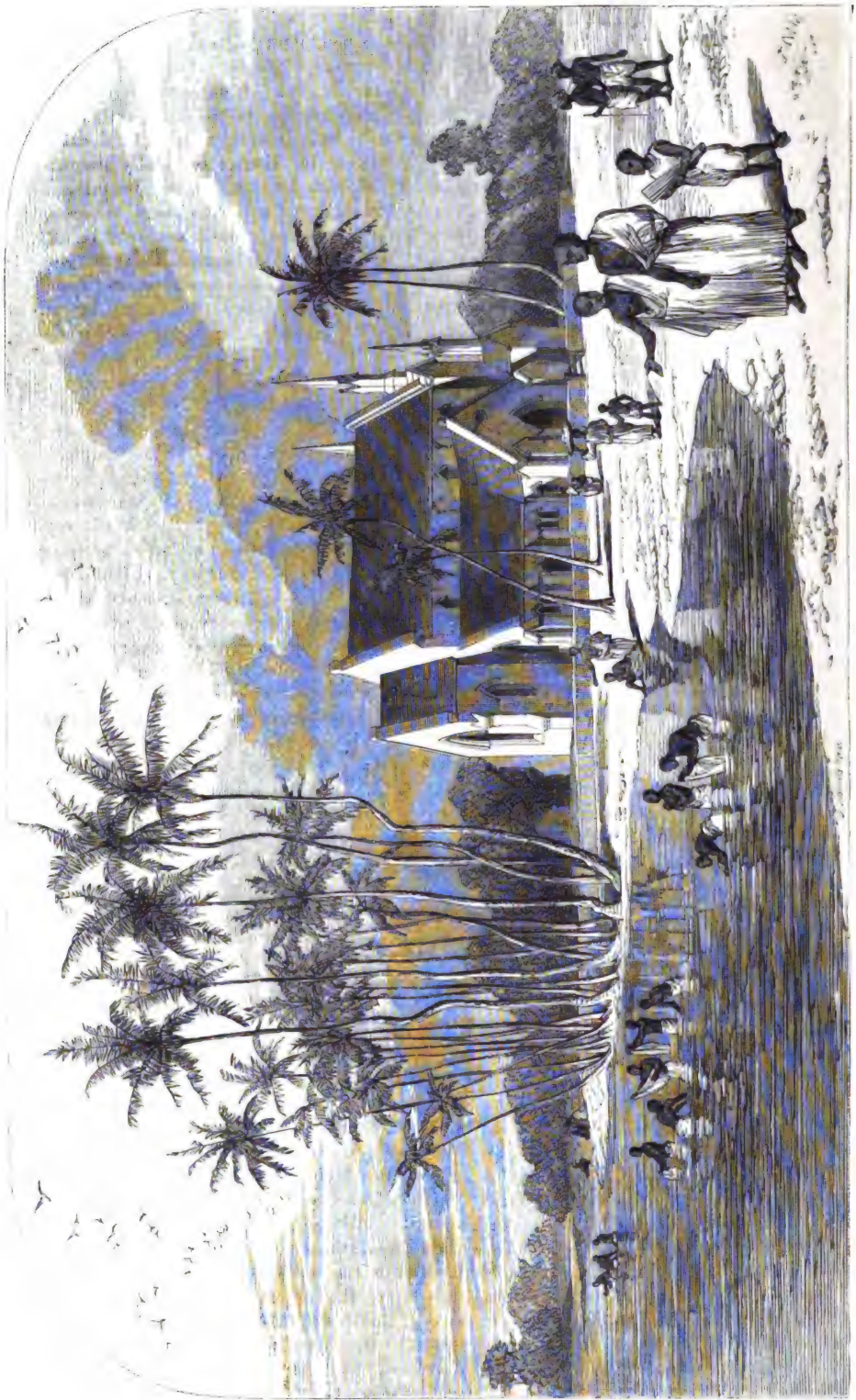
* *A Memoir of the Rev. Thomas Gajetan Ragland, B.D., Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and Itinerating Missionary of the Church Missionary Society in North Tinnevely, South India. By the Rev. Thomas Thomason Perowne, B.D., Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Seeley, 1861.*

oh, surely we recognise a man with whom his Master's commands and his Master's promises, with whom life and death, sin and salvation, heaven and hell, were present realities! His whole life was a sermon on the text, 'We believe, and therefore speak.' "By constant study of the word of God, and by a habit of unceasing prayer, which was one of the most striking features of his character, he enjoyed abiding intercourse with the Source and Author of life. His Missionary companions, who lodged with him for weeks in the same bungalow or the same tent, bear strong witness not only to the frequency but to the *ease* with which he had recourse to prayer. It seemed to require no effort with him to pass from his ordinary avocations and his customary train of thought to a direct approach to the Majesty of heaven. The secret place of the Most High, the presence-chamber of the King, was his constant dwelling-place. From the vantage-ground of heaven he took his survey of the things of earth. What wonder, that one who in heart and mind thither ascended and with Christ continually dwelt, should catch the spirit and derive the strength and do the work of Him who came to seek and to save the lost? What wonder, that from that high communion his very features should often be radiant with that heavenly expression, which has been so happily transferred to the canvas, and we should see 'his face as it had been the face of an angel? What wonder, that when the last enemy burst upon him with his sudden assault, the presence and the help of the Conqueror of death should have been yet swifter than the sudden foe? What wonder, that, with the smile of welcome on his face and the name of Jesus on his lips, he cheerfully obeyed the summons, and that to him to whom to live had been Christ, to die was gain?"

Such was Ragland. We will not attempt to add any details to this faithful portraiture, nor to cull any illustrations from the admirable Memoir just published, in the preparation of which, doubtless, Mr. Perowne formed the estimate we have just quoted. We wish rather to commend the volume to our readers in its integrity, with the sincere conviction that extracts would only mar the effect of the whole. The finished picture fully justifies the sketch which appeared in our pages soon after the first tidings of his removal.* It

will rank side by side with the Lives of Henry Martyn and Henry Fox, as one of the precious jewels of the Church's heritage. We cannot doubt that it will prove to many a rich means of grace. To gaze affectionately on so Christ-like a character must be sanctifying. His deep humility; the riches of his free-handed liberality; his condescension to men of low estate; his love for the guilelessness of childhood; his equable and uniform temper—the victory over natural impatience; his strong yearnings after complete conformity to his Lord; the atmosphere of prayer which surrounded him; his earnest love of human souls, for Christ's sake; above all, his perfect assurance, not gained without struggle, of his acceptance through the blood of the Lamb—such characteristics marked him out as an eminent Missionary, and as such his Memoir claims attention. It is no little honour to the Church Missionary Society that a secret affinity drew such a man into her ranks, and that he felt assured of meeting among her agents abroad men of like spirit, who could sympathize on the best subjects with him. As their eyes glance over these pages, some of them may, perhaps, own that they have not yet fully reached that pattern, which was after all but a reflex of the Perfect Man. But they can enter into his feelings;—they have been renewed by the same Spirit; they rest on the same Saviour. More faith and more prayer will "perform" the good work already begun. It is a high standard; but who would wish it lower? An indirect reproach has been thrown out against the Church Missionary Society, as though she were not satisfied to accept agents of the ordinary standard of the piety of members of the Church of England. But which of the qualifications at present required shall we leave out? We rest our claim to prayers and aid on our care in the choice of men—our care, as far as one fallible human being can read another's heart. We ask for men like Ragland, and Fox, and Weitbrecht, and W. Johnson, and many living names that we could readily mention. This will satisfy us, and our constituents throughout the country will surely neither give us nor would they require of us less. One of Ragland's favourite thoughts deserves our special notice, "Of all plans for *ensuring success*, the most certain is Christ's own—becoming a corn of wheat, falling into the ground and dying." John xii. 24. Shall his words be accomplished? Who follows in his train?

* "C. M. Intelligencer," vol. x., pp. 25—39.



MISSION CHURCH, GALLE FACE, COLOMBO. (From a sketch by the Rev. W. Knight.)

COLOMBO, AND THE LATE REV. HENRY WHITLEY.

W^e direct attention to a part of one of our smaller Mission-fields, in the hope not only of drawing out more prayerful interest in its behalf, but also of enlisting a fresh labourer for a work at present specially bereaved. We speak of the Colombo station of our Ceylon Mission, and we wish to speak also of the devoted though brief career of our late Missionary brother there, the Rev. Henry Whitley, as an illustration of the principles, spirit, and temper of our Missionary body.

The Singhalese Mission is more than forty years old. Much has been expended on it—men, money, prayer, effort; and we believe that no sphere which we occupy is in a more forward state of preparation, in many important respects. The seed of the word of God has been largely sown there: were the beams of the Son of righteousness and the dews of the gracious Spirit granted in full measure to quicken it, the field would at once rejoice and blossom. Reviving influences are nowhere more needed, nowhere more longed for, than in Ceylon. The woodman's saw almost seems in many places to have cut through the gigantic trunk of the ancient superstition. In various urban and suburban districts Buddhism is dead. But it stands in its place by its mere superincumbent weight. The forester cannot move it. Let only the breath of heaven stir among the upper branches, and it will sway over and fall with a crash to the ground. And this heavenly breath will come. God never puts into the hearts of His faithful people an earnest desire for any great spiritual gift, without purposing to grant it. The wish is the pledge of its fulfilment. "Prayer is intended to convey the blessings God designs to give;" and we therefore wait with assured confidence for the results of the world-wide intercessions that signalized our opening year.

The little Mission church at Colombo, which forms our frontispiece this month, is the centre of operations of much interest. It stands only a few hundred yards from the sea, at one corner of the esplanade, called Galle Face—an open piece of ground, lying to the south side of the fort, the side towards Galle—often used for military parades, and the common resort of English residents of an evening. The dull roar of the surf, as it dashes in one snow-white line on the yellow sands, is constantly audible from it, and the fresh evening breeze blows in through the western door, unbroken by the feathery fringe of cocoa-nut palms, which everywhere

belts the coast. The whole scene is one of the brightest tropical beauty. The chancel overlooks a large lagoon, running for a considerable distance parallel to the sea, but bending round so as to enclose a tongue of land, called Slave Island, the district especially assigned to the Mission church. Slave Island contains almost an epitome of the manifold races of Ceylon. There are there, as might be expected, the low-country Singhalese, by religion Buddhists. There is an ever-increasing Tamil population, flowing over from the coast of the adjoining continent for purposes of trade, or to hire out their well-strung thews and sinews, as coolies on the coffee estates. It would be difficult exactly to say what is their prominent religion. They have one or two Brahminical temples, mean and contemptible indeed when compared with the ponderous pagodas of Madura or Tanjore; and one cannot help feeling how much the hold over them of Hinduism must be shaken by their migration, for, like all false religions, Hinduism depends for its ascendancy upon material and external magnificence, and is local, not universal. The faith, however, that appears to have the most influence over the Tamilians, as indeed practically over the Singhalese as well, is the worship of malignant spirits, found among the aborigines of the whole of India, though supplanted almost universally in the northern half of the great peninsula by the more recent Brahminical system. This vague faith, if it deserve the name, without code, literature, fixed ceremonial, or hereditary priesthood, cannot long resist the positive doctrines and precepts of the Gospel. Another numerous class are the Moormen—the hawkers and pedlars of the East, and often also engaged in handicrafts. They are in religion Mohammedan; in language, Tamil; and are probably the posterity of Arab adventurers, who conquered several Indian seaports in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and intermarried with the women of their adopted country. To them again we must add the soldiers of the Ceylon Rifles, fierce and bigoted Malays, also Mussulmans by faith, imported into the island by the Dutch as mercenaries, still adhering to the profession of their forefathers, and almost entirely isolated from the surrounding population. Add once more the numerous class of descendants of the Portuguese and Dutch, the former generally Roman Catholics, and often much degraded, the latter frequently wealthy and respectable. A few hungalows of English mer-

chants are also to be found on Slave Island, but the most favourite residence of our countrymen is the beautiful suburb of Colpetty, lying immediately south of the Mission church, along the sandy embankment which separates the Lake of Colombo from the sea.

It is the duty of the Missionary minister of that church to seek the best welfare of these various races. The objects proposed by it were thus described in our Annual Report for 1853-54—"The church will have both English and native services, and Missionary operations will be connected with it. It will thus afford a point of union between European and native Christians, and tend, under God, to the kindling among all classes a more lively sympathy and co-operation in the great work of evangelizing the island." "On Thursday, October 13, 1853, the church was opened with a dedicatory service. The bishop presided on the occasion. The Governor, and many of the chief officers of Government, attended, and a large number of European descendants and natives, both Singhalese and Tamil. Thus the very day of opening afforded a happy illustration of one of the main objects of its erection—the union of races in the church of Christ."

Thus to provide services for English as well as native worshippers, is a deviation from the ordinary mode of operations in the Society's Missions; and it might appear to a superficial observer a departure from our fundamental object. But our object is, the salvation of heathen souls, by bringing them home to the flock of Christ, and the peculiar circumstances of Ceylon suggested this measure as one of the most hopeful that could be adopted, and the seven years' experiment has amply justified the expectation. The Singhalese people are very different from the people of India. While the latter remain but slightly influenced by the presence of Europeans amongst them, as far as it is mere presence and mere contact, retaining in their integrity their ancestral habits and customs, and separated from foreigners by the rigid barrier of caste; the former are remarkably affected in their habits and character by the presence of their European conquerors. They have always been ready to follow the manners, and even to adopt the faith, of their rulers. To the present day, many families of pure Singhalese blood bear Portuguese names—De Alwis, De Silva, De Saram. The Dutch succeeded in enforcing, for their own purposes of aggrandisement, an universal profession of Christianity in the maritime provinces; and now the facile Singhalese are

just as ready to Anglicise. How important that they should have constantly brought before their notice a body of English Christians, not banded together for selfish ends or political domination, but who are united by a common sympathy in the spread of the pure Gospel of Jesus Christ amongst them, who take an unquestionable interest in their best and highest welfare, and who are ready in every way to promote it by their sympathy as well as by their purse. It is not easy to over-estimate the growing influences of such a community as this among the natives of Ceylon. Even if we look at the mere amount of funds raised through the interest kindled and sustained by our Mission church at Colombo, the results are neither small nor insignificant. In the year before its opening, the contributions raised on behalf of the Society in Colombo were only 71*l*. Since that time there has been a progressive annual increase. Last year's receipts were more than six-fold the sum just named—445*l*. Altogether, more than 1600*l*. have thus been contributed in the last six years, besides 1000*l*. towards the erection of the church and Mission premises adjoining. There have been few instances of more ready liberality in any of our Mission fields; and the work of the Colombo station, in all its various branches, soon promises to be entirely supported by our friends on the spot, who have learnt our Saviour's maxim, "Freely ye have received, freely give."

The direct work of evangelization is carried on by services both in Singhalese and Tamil, by schools, by tract distribution, and by preaching and conversation in the streets. The detailed narrative of this most important department would indeed be full of interest, but our space forbids us to attempt it. It does not, however, differ in any important particulars from the operations with which the readers of our publications are familiar in other districts of the Missionary field; and we wish at present to fix attention on the success of the specific branch which we have just now indicated. On the return to England of the Rev. G. Pettitt, who was in charge of the Mission church for the first year after its erection, he was succeeded by the Rev. H. Whitley, extracts from whose reports, beginning with that for the year ending September 30, 1856, we present to our readers, as the best means of bringing under their view this division of the work as well as the workman himself—

"The English congregations morning and evening, at eleven and a quarter-past five, have been ministered to by myself. The average attendance has been, in the morning eighty-four, and in the evening nearly

seventy-three, omitting fractions, showing a slight increase over the numbers of last year, which were respectively eighty and seventy-one. In taking the average, it should be borne in mind that every Sunday is included, though sometimes a heavy rain decreases the congregation to a dozen, and the hot season drives many from Colombo. On twenty-one occasions the congregation ranged from ninety to a hundred and eleven. The number of communicants on the list is forty-one, and the average attendance during the year, twenty-four. In referring to the English congregation, the question naturally occurs, how far have its members aided in any way the direct work of evangelizing the heathen, and so fulfilled the expectations which were not unreasonably formed at the erection of the church, and the commencement of an English service. To this, as appears to me, a satisfactory answer may be returned, bearing in mind that by satisfactory is to be understood, not all that the congregations ought to do or could do, but all that we are warranted in expecting. We cannot be disappointed if extraordinary efforts are not put forth, but should be thankful if a congregation manifests even the usual amount of interest in Missionary labours. Taking then, as a test, that to which most persons look first, the liberality of the congregation, we have the following statistics—Within the walls of the church have been collected, during the year, 117*l.* 14*s.* 1*d.*, of which merely 3*l.* or 4*l.* were contributed by the natives. Out of this,

"1. The entire expenses of the church, including repairs, have been defrayed; and since services are held for the natives, so far this is direct assistance to the Society, in enabling it to keep in repair the fabric of a church used for its purposes.

"2. About 27*l.* were for purely Missionary objects, viz. nearly a third for the Turkish Missions of the Church Missionary Society, and the remainder for the Colombo Association.

"3. Nearly 33*l.* have been collected for the temporal relief of the poor; 7*l.* being a special collection for the Colombo Friend-in-Need Society; the remainder, the amount of sacramental offerings, being for the poor in the district, or in the native congregations.

"This refers only to what has been done within the church, but much more has been received from the members of the congregation. Thus, for the debt on the church, now happily extinguished, 50*l.* was contributed; and for the Colombo Association of the Church Missionary Society we have just received upwards of 60*l.* in the way of annual

subscriptions and donations. Adding these two items to the collections within the church, we have a total of about 220*l.* contributed in one year to various direct and indirect Missionary purposes, exclusively from members of the Mission church congregation. If it be true, then, that they might have done more, let us be thankful that they have not done less.

"But cannot we point to other than pecuniary assistance? The congregation supplies us at least with some gentlemen who are willing to aid us with their counsel as members of the Committee of the Church Missionary Association, and with some ladies who manifest a personal interest in our female schools. By the exertions of the Ladies' Committee, funds are raised which go a considerable way towards the support of the girls' schools in Slave Island and at St. Sebastian. While, then, there are many other friends of the Society who are not members of the congregation of the Mission church, it is from the latter we derive the greatest assistance: we are thankful for these tokens for good. May the Spirit be poured out upon us from on high, that soon more energy may be put forth, and more influence exerted on behalf of heathen souls.

"Before quitting this part of the report, I may add, that when Mr. Knight was in Colombo he kindly met several members of the congregation at my house, and gave varied and interesting information respecting his tour in South India. This was the beginning, or rather revival, of a Missionary meeting of a few who are interested in the cause. Though our numbers have seldom exceeded a dozen, yet we have kept up the meetings regularly. An address has been delivered, with statistical and other information, for about an hour, when we close with reading the Scriptures and prayer. Mr. Fenn has conducted it alternately with myself from May to September."

The following year Mr. Whitley thus reports respecting the English services—

"The amount collected within the church for all purposes has been 134*l.* 2*s.* 7*d.* Out of this we have provided for the repairs, expenses of public worship, &c. 28*l.* were collected for the Church Missionary Association; about 31*l.* were received at the offertory at the Lord's Supper, and distributed amongst the poor; and 7*l.* for the Colombo Friend-in-Need Society. From this it will be seen that about 67*l.* were collected for the expenses of public worship, repairs, &c.

"In connexion with this part of the Report it may be stated, that a gentleman, a member of the congregation, voluntarily

undertook to collect an amount sufficient for the purpose of purchasing a piece of land adjoining the church, in the hope that the Home Committee would then erect a house for the Missionary minister. I am thankful to say that he has succeeded, and the land has lately been made over to me, in trust for the Church Missionary Society, at a cost altogether of about 250*l*. The Committee at home have not yet been applied to for a grant towards the erection of a Mission house; but we earnestly hope that they will be able to accede to the request when made.

"In connexion with ministerial labours amongst the Europeans, it may be mentioned, that the receipts of the Colombo Association of the Church Missionary Society have this year amounted to more than 226*l*., raised in the neighbourhood, solely for the spread of the Gospel amongst the natives in the Colombo and Cotta districts. I need scarcely add that this is a great assistance, not to myself only, but to my brethren at Cotta. If to the above we add the 250*l*. collected for the land, and 67*l*. collected in the church from week to week, for the expenses of public worship, repairs, &c., we have a sum of 583*l*. dedicated to the Society's Mission in Colombo during the past year. A reference to the accounts of this station will show that this sum considerably exceeds the Society's remittances from home, including the salary of the Missionary. Taking, then, all these facts into consideration—the additional number of communicants, the proofs of liberality, the active labours of some, and the general interest manifested by others—I am encouraged to hope that the blessing of the Lord is with us. May He further pour out his Spirit upon all the Europeans, that many may give themselves to God, and hold forth the word of life to the surrounding thousands sunk in idolatry, superstition, and lifeless Christianity."

Again, the succeeding Report testifies to the value of these services—

"While another year's labour in ministering to an English congregation has not led me to love less the work of evangelizing the heathen, and the care of the native Christians, it has shown me more than ever the importance of this branch of my duty. Whatever tends to the spiritual welfare of one's own countrymen, whatever builds them up in the maintenance of the doctrines of the Bible, whatever sets before them the redeeming love of Christ, urges that as a constraining motive for their constant prayerful efforts for the salvation of souls, this must be real Missionary work—work which a Missionary not only may, but, in some circumstances, must

engage in, if he heartily desires the conversion of the degraded heathen. True, some, but by no means the greater portion of his time, must then be occupied in English duties; yet so far is this from being a hindrance to labours amongst the heathen, that it materially assists him. If his own sphere of direct Missionary effort be hereby limited, it must not be forgotten that the influence of Europeans spreads far and wide. The Missionary labouring exclusively amongst the natives, some five, or ten, or twenty miles from the nearest European residence, will feel the benefit, in his jungle district, of whatever helps the promotion of true piety amongst his countrymen. Leaving out of account the opportunities of soliciting pecuniary assistance which the minister of an English congregation has, the above considerations incline me to the conviction, daily gathering strength, that he who seeks the conversion of the indifferent and the edification of Christ's people amongst those of his own country or language, is adopting a course which, under God, is likely to result in the enlightenment of the heathen, and the spread of the Gospel amongst the natives."

We add one more extract from the last annual statement Mr. Whitley was permitted to prepare—

"The English services have been held morning and afternoon at eleven and five. The average attendance at both these services shows an improvement over that of former periods. In the morning the average has been 110, in the evening 83. For 1857-58 the corresponding numbers were 100 and 77. There has not, however, been quite a proportionable increase in the average attendance at the Lord's Supper, being only 28 to 27 last year. It should be borne in mind, both with respect to the number of attendants at the services and at the Lord's Supper, that during the period from January to May some families are always absent at Nuwera Ellia.

"The sums collected in the church during service, or remitted in the shape of fees, &c., have been as follows—

(1) For church expenses	67	8	1½
(2) Sacramental alms and for the poor	37	15	10½
(3) For the Colombo Association Church Missionary Society	14	13	4½
(4) For the Friend-in-Need Society	12	0	5

making a total of £131 17 9½

"Of these the first and third items, amount-

ing to 82*l.* 1*s.* 6½*d.*, directly benefit the Church Missionary Society.

"Though not immediately connected with the English congregation of the Mission church, I may mention, while speaking of money, that the receipts of the Colombo Association Church Missionary Society for 1858-59 were 181*l.* 6*s.* 4½*d.*

"The Parent Committee having promised a sum not exceeding 600*l.* towards the erection of a Mission house, the two churchwardens kindly sent out a subscription-paper in July last, for the purpose of collecting sufficient to purchase an additional piece of land. Since the date at which this report closes the whole sum required, 150*l.*, has been raised, and the land secured. Such, however, is the price of labour and materials, that we have not been able as yet to submit a plan which could be carried out within the estimate; but we hope to succeed ere long, and to commence building. The Home Committee have expressed their great satisfaction at the kind and willing manner in which the members of the congregation, and other friends, have come forward and rendered their aid in this work.

"While I would be truly thankful for improved attendance at both the Sabbath services, it would betray in me a miserably low view of the Christian minister's great office and objects were this alone to satisfy me. We wish not merely to see our churches filling, but heaven also. We want to see Jesus in the hearts of our hearers; and never ought we to rest while other objects are more lovely in the eyes of our flocks than Christ whom we preach."

"Looking," he concludes, "at the various classes among whom it is my privilege to labour, whether as Missionary or Minister, and any thing in this Report to the contrary notwithstanding, a view of the past year affords encouragement. If not great encouragement, we have a little; and let this suffice to lift up our hearts in praise to God. Let us join also with our fellow-Christians of whom we rejoice to hear in America, in Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and last, not least, in England, and even in Ceylon, in praying for the speedy outpouring of the Holy Spirit. We are stirred up to prayer, and we have begun to unite more in this blessed exercise."

Such was his own modest estimate of his labours—labours not merely, be it remembered, in the English, but also in the Singhalese and Tamil languages, which he had not failed to acquire. But

this career of happy usefulness was just about to close. Our readers will probably have observed the brief record of Mr. Whitley's sudden and violent death in a recent issue; but we cannot allow such a name to be erased from our muster-roll without a longer notice. His removal called out deep and universal sympathy in the island, and it is well to ask what was the character of him who was so much beloved.

Henry Whitley was the third son of the Rev. Edward Whitley, M. A., chaplain to the Ironmongers' Company, and minister of Sir R. Jeffrey's Chapel, Kingsland, London. He was the child of many prayers, and manifested at an early age a very deep reverence for God and fear of sin. He would often reprove older boys when he saw them doing wrong. His early impressions were matured into a final decision for God, when being prepared for Confirmation by the late Principal of the Society's College at Islington, who had also at that time a pastoral charge there. With a view to the ministry, he entered Queen's College, Cambridge, in October 1846, taking his B. A. degree as Junior Optime in January 1850. He was subsequently ordained to the curacy of Sapcote, Leicestershire, under its late rector, the Rev. John Bickersteth. This period of his life may be best described in the following communication from one who was then his fellow curate—

"After it was settled that he should be ordained to the curacy of the parish, he came to Sapcote, and for some months laid himself out for usefulness in every possible way. As a lay-visitor and as a Sunday-school teacher he did all in his power to compensate the beloved rector for the absence of an ordained helper. And even then the leading features of his character—humility, unobtrusiveness, diligence, and, above all and the root of all, piety—caused him to be highly esteemed by all who knew him, not simply the parishioners, but the neighbouring clergy. After his ordination he pursued the same quiet and useful course; and, in common with other curates, resided in the rectory. There seemed to me to be a mutual regard between the rector and curate, exceeding that which ordinarily exists in such relationship. The loving spirit of the former could not but be drawn out by (and in turn draw out) the constant, deferential, and affectionate devotedness of the curate to every wish and every plan of the rector; so that the Apostle's description of himself and Timothy found in them a most appropriate application—'Ye know the proof of him, that as a son

with the father, he hath served me in the Gospel.'

"The simplicity, earnestness, and unction of his preaching rendered our late friend's ministrations useful. He was, as may be well supposed, unfailing and unwearied in his Sunday-school work: and, indeed, he would fain stir up the minds of others engaged in the same work. He published a small tract, entitled, 'Piety, Perseverance, and Prayer; or the Principles of Sunday-school Teaching.'

"Besides that which came upon him daily—his own parochial work—he spared not himself to be of use to others. He was the principal originator of the 'Hinckley Young Men's Christian Association,' and, in the prosecution of that good work, had many a weary walk. It remains a memorial of him.

"But perhaps you cannot have a more correct idea of Mr. Whitley than is given in the annual 'Pastor's Address,' issued by Mr. Bickersteth, January 1, 1855—

"'Dearly beloved, I cannot part with you on this occasion, and forget the loss we are about to sustain by the removal of my dear friend, and fellow-helper, and brother, or, I might almost say, son in the ministry; but I will not by saying, what would be easy to say, further distress him, myself, or you. Together let us praise the Lord, who gave him to us, and has been pleased to make Sappcote so long the favoured scene of his diligent, faithful, and persevering service. Together let us invoke the Lord's blessing upon his progress and prospects in life spiritual and temporal. May He bless his family and home friends who have reason to be glad of him—conduct him in peace and safety to another scene of ministerial work—make him what he has been to me, (and I think there are none who will not respond "and to me also,") a blessing."

"I ought not to omit," our correspondent continues, "as helping to give a notion of the estimation in which he was held, that when he had resolved to leave father and mother, and sister and brother, for Christ's sake and the Gospel's, to go forth, and encounter the difficulties and the dangers of a Missionary's life, several of his clerical brethren and some other friends contributed to the purchase of a gold watch, which would remind him, in the far country, of those who highly esteemed him in love; for his own and for his work's sake.

"Sappcote also did not allow him to go and not carry with him some token of affectionate regard. A purse of money, a Bible, and an address were presented to him by the parishioners and Sunday-school teachers.

"It is scarcely necessary to add, that all letters from him had a sincere welcome, and were read with much interest, and that the intelligence of his death was very sorrowful news to many in this neighbourhood. But what shall we say? 'He had laboured and not fainted.'"

The long-cherished wish of his heart for Missionary work was granted to him in the year 1854. He was appointed to the work at Colombo, part of which we have endeavoured to describe in previous pages. The Bishop of Ripon, son of his rector, took part in the valedictory service with which he was sped to his station, which he reached on February 25, 1855.

The sudden summons that called him to his rest is narrated in the following letter from the Rev. C. C. Fenn—

"The Committee will hear from other sources, by the same mail that takes this, the news of the terrible and agonizing stroke with which it has pleased our heavenly Father (in mercy, I doubt not) to visit this Mission. The very one whom we perhaps should have been inclined to think could least be spared has been removed, cut down, literally in a moment, in the midst of his work. On Saturday evening, the 10th of November, Mrs. Fenn and myself were conversing with Mrs. Whitley in the new Mission house, dear Whitley himself having left us only a minute or two before, when we heard loud screams in the compound. We went out, and saw five or six natives calling out in Singhalese, 'The master! the master!' and pulling with their utmost strength at a heap of rubbish, the ruins of the wall of an old schoolroom that had just fallen down. The terrible truth then flashed on our mind that our beloved friend Whitley himself was beneath the mass of stones, beams, and earth that lay confusedly on the ground. In about two minutes his body was extricated: he gasped twice or three times. A little brandy was poured down his throat, and then, I believe, the spirit fled. I ran off immediately for a doctor. On coming, he told us all was over. He said afterwards, and the other doctors agreed, that had the extrication been immediate, and the most skilful medical attendance been on the spot at the time, nothing could have been done to save his life. His death was caused by a beam falling on the ribs, and forcing them into the lungs, and bringing on internal hæmorrhage. The bishop happened to be passing by at the time, and at once came in. This was before the doctor had pronounced the case hopeless, and the bishop left under the impression that our friend was likely to recover. But before leaving, he said he would

come and be responsible for the morning service at the Mission church. The bishop came in again when he had heard of our brother's departure, renewing his offer to preach, and expressing a wish to officiate at the funeral. Both offers were of course accepted, and he must have sat up part of the night writing the funeral sermon, since he left the Mission house after ten at night, and was at the church again (a distance of three miles from his own house) at half-past ten the next morning, where he preached an earnest, affectionate, and very suitable sermon. The funeral was at five on Sunday evening, and though, in consequence of its being Sunday, very inadequate notice had been given, a very large number of Europeans and others were present. If I once begin to tell you all the tokens of grief and esteem for our departed friend, and sympathy for his widow, I shall not know where to stop.

"If ever there was a man to whom a sudden death would have been (if I may say so) not sudden, our brother Whitley was the one. He seemed never off his guard; always in the same frame; always living in the presence of a reconciled Father; always serenely and gravely cheerful; always ready to show kindness, and ceaselessly laborious. A man of higher-toned piety and more consistent life I have not yet seen, and do not expect to see. My esteem and high opinion of him had always been increasing, but especially very much of late. How often it seems, that just when God has perfected an instrument He removes him, to show, as I suppose, that He does not depend on instruments. Our dear friend, as far as I can gather, had no sort of presentiment that his end was near. He did not need it: he was living in the spiritual world even while upon earth: he was gathered because he was ripe.

"I hope the Committee will send out a man to take his place as soon as possible. It should be a clergyman with pastoral experience, especially in preaching.

"The very strong sympathy and good feeling manifested by the Galle Face congregation shows how much dear Whitley had effected, and proves most strongly the desirableness of keeping the post well supplied."

The Bishop of Colombo also bears his testimony to Mr. Whitley's worth, and concludes by expressing "the sincere and deep sorrow felt by all, in common with himself, for the most sudden and calamitous event, which has deprived the church of his services." "The last sad offices," continues his lordship, "were solemnized by myself on the following even-

ing (which is always the case in this climate), amid more universal sorrow than I have witnessed on any previous occasion; and he deserves all that has been said and felt at such a loss to our colonial church. The pall was borne by persons of the highest position in the colony, and the sympathy expressed towards his bereaved widow by all is of that character which best marks the regard in which he himself was held." We add the address of sympathy to which the bishop alludes—

"Painful as it is to intrude upon the sacredness of your sorrow, our own grief and our sympathy for you will not permit us any longer to delay in offering to you our deep condolence in your most sudden and sad bereavement, and in expressing, however inadequately, some of the feelings that we entertain for the memory of your late excellent and much-lamented husband.

"Your loss is indeed irreparable. Partner with him in his joys and sorrows, his trials and blessings, his prayers and labours, you could more perfectly appreciate his worth; for while towards you he ever evinced the affection of a fond husband, you were subject to the more immediate influence of his edifying counsel and example. Still, dear madam, deeply sensible of the great calamity that has fallen upon us, individually and as a congregation, we feel that in his death we have lost a friend, whose kindness of heart endeared him to every one who knew him, and whose valuable advice and assistance were freely afforded whenever they were required.

"A pastor, whose teaching of the Gospel was so faithful, so simple, and so clear, whose calls to holiness of life were so earnest and loving, and whose consistent example shone so brightly, failed not powerfully to invite all with whom he was associated to follow in the path which he so worthily trod, earnestly serving his Lord and Master; and we have, in the great regard in which he was held by all denominations of Christians, the most perfect testimony that his efforts were especially blessed.

"Highly as we esteemed and loved him whilst he was amongst us, we seem only now fully to realize his true value when we can see his face no more. And, dear madam, it is needless to assure you that time can never efface the remembrance of those ceaseless and self-denying labours in his holy calling, that unaffected and unvarying kindness of manner, that constant serenity of temper, that thoughtful consideration for the feelings,

and quick sympathy for the sorrows of others, that consistent course of unworldliness, which were so many convincing proofs of piety towards God and benevolence towards men. And we would express the fervent hope that the solemn event which has just occurred may, by God's grace, firmly establish in our hearts those principles of Christian truth which we so often heard from his lips, and that the fruits of his labours and prayers while in this world may be more abundant in us now that he is gone from his work into the presence of his Saviour. For him, we know, there is no cause for grief, for to him 'to die was gain.' He is now with Christ, 'which is far better.' It is left to us, the sorrowing survivors, to comfort each other; and while we submissively and trustfully bow to the will of God, we are not unmindful that our utmost sympathies are due, as they are most sincerely and affectionately offered, to one whom we all know as the worthy and loved companion, the zealous and highly-valued helpmate of our dear departed friend; and we would beg you to accept the assurance of our continued and most affectionate solicitude for your future happiness and comfort."

We wish that we had room for extracts from the newspaper press of the island, but our space only allows us to add these few lines from one of the leading members of the congregation—

"By the Church Missionary Society the loss of such a man must be severely felt, for he was one of those beautiful characters whose devotedness, deep piety, and habitually prayerful and consistent life did more to win souls than the brightest talents and most brilliant eloquence could have done. Nothing

could more effectually commend Christianity to the heathen or to the unawakened nominal Christian, than his living example of its purity, loveliness, and power. He is gone to his blessed Master, to happiness and eternal glory, for which he was fully ripe. Thankful indeed may the Church Missionary Society be to a gracious and merciful God for raising up to His service such a man. So long as the Society is represented by such, it cannot fail to command a blessing on its labours."

We feel deeply the truth of these concluding words. We bless and praise the Giver of all good for such labourers as Henry Whitley. We called attention last month to another of our honoured and devoted Missionaries, Thomas Ragland. The two men were very different in University distinctions, perhaps in mental calibre, and certainly in their special departments of Missionary work. But there was one great point of union. They were one in faith, in principles, and in spirit; and in Henry Whitley, sanctified common sense, and that valuable but indescribable gift, called influence, made him qualified to fill his sphere with a success which we hardly learnt, but, as we so often do, by his loss.

We said that we had a special reason for bringing this whole topic before our readers. We are much straitened for men. We ask for a successor to our late brother. He is needed without delay. Full orders and some ministerial experience are requisites for the post. Is there no country parish, like Sapcote, that can spare its pastor to so promising a sphere of labour, to so warmhearted and loving a flock, as that whose centre is the Mission church at Colombo?

THE EXCLUSION OF THE BIBLE FROM THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT IN INDIA, THE PERPETUATION OF THE NEUTRAL POLICY.

THE mutiny in India cast upwards on its agitated surface a variety of questions connected with the character and results of our governmental policy in that country. A calamity so unexpected and severe, the stroke of which was felt so widely throughout the land, aroused to thought every man who was capable of thinking; and the more the subject was sifted and examined, the more the conviction gained ground that we had not been faithful to our obligations as a Chris-

tian people. In the hope of conciliating the heathen, we had withheld from Christianity that recognition which it had a right to claim, and had been guilty of a disloyalty which could not have been otherwise than displeasing to God; and all right-thinking men entertained the hope, that on the restoration of tranquillity, whatever had been unchristian and impolitic in our conduct, would be repudiated, and a policy be inaugurated, more consistent with the Christian profession of

England, better calculated to bring down a blessing from God, and more likely to obtain the confidence of the natives, because more straightforward, and therefore more intelligible to them.

It was at such a time that the Church Missionary Society put forth a memorial to the Queen, which with unflinching fidelity pointed out the great defect in our policy, and prayed for its removal—

“The Government of India has professed to occupy a position of neutrality between the Christian and false religions. Such profession, as your Memorialists believe, dishonours the truth of God, practically discourages the progress of Christianity, and is inimical to the social welfare of the natives. Especially they conceive it to be inconsistent with a right discharge of the duties of Government in endeavouring to repress those anti-social evils which are mainly attributable to caste-distinctions, public indecency in idolatrous rites, and generally to a false standard of morality—evils which have been fearfully exhibited amidst the revolting cruelties of the present rebellion, and which can only be effectually counteracted by recognising the Christian religion as the basis of law and social order.

“Your Memorialists also humbly submit that neutrality has not been, and cannot be, practically maintained by a Christian Government in the midst of Hindu and Mohammedan institutions. The Government, for example, has been compelled to suppress by law certain so-called religious practices, which violated the laws of humanity; and, while professing to respect false religions, has unavoidably undermined their foundations by educational and social improvements. Thus your Majesty’s Government has presented to the people of India a disingenuous aspect, and has exposed itself to the charge, falsely alleged against it by the mutineers, of designing to make them Christians by fraud or coercion.

“Your Memorialists would therefore beseech your Majesty to have it declared to the Public Authorities in the East Indies—

“That the existing policy will be no longer professed or maintained; but that, as it is the belief of your Majesty and of this Christian nation that the adoption of the Christian religion, upon an intelligent conviction of its truth, will be an incalculable benefit to the natives of India, the countenance and aid of Government will be given to any legitimate measures for bringing that religion under their notice and investigation.”

The so-called policy of “neutrality,” referred to in this Memorial, had been indeed our great national delinquency in India, a perseverance in which had involved us in many violations of Christian duty, and had at length entailed upon us great calamities.

The true religion of God and the false religions of India had met face to face, and between light and darkness, thus confronted, a conflict for supremacy had commenced, which can never cease until the strongholds of Satan be levelled in the dust. In the presence of so momentous a struggle, England, in the exercise of her sovereign power, had resolved upon neutrality. She decided to act as though it were to her a matter of indifference whether India remained under the yoke of the Shasters and the Korán, or, by the liberating power of the Gospel, became regenerated and ennobled. This indifferencism, we are disposed to think, was more pretended than real. It is difficult to conceive the possibility of an Englishman holding office in India, and thus feeling in a greater or less measure the weight of responsibility, and yet be indifferent to the emancipation of that great country from abominable idolatries, which enfeeble the population and impoverish the empire. Such men there may have been; perhaps some such are even now to be found. If so, it is because they love darkness rather than light, and do not like the element which is congenial to them to be interfered with; and yet even thus, in the hearts of such persons there must exist a repressed, yet by no means inaudible conviction, that it would be better for men, whether European or Asiatic, if they were under, rather than without, the yoke of Christ; better for themselves, better for India, better for all mankind, if it were so.

However this be, we will take the most favourable view of the case, that our policy was clothed with this aspect of indifferencism, because it was deemed expedient it should be so regarded by the natives. It was, in fact, an excess of political prudery, unintelligible to the native, who is never ashamed to profess his faith, but fearlessly proclaims and glories in it, and wraps his religious profession as closely around him as the girdle around his loins. But it was done lest we should be suspected of desiring to interfere with his religion; and to such an extent has this been carried, that our faith, the religion of our convictions, to which, as a people, we are so immeasurably indebted, has been but too often slightly dealt with in the presence of the heathen. To the Christianity of the Bible, England owes all her greatness. Here

lies the secret source of her free institutions, and of her own ability to use them, without permitting liberty to degenerate into licence. The energy to improve the opportunities of intercourse with other nations, and thus increase her riches and prosperity, springs from the same source. Christianity is the solid substratum which gives such stability to our institutions, so that the strokes of the political earthquakes, which, on the continent of Europe, have so often overthrown kingdoms and dynasties, have been felt only as slight tremors on our shores. England owes much, every thing, to her Christianity, and the obligations which consequently devolve upon her ought to be cheerfully and heartily fulfilled. Assuredly the least which can be required of her is, that she be not ashamed of her faith, but that she avow it honestly and fearlessly before the world. Other nations are not ashamed of their false creeds; why then should England be ashamed of that which is the truth of God? France is not ashamed of her Romanism: she identifies it with her national acts, and, in her political procedures and treaties with other nations, never loses an opportunity of promoting its interests. We do not admire her proceedings, nor propose her example as a model for imitation. We have no wish that any coercive influence should be exercised on men's consciences. But we have erred in the other extreme. It is one thing to force our religion on men, when they are indisposed to it, and compel them to listen to its teaching; it is another thing to ignore our religion in the presence of the heathen stranger, and deal with it in such a manner as to induce him to think that we but slightly value it, and are wholly indifferent to his reception or rejection of it. It has not been enough for England to tolerate the false religion of Hindustan, and allow the native races free scope for their profession, but she has gone further than this; for while she has conceded to the native races all freedom for the exercise of their religion, she has acted as if she was not free to avow her own. In her anxiety to conciliate the heathen, she has too frequently patronized their superstitions, while she has ignored and discouraged her own pure faith. That frank and honest avowal of her Christianity, which she was bound to render, has been withheld, and an evasive timidity and undue reserve on the subject have characterized throughout her Government of India. Our course of public action has been such, that if, from this alone, the native was left to form his opinion of our religious character, as a nation, he must mentally have come to

the conclusion that we had no religion at all, and that to his rulers it was a matter of supreme indifference what gods he believed in, or where he worshipped—in the pagoda, the mosque, or the Christian church; nay, indeed, some of our governmental acts have been of such a nature, as to lead the native to apprehend, that to become a Christian would not only be to expose himself to the hatred of his heathen relatives and friends, but to the displeasure of the authorities.

Thus the balance has been held, not with an impartial, but with an unequal and unsteady hand, and the recognition, which, on pretences of expediency, has been denied to Christianity, has often been extended to those false systems of religion, under whose debasing influence the nations of India have been so long and grievously suffering. This pseudo-liberality we have been pleased to call neutrality, and it has been, unhappily for us, the guiding star of our Statecraft in India. Even still, notwithstanding the severity of that ordeal, through which British power had to pass in 1857-58, this word of ill-omen continues to find a place in Government minutes and despatches. So late as 1859, in the Education Despatch of that year, the introduction of the old word avows a perseverance in the old policy, "Her Majesty's Government are unable to sanction any modification of the rule of strict religious neutrality." We are not surprised that, in his Primary Charge, the Bishop of Calcutta felt himself constrained to say—

"I cannot but express a wish that the word *neutrality* could be dropped in describing the relation of the British Government to religion. It may be said that the word is not of much consequence, and no doubt some word is necessary to express the fact that the State stands aloof from Missionary enterprises, and that in the language of the Queen's Proclamation, 'None shall be in anywise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances, but all shall alike enjoy the regard and impartial protection of the law.' But the word *neutrality*, which is avoided in the Proclamation, is liable to perpetual misconstruction, and has received it from certain Madras petitioners. Nor can I ever hear of it without thinking of our Lord's warning, *He that is not with me is against me*. It is impossible for any thoughtful man to be really indifferent to the contest between two such principles as Christianity and heathenism."

And yet that indifferentism to the contest between Christianity and heathenism, which is impossible to any thoughtful man, we have

professed as our principle of governmental action, and have attempted to do that as a nation, which confessedly we are not free to do as individuals.

It was indeed time that such a policy should be abandoned. It had been persevered in, amidst many misgivings on our part, against the often-expressed convictions of all godly and clear-sighted men amongst us, and it had decidedly failed of its object, for it had not conciliated the heathen.

If in any quarter such a result might have been expected, it would surely have been amongst the Sepoys of the British army. They, at least, had been fenced around by a strict neutrality. The Brahmin and Rajpoot soldier had every facility afforded them for the preservation of their caste; the Mussulman was free to turn his face towards Mecca, if it did not interfere with the facings of his drill. Yet they rebelled against us. They so distrusted the British Government, notwithstanding all the cajolery which had been practised, that a greased cartridge ignited the train, and exploded the mine, where ignitable materials had long been accumulating. The Northern Presidency was rent in sunder by the stroke, and the scream of unutterable terror and anguish which broke from the lips of many a hapless Englishwoman was heard distinctly, appallingly, on our own shores. The national feeling was aroused; petitions poured in upon the tables of Parliament; and a change in the policy of our Indian Government was demanded with a voice which could not be mistaken. The lion roared, and it was needful he should be pacified. It was a deeply-interesting crisis. Dangers there were to be guarded against; one more especially, lest the alterations about to be effected should have reference rather to the form of administration than to the principles which inspire it, and prompt its action, and lest the national mind, tranquillized by mere nominal changes, should be reconciled to old evils under a new name, and permit affairs to subside into their old and objectionable state. We ventured at the time a caution on this point. In our Number for April 1858, the following paragraph occurs—

“Grave alterations may be effected in the functional organization, and yet, while the form be changed, the old principle of evasive policy, which has wrought all the mischief, be conserved. So far as the religious interests of India are concerned, we might find ourselves not in an improved, but in a still more embarrassed condition. Only let the principle of action be amended, and existing arrange-

ments, with comparatively slight modification, may be preferable to new ones, which may look well in theory, but, when attempted to be reduced to practice, may not work effectively.”*

Well, undoubtedly, so far as the form of Government is concerned, great changes have been made. The once princely East-India Company is reduced to a spectral apparition, whose doleful voice is heard betimes amidst the relics of its departed greatness; and the old East-India House, to which many a powerful and, we will add, often munificent director, bent his steps, to fulfil the weighty responsibilities of Indian Government, dismantled of its archives, is left cold and dull in the smoke of London, a memorial of departed greatness. We have now an Indian Council, of whose proceedings we know nothing. Important questions no doubt are discussed there, but they are carried on within closed doors. No gentleman of the public press attends, keeping pace, in the rapidity of short-hand, with the fluency of the speaker, enabling the men of England to observe the working of the new machinery, the character of the deliberations, the mode in which, when differences of opinion occur, such questions are decided, and thus to discriminate the master-minds in whom confidence might be placed, and to whom power ought to be entrusted.

But although the debates on Indian questions are no longer placed before the public as they were wont to be in the time of the Company's *regime*, and our Indian Council is as reserved and secret as the *Conseil d'Etat* of some despotic ruler; yet the fruits of these deliberations must of necessity come forth into the arena of public life, and their results be manifested in the acts of our Indian administration. These are before the country for consideration. There is the opportunity of comparing the present with the past, and thus deciding whether with the form the principle of administration has been changed, and whether the aspirations of the British public for the adoption of a frank and open, instead of an evasive policy, and that more especially in regard to Christianity and its claims upon us as a professedly Christian nation, have been fulfilled. Has the image of jealousy, which provoked the Lord to anger, been removed? Do we no longer hesitate to do what is right towards God and just to man, because in our opinion it would be impolitic? Is our Christianity candidly

* “Church Missionary Intelligencer,” vol. ix. p. 73.

avowed in the sight of the nations of India as that one chief thing by which we are benefited, and which they need? or is there the same undue consideration of what may be advantageous to ourselves, although it may be disadvantageous to the heathen, and dishonouring to God? After all, this is the great question, and upon the answer the character of the future must depend. Unless God be honoured, there can be no prosperity. If, under a new form, the old principles of action are retained, they are generating as before the elements of mischief, and are preparing for us some new explosion. This we feel to be the great question which, so far as India is concerned, demands the attention of the British public. The feeling aroused by the mutiny was powerful; men's minds were strongly moved; petitions to the Houses of Parliament were never more numerous. That excitement has subsided. Have we gained our object? Has a Christian policy been inaugurated in India? We shall narrow down the inquiry to one practical point.

In the Memorial of the Church Missionary Society to which we have referred, two features of our Indian policy were specified, in which amendment was desired: "the cessation of any still subsisting connexion between the Government and the revenues or ceremonies of the Mohammedan, Hindu, or other false religions;" and "the introduction of the Bible into the system of education in all Government schools and colleges, as the only standard of moral rectitude, and the source of those principles on which Her Majesty's Government is to be conducted."

The system of Government education which prevails in India was framed in compliance with the neutral policy, and therefore excluded Christianity and the Bible. To such an extent was this in the first instance carried, that the Bible was not permitted a place on the library shelves, and teachers were forbidden, even if solicited, to afford "any religious information to the students."* The despatch of 1854, however, modified this extreme tension of the system in the following paragraph—

"Considerable apprehension appears to exist as to our views with respect to religious instruction in the Government institutions. These institutions were founded for the benefit of the whole population of India; and in order to effect their object, it was and is indispensable that the education conveyed in them should be exclusively secular. The

Bible is, we understand, placed in the libraries of the colleges and schools, and the pupils are free to consult it. This is as it should be; and, moreover, we have no desire to prevent or discourage any explanations which the pupils may, of their own free will, ask from their masters on the subject, provided that such information be given out of school-hours."

Thus, to use the forcible words of Dr. Kaye, the Government "abandoned the practice of tolerating all religions but their own." The intolerance which excluded the Bible, even from a place on the library shelf, and sealed the mouths of the teachers, even out of school hours, on the one grand subject, the salvation of Christ, "could not be grafted upon any continuing system without discredit to the State," and it was at length relinquished. But beyond this there has been no advance. The proposition that the system should be still further relaxed by permitting the formation of voluntary Bible classes in the schools, was expressly negatived by the despatch of 1859, in the following paragraph—"Her Majesty's Government are therefore unable to sanction any modification of the rule of strict religious neutrality as it has hitherto been enforced in the Government schools, and it accordingly remains that the holy Scriptures, being kept in the library, and being open to all the pupils who may wish to study them, and the teachers being at liberty to afford instruction and explanations regarding them to all who may voluntarily seek it, the course of study in all the Government institutions be, as heretofore, confined to secular subjects."

Thus the Government education remains to this day, unhappily, purely secular. It will be observed, also, that the proposed alteration is rejected, because it is regarded as incompatible with the "rule of strict religious neutrality." For this reason Dr. Kaye objects to it: "it would not be in accordance with any system of religious neutrality: it would be to set out from a new starting-point, and to ignore the neutrality principle altogether." Let it be remembered, that both these assertions of the old principle, that in the Government despatch, and that in Dr. Kaye's book, date subsequently to the great rebellion; neutrality there continues to be the great governing principle of India. It is the avowed principle, in conformity with which, State institutions and proceedings, even on so important a matter as that of education, must be moulded. Until, then, the system of educa-

* Kaye's "Christianity in India," p. 471.

tion be remodelled, and a department for Christian instruction be instituted as a recognised portion of it, to which the native, if he pleases, but not otherwise, may have free access, neutrality remains as it was before, the guiding principle of our Indian administration. It has survived the shock of the mutiny, and the changes in the form of Government. Denounced by the people of England, it hid itself for a while, until the storm had expended itself; but it lives as fresh and vigorous as ever. The exclusion of the Bible from Government schools is the manifesto of neutrality, to tell us it still reigns. This is the Gesta in which it has entrenched itself. To yield this point, then, is to surrender the whole question. If men permit this ill-omened principle, which has already wrought so much mischief, to remain unassailed in its stronghold, after a time, when recent events have been forgotten—and it is astonishing how rapidly the lessons and experiences of such a period as 1857-58 fade away from the memory—it will come forth from its seclusion, and, more arrogant than ever from the victory it has gained, claim supreme jurisdiction over all Indian affairs.

But let us calmly and dispassionately consider whether state education in India, as at present administered, really consists with this so oft-professed neutrality, the imaginary palladium of our security in India.

Let it be remembered that this system of education has not worked as it was expected that it would. It has yielded unexpected results. It was thought that the Hindu or Mohammedan youth, having passed through the appointed course of instruction—inasmuch as Christianity had not been permitted to approach him, or cast its light on his gloomy superstition—would remain, as he had been originally, a Hindu or Mohammedan. This is not the case. So vain, so puerile are these false systems, that they cannot bear exposure even to the touch of secular knowledge. Like decayed bodies, which hold together so long as they are shut up in the stillness of the vault, but which crumble into dust when disinterred and placed in the open air, the foolish legends of the Shasters and Puranas, when exposed to the free and searching influence of European science, dissolve in rotteness. The bitter idolater comes forth from the Government colleges transmuted into a free-thinker. He has left his old religion behind him, and is now without any. That this has been the case in numberless instances is so patent, that to introduce evidence seems

almost superfluous. Mr. Hodgson Pratt, late Inspector of Schools in South Bengal, in his "Articles and Letters on Indian Questions," has one on the "Educated Natives of Calcutta, their religious tendencies and moral characteristics." He describes them as a body of, "perhaps, 5000 young men, speaking and writing English in perfection, whose minds have been trained to reason and reflect:" while keeping on good terms with their families and priests, by observing the outward forms of Hinduism, they have adopted the system established by Ram Mohun Roy, or reject all religious belief whatever. If the former, they call themselves "Brahmas;" if the latter, "free-thinkers." The state of their minds, as regards Christianity, is thus described—"They would rather not believe Christianity. They seek eagerly for infidel works; have reprinted cheap editions of Tom Paine; ask for Parker's Sermons, because they hear that he writes against Christianity; and will not read works on the Christian Evidences, or visit Christian Missionaries. In fact, these men speak even more contemptuously and bitterly of the converts than the Hindus of the old school." These are the results of Government education. We cannot be surprised, therefore, at the following strong declaration by the late Professor Henderson on this subject—

"The Government does not know what it is doing. No doubt it is breaking down those superstitions, and dispersing those mists, which, by creating weakness and disunion, facilitated the conquest of the country; but, instead of substituting any useful truth, or salutary principles, for the ignorance and false principles which they remove, they are only facilitating the dissemination of the most pernicious errors, and the most demoralizing and revolutionary principles. I have been appalled by discovering the extent to which atheistical and deistical writings, together with disaffection to the British Government and hatred to the British name, have spread, and are spreading, among those who have been educated in Government schools, or are now in the service of Government. The direction of the Government system of education is rapidly falling into the hands of astute Brahmins, who know how to take advantage of such a state of things, and at the same time to strengthen themselves by an alliance with Parsee and Musulman prejudices; while the European gentlemen who still remain nominally at the head of the system, know nothing of the under-currents which pervade the whole, or

consider themselves as bound, either by principle or policy, not to make any exertions in favour of Christian truth; while the professed object of the Government is to give secular instruction only."

Now, we shall not enter into the question whether the Hindu is in a better position, with respect to Christianity, than he was when he entered the college, or as he is when he leaves it: probably it is only a change as to the kind of difficulties with which the Gospel has to contend in obtaining an entrance into his mind. Nor shall we pause to inquire whether, as a subject of a Christian Government, he is most likely to be controllable as a heathen or as a free-thinker. Some are of opinion that the Government is benefited by such a change. Other and more practical men, who do not theorize, but judge of a tree by the fruit it bears, are of a different opinion. "Too frequently the Hindu scholar leaves the Government school an infidel. Too frequently he repays the liberal instruction of Government with disloyalty and disaffection. I have seen it stated that the native scholars of our Government seminaries have, during these mutinies, proved their attachment to our rule. Such, however, has not been the account which has reached me Young Bengal, by which name this class of native youth is designated in India, is remarkable generally for conceit, disloyalty, and irreligion.*

But be this as it may, whether the native youth be more or less disposed to Christianity, more or less loyal to the Government, as a free-thinker, than as an idolater, this at least is incontrovertible, that in very many instances he is infidelized by the education process of the Government; and that education without Christianity, that is, the education which Government gives, when acting on the mind of a Hindu, does produce, with wonderful ease and frequency, this result.

Now we may inquire, *en passant*, is this becoming in a Christian Government? Hinduism is evil: granted; but infidelity is evil, too. It may be well to get rid of one evil; but is it well to generate another? Hindus cease to believe the demoralizing legends of their creed: that is well. But they become infidels: this is not well. We are justified in helping the native youth to break away from the trammels of idolatry; but we are not justified in leaving him, without a guiding principle, to lose himself in the pathless wilds of infidelity. One Missionary,

who delivered an address at the South-Indian Missionary Conference of 1858, is of opinion that the system is good as far as it goes. We regret to differ with him. It would be better if it went further; but as it is, it begins with good and ends with evil.

But how does this accord with our professed neutrality? Are we, indeed, neutral in religious matters? The word, if it has any significance, implies that the native, so far as our action is concerned, undergoes no change in his convictions, either to the prejudice of Hinduism, or in favour of Christianity. On the latter point we are rigidly on our guard. There is nothing in our educational course to dispose the native to Christianity; but is there nothing to prejudice him against Hinduism? This, we conceive, is the very opposite of being neutral. It is to be very active, both as regards Hinduism and Christianity. We are destructive as regards the one; we are exclusive as regards the other. We deprive the one of its ancient prestige; the other of its lawful opportunity. We are not dealing now with the moral aspect of the proceeding. It may, no doubt, be as well to dispel the illusions of heathenism, as it is ill to extrude Christianity from our course of education. But to reconcile the consequences of our educational proceedings with the principles we profess, how can this be done?

We profess neutrality in religious matters. In what respect, then, are we neutral? Not in relation to Hinduism, for we disprove it; not towards Christianity, for we refuse it admission within the system; not towards infidelity, for we facilitate its progress. We are informed that the educational rules cannot be modified, because it would infringe on this sacred principle of Indo-European statecraft. Nay, on the contrary, if we are to be *bonâ fide* neutral, there ought to be, unhesitatingly and at once, a modification of the system, for as it works now, it is utterly inconsistent with neutrality. According to that principle, the education ought to be such as in no degree to interfere with religion, whereas it does invade it, and interfere with it in the most important particulars, and causes the most momentous changes in the religious convictions of the students.

• And now, we ask, with all solemnity, shall Protestant England continue to adhere to this educational system? Our Governmental schools and colleges throughout India are generating an element, dangerous alike to the soul and to society. Shall they be retained without modification? We speak not to sceptics, but to believers with our

* Gubbins's Mutiny in Oude, p. 84

selves; to those who are persuaded that there is a God who judgeth the earth, who is cognizant of human affairs, and marks alike the course of nations as of individuals; of whom it is declared, in his own inspired word, "The nation and kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish: yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted." Is this process of infidelizing heathen men, part of the service which Protestant England owes to God? Let it be remembered, that whatever is done, is now, more than ever, a national act; for India has passed under the direct rule of the British sceptre. There is no longer an East-India Company to serve the purpose of a scape-goat, on which the national delinquencies may be laid. Under the new régime, whatever is done in India, England is responsible for. If children be born to infidelity in the Government seminaries of India, those seminaries are maintained by English authority; and as the seed, such must be the harvest. We are persuaded that the great majority of earnest men in England, aye, and in India too, think with us on this question. They feel a change to be imperative. It is impossible that the men who are zealous for the truth of God, and the honour of their country, can be contented to settle down into a dull indifference with existing arrangements. The position is too incongruous; the question at issue too vital and important. We may not succeed; but we must bear our testimony: and yet we entertain the hope, that if only we be faithful and persevering, our testimony will not be fruitless. This infidelizing system of education is the stronghold of an evil policy, which, if permitted still to brood over the destinies of India, will not fail to generate new calamities.

It will not do that the national mind should be suffered to go to sleep upon this subject. While the educational system remains as it is, the Government of India may be remodelled, but it is not reformed. Until, therefore, on this point a decided alteration be conceded, we cannot consider that the policy of our Government has been changed. So far as Christianity is concerned, it remains unaltered. The system of education carried on in these schools requires to be supplemented by some wholesome and vigorous element, which shall prevent the educated youth from lapsing into infidelity. Christianity claims to be that which is required, and the friends of Christianity demand its introduction. They do so, not only for the sake of the inquiring Hindus, thus left to go astray and interdicted, so far as they are Govern-

ment students, from that opportunity of instruction in Christianity, of which, were it conceded to them, many would be found willing to avail themselves, but for the sake of the Government itself, placed in so incongruous a position, professedly Christian, yet, by the education it gives, promoting not Christianity but infidelity, and thus, by a avoidance of its high responsibilities, incurring new accumulations of guilt, which must be accounted for.

This is the only change which will be satisfactory—the removal of that regulation which forbids the introduction of Christianity as a recognised part of the governmental education, so that, in all these institutions, there be afforded to the native youth, under the authority and sanction of the British Government, the opportunity of making themselves acquainted with the religion which is of God. It is this which the Church Missionary Society urged in her Memorial, and to the conviction of the necessity of this she still adheres.

"Your Memorialists would therefore humbly beseech your Majesty to have it declared to the public authorities in the East Indies, that, since the Government, in addition to maintaining its own educational establishments, provides grants-in-aid to all other schools which provide a prescribed amount of secular knowledge, according to the principles laid down in the Educational Despatch of July 19, 1854, the Bible will be introduced into the system of education in all Government schools and colleges, as the only standard of moral rectitude, and the source of those Christian principles upon which your Majesty's Government is to be conducted."

We repeat, this is the only alteration which can suffice. Indeed, what other course can be adopted? Either the system must be broken up, or it must be modified. Some think the former course might be with propriety adopted, and that the grants-in-aid system exonerates the Government from having any educational institutions of its own.

"The despatch of 1854 distinctly recognises the hope that the present system may be one of transition only, and that by the extension of grants-in-aid on the one hand, and increased efforts on the part of individuals and Societies on the other, the Government may in time be able merely to assist private enterprise, and so put an end to the present unnatural divorce between secular and religious education."*

* Bishop of Calcutta's Primary Charge, p. 19.

Such a measure would, indeed, get rid of the difficulties, but it would be by the voidance of a duty. The grants-in-aid system presupposes amongst the natives a desire for education which they have not the means of gratifying, and it comes forward to supplement that desire in the way of pecuniary help, so as to enable it to act. But if the natives of India are to take the initiative in the matter, and their doing so depends upon their consciousness of educational necessity, the expansion of the grants-in-aid system will be slow indeed. Missionary Societies cannot act in this direction beyond a very narrow limit.

But the educational wants of India are vast and urgent; to attempt, therefore, to cast them on the grants-in-aid system will be to leave them unprovided. We entirely concur in the conviction expressed by the Bishop of Calcutta, "that the divorce between secular and religious education," especially in the case of heathen youth, "is unnatural," and we are thankful that this should be enunciated by one in so influential a position, but we cannot approve of its being terminated by so great an abandonment, on the part of Government, of its educational responsibilities.

It remains, then, that the system be modified. That some change is necessary appears to be generally admitted. Even the brother in the South-India Conference, who declared that he regarded the Government system, not as an evil, but of "good tendency, so far as it goes," and "as helpful to the general progress and enlightenment of the people," admits that "the avowed exclusion of the Bible from the schools is liable to very serious objection, and is likely to be regarded by many of the natives as an indication of a temporizing and timid policy, that consents, partially at least, to disavow religious conviction."*

We have, also, native testimony on this point. A remarkable paper,† drawn up by a native gentleman of the highest character, who has long been distinguished by well-directed zeal for the public welfare, was published in 1858, at the request of a distinguished officer in the North-west Provinces. It is introduced by a brief preface, signed by the well-known initials M. W., Calcutta. Mr. Wylie introduces the writer as "a man of loyalty, benevolence, and ability, represent-

ing a class who are entitled to be heard at a time when their country is attracting so much attention, and when so many other classes, both in India and England, are submitting their views to the consideration of Parliament." Let us, then, attend to this witness, thus satisfactorily accredited. On the subject of education, he says, "As for education, I beg to inform you that it is my determined decision, that if any thing is to benefit this country—people as well as the Government—it is education. I mean education carried on upon religious principles." Again, in referring to various emendatory measures, he specifies, "Attaching the greatest possible importance to the education of the mass of the people, and appointing an Educational Secretary to the Government of India, the education must be carried on on sounder principle, and religion must be fostered. *Don't turn India from idolatry to atheism.*" Such is the opinion of this intelligent native. Surely something must be done to modify a system which is generating the very evil thus earnestly deprecated, and producing men of a stamp thus described by Mr. Wylie—"The educated native is one whose confidence in his religion is destroyed. He no longer believes, he cannot believe, either its false science or its mythology, but he will not advance onwards to a positive and influential belief in the one true God, and Jesus Christ whom He has sent. If he learns any truth, he holds that truth in unrighteousness. He will not submit to its power. He will persist in maintaining caste, supporting Brahmans, and maintaining licentious or foolish festivals of idolatrous worship. In morals he exhibits no higher standard than many of the more staidst Hindus." Such are the fearful consequences of imparting a course of instruction which disproves, indeed, religious error, but excludes religious truth. The subject of it comes forth, not only despising his old creed, but averse to the truths of revelation; and if he learns them intellectually, holding them in unrighteousness. Had opportunities been afforded him of becoming acquainted with Christianity, while the mists of false religions were being dispelled, and before scepticism had become the habit of his mind, the result might have been very different. At present these infidel Hindus are melancholy results of our governmental education. There they are, dead to all religion, like trees struck by lightning: and the system which produced them must be modified, or else we must prepare ourselves for renewed expressions of the divine displeasure. They witness not for us, but against us.

* Compare Report of the South India Conference, p. 206, with the Bishop of Calcutta's Primary Charge, p. 21.

† "The Thoughts of a Native of Northern India on the Rebellion," &c. London: Dalton.

What change can be effected? We have already referred to the Memorial of the Church Missionary Society, and we shall now append to this an extract from the celebrated Minute of Sir John Lawrence, for the purpose of explaining more specifically, and in detail, what it is we mean—"In respect to the teaching of the Bible in Government schools and colleges, I am to state, that, in the Chief Commissioner's judgment, such teaching ought to be offered to all who may be willing to receive it. The Bible ought not only to be placed among the college libraries and the school-books, for those who might choose to consult it, but also it should be taught in class, wherever we have teachers fit to teach it, and pupils willing to hear it."

The above brief extract concisely, yet lucidly, defines what it is we ask. We do not mean that the Bible should be entrusted to the teaching of infidels or heathen masters; we do not wish that any coercion should be exerted on the natives to obtain their attendance; we do not propose that their doing so should promote, or their refusal to do so, hinder, their attainment of honours and rewards. Let the student be entirely free and unconstrained, but let him have the opportunity. It will be said, of such pupils there will be a scanty attendance. But that is not the question for us: our duty, that requires our attention, and let that be done whether the results be many or the reverse. It will be said that fitting teachers will be very few. If it be so, let us commence with a few. Nay, if there be none as yet attainable, still let that ban and interdict on Christianity, which shuts it out from our Government course of education, be removed. Let the principle be conceded, that where it can be done, under the conditions to which we have referred, it may be done, and the means of action will soon be forthcoming. If, as we are informed, fitting teachers are so few, the reason is obvious—Christian men have abstained from committing themselves to a system, in which Christianity has been ignored; nay, they have not liked to compromise themselves with a procedure which, as its fruit, produced infidels. It is urged that "the practical difficulties make it for the present impossible that the introduction of the Bible into Government schools should be a measure of much real importance."* Nay, we believe it to be of such pressing importance, that not an instant should be lost in sanctioning it. We are sacrificing at the shrine of our expediency

immortal souls. We read of Juggernaut's victims, and the immolations perpetrated at the various heathen shrines of India. Our neutrality principle also has its victims. In our temples of education, immortal souls are being offered up to the Moloch of infidelity. The stain of these spiritual murders is upon our hands: the guilt stands to our national account. A voice seems to say, "In thy skirts is found the blood of the souls of the poor innocents: I have not found it by secret search, but upon all these." It is time to correct this great evil, before it breaks forth into judgment.

Another class of objections is thus urged—"How can we, in accordance with any system of religious neutrality, apply the revenues of India to the instruction of the people in the tenets of Christianity, without, at the same time, instructing them in their own national religions? If Christianity is to be taught in the schools, supported by the public purse—or, in other words, by the labour of the people—Hinduism and Mohammedanism must also be taught, or there can be no such thing as neutrality." Let the men of England mark this passage, and learn what neutrality requires from them, in order to its maintenance. They must conserve these colleges and seminaries as feeding places for infidelity; or else, if they attempt to introduce the only element which has power to counteract this infidelizing tendency, the Government teachers must become Gooroos and Molwees. Our Christian Government must not recognise Christianity, unless it recognises Hindûism and Mohammedanism as equally fit creeds for propagation. Does our neutrality really reduce us to the alternative, that we must either recognise all or exclude all?

Sir John Lawrence, in answer to the late Mr. Arnold, effectually meets the above objection.*

"Mr. M'Leod has most justly observed that many of Mr. Arnold's arguments are based on the assumption that the British Government stands in the same relation to the people of India as a representative Government stands towards its people. But, in the Chief Commissioner's opinion, the two cases widely differ from each other. Placed, as we British are in India, we are differently situated from the Constitutional Governments of England or America. Our Government is, as all Governments are, or ought to be, established for the good of the people. But while, with

* Bishop of Calcutta's Charge, p. 25.

* Extract from Sir J. Lawrence's Minute pp. 21—23.

other Governments, the popular will is generally the criterion of public good, such is not always the case with us in India. If, by being 'trustees for the people,' we are supposed to be bound invariably by the will of the people, then we are not, the Chief Commissioner thinks, trustees in that sense. We have not been elected or placed in power by the people, but we are here through our moral superiority, by the force of circumstances, by the will of Providence. This alone constitutes our charter to govern India.

"In doing the best we can for the people, we are bound by our conscience, and not by theirs. Believing that the study of the Bible is fraught with the highest blessings, we, of course, do desire to communicate those blessings to them if we can. We desire this, not only as individuals, but as a Government; for Christianity does truly go hand-in-hand with all those objects for which British rule exists in India. But this can only be effected by moral influences voluntarily received. Any thing like 'proselytism,' or 'quiet persecution' of any kind, or the application of secular motives, direct or indirect, are, in the first instance, absolutely forbidden by the very religion we profess; and, in the second place, would be worse than useless for the object in view. Therefore we have nothing to do with such means. Neither do we, as a Government, undertake to found or maintain Christian Missions; because the thing can be done better by private effort, and because our doing so might tend to introduce those secular means for the propagation of Christianity which we wish to avoid. But as we have schools, there arises a fair opportunity of offering the Bible to those who may choose to receive it; and, in the Chief Commissioner's opinion, it is just, politic, and right that we should avail ourselves of that opportunity. Such, briefly stated, is the real argument for the formation of Bible classes in Government schools."

But to the demonstrativeness of this able extract we may add a further consideration, and it is this—to combine Christianity with the secular instruction given in our schools and colleges is practicable: to combine with it Hinduism and Mohammedanism is impossible. With secular knowledge Christianity harmonizes. Christianity can with safety be subjected to such a test; the other systems cannot. The more light is thrown upon Christianity, the more its divine origin becomes apparent; but the false creeds already named cannot bear exposure to the light. Geography and astronomy, or chemistry, "attack the pretended revelations of the Vedas and Puranas." Mo-

dern history "seals the fate of Mohammedanism." Are we then to introduce into our colleges the Puranas and the Koran? For what purposes are these institutions intended? To promote secular knowledge. How then can we introduce into them creeds which contradict the secular knowledge we are affording, to the great embarrassment of the pupils, who in one department would be instructed in the tenets of Hinduism and Mohammedanism as true, and, in another, in the various branches of European science as true; and who, in comparing them, the one with the other, find they cannot both be true. If Hinduism and Mohammedanism are to be introduced, how can the communication of European knowledge be continued? There is then no force whatever in the argument, that if we introduce Christianity into our schools, we shall be necessitated to introduce Hinduism and Mohammedanism; and simply for this reason, that the one course is practicable, the other not.

But some, whose co-operation we had hoped for in this movement, admonish us that we are asking too much. We ought, it appears, content ourselves with the limit assigned in Lord Stanley's despatch of 1859, which permits "the Holy Scriptures being kept in the library, and being open to all the pupils who may wish to study them," the teachers also "being at liberty to afford instructions and explanations regarding them to all who may voluntarily seek it."

Such is the opinion of the Bishop of Calcutta. "The study of the Bible is actually permitted, provided that it be quite voluntary, read out of school hours, and not made part of the regular course of instruction." We candidly avow that this is precisely the arrangement with which we cannot content ourselves, and with which we think no Englishman ought to be contented. We shall proceed to explain on what grounds this conviction has been formed.

The despatch of 1859 declared that teachers in Government schools were at liberty, out of school hours, to instruct in Christianity such of the students as, of their own accord, might desire it at their hands. More recently a special case has occurred, and a decision come to by the authorities in India, which assures educational officials that they are quite at liberty so to act. Mr. Martin, Principal of Berhampore College, found himself in a position to form a voluntary Bible class. The idea that such classes might be held, although out of school hours, yet within the school buildings, appears to have been suggested by the following sentence in the Bishop of Calcutta's Pri-

mary Charge—"The students of Dacca College have applied to one of their teachers for the introduction of the Bible as a branch of their college studies; and he has undertaken to instruct them in the New Testament every Sunday morning. Most heartily do I wish to see a similar voluntary Bible class formed in *every one of our Government schools*, where it is possible, especially in the most distinguished of all, the Presidency College in Calcutta, in which I am certain that there are pupils desirous of spiritual enlightenment, and teachers capable, under God's blessing, of imparting it." Mr. Martin therefore addressed the Lieut.-Governor of Bengal on the subject, by whom his application was forwarded to the Government of India, without remark, and, as might be expected, remitted to him for an expression of opinion. A Minute has been accordingly drawn up by Mr. Grant on the subject, accompanied by a letter from Dr. Kaye. We have not yet seen these documents. When they reach us we shall probably subject them to a process of ventilation; but the conclusion arrived at, although by different reasonings, is the same in both. Mr. Grant decides—"The wise and just answer to Mr. Martin's application is, that he is at perfect liberty to hold such a class as he wishes to hold in his own house, or elsewhere, out of college; but as Government schools and colleges are not intended for any but secular education, and do not undertake, and could not regulate, theological instruction, his class of theology must *not* be held in the Berhampore College." Dr. Kaye is of opinion that "both the consistency of the Government, and the satisfaction of the teacher himself, would be better consulted if the classes met elsewhere." Government teachers, then, are at liberty to instruct in Christianity such of the students as voluntarily come to them for this purpose; but this instruction must be given neither within the school hours nor within the school walls.

Now we do not at all mean to slight this decision, or pronounce it valueless. We can well conceive what a relief it will afford to many officials in India charged with the duty of education, who, observing the youth under their care drifting away to infidelity, felt anxious to save them from so sad an issue, by imparting to them Christian instruction, but who were apprehensive lest, in doing so, they might expose themselves to the displeasure of the authorities. It is a rule, moreover, which must apply to all officials throughout India. For if the educational official, in his private hours, and in his private dwelling, or elsewhere, provided it be not within the

walls of a Government college, is free to teach Christian truths to Hindus or Mohomedans entrusted to his care for education, and standing to him in a relation so clearly defined as that of pupils to their master; then, *à fortiori*, is it permissible for other officials—outside official time and places—to speak freely on the subject of Christianity to heathen servants and *employés*, or to others who stand to them in no particular relation. Then is the seal taken from the lips of the Christian officer, and he is at liberty to answer the questions which a heathen or Mussulman soldier of his regiment, under the pressure of a disquieted conscience, comes to ask him.

This, undoubtedly, affords enlargement of position to every earnest Christian man, who found his official obligations interfering with his Christian obligations. It establishes a great principle, one which we have long desired to see unequivocally expressed, that every Englishman in India, official or otherwise, is free to persuade the heathen to Christianity, provided he be careful to abstain from all undue influence, so as neither to bribe nor to coerce them. We congratulate Christian men throughout India on this important decision, which assures them that, in doing service to the King of Heaven, they will not be exposing themselves to the displeasure of the authorities on earth.

Yet, what must have been the position of the Government in India when such a declaration, at this late hour, has been found necessary, and the important question, for the first time, "definitively settled," that the Government teacher "need not cease to be a Christian"?* What more extreme tyranny could possibly be exercised than that which interfered with a man in the discharge of one of the most imperative and pressing of Christian duties, and condemned him to silence on the most momentous of all subjects, not only in school, but out of school; and that, although his pupils were willing to hear, and he himself felt that he ought to teach them. What a Government was that, which by its neutrality-regulations, so dealt with the Christian men in its service, "that they were tormented," as the "Friend of India" assures us has been the case, "between what they felt to be their duty to God, and that which they supposed their official superiors required of them."†

But this is not enough. Even at the risk of being catalogued as of "the extreme party represented by the Committee of the Church

* "Friend of India," December 6th.

† Ibid.

Missionary Society," we do not hesitate to avow that far more than this must be conceded. We shall proceed to state why, and we trust our Indian contemporary will vouchsafe to weigh our arguments, although it be true that they are put forth in the "somewhat unattractive pages of a Missionary periodical."

Government, by the system of education which it has pursued in India, has been promoting infidelity amongst the native youth. It will be said, that when its educational procedure was commenced, such an issue never was expected. It may be so; we do not dispute that point: still the effect, as we have stated it, has been, and continues to be, produced. It is of necessity, therefore, that by some decisive act, the Government should make it plain that it does not willingly participate in this issue; that it laments it, and would gladly see it otherwise. Hitherto Christianity, the antidote to infidelity, has been excluded from its schools. Here lies the cause of all the mischief. The native youth have been infidelized, not because secular education has been given, but because Christianity has been withheld. That restriction must be removed. The Government must afford to the youth under its charge the opportunity of access to Christian knowledge and instruction, and that, by an act expressly its own, and bearing on it the imprimatur of authority; and the system of education be so far modified as, during school hours, and within the walls of the colleges, to permit the formation of voluntary Bible classes. Otherwise, what will be the position of the Government? With its eyes open, and with a clear perception of what effect must be produced, it perseveres in a system of education which is raising up in India a generation of infidels. But for the recent decision induced by Mr. Martin's application, the Government, at this moment would be under a double culpability—that of abstaining itself from all reference to Christianity in its course of education, and also of imposing on its officials the same abstinence, even out of school hours. It has relieved itself of the latter; the former remains. Had Christian instruction been permitted, although out of school hours, yet within the college walls, the proceeding might have been considered as, in some degree, sanctioned by the Government; but this has been refused. Whatever is done in the way of Christian instruction must be, in every sense, outside. Government, in short, promotes infidelity, but, with affording opportunities of Christian instruction to the native youth it will have nothing to do; from all

participation in such a movement it carefully isolates itself.

We demand that the Government, by its own act, should vindicate itself from the unseemly position which it occupies, and the justly heavy accusations which India someday or other will bring against us, when, awakening out of her long sleep, she finds the difficulties of her position aggravated to an immense extent by the infidels which we have educated into life and action. This Christian instruction, out of school hours and school buildings, is not that which we require. It is not the act of Government; it will be the act of individuals in their private capacity; an act, indeed, which Government does not interdict, but which she does not sanction or recognise. It is, moreover, a measure, which, depending entirely on individual choice and determination, in connexion with many seminaries may never be carried out at all. For let it be observed, that while Government permits, it does not enjoin on its officials the duty of forming voluntary Bible classes when practicable; it does not even recommend that this should be done. There is no provision at all of such a nature as to assure us that the native students shall have that opportunity which is so imperatively required, and which we feel they ought to have.

To exonerate itself from the grave imputation of promoting infidelity, the Government must go beyond the narrow limits of Mr. Grant's Minute. It should take care that, wherever fitting teachers are to be found, like Mr. Martin, of Berhampore, Mr. Cowell, of the Calcutta College, and other gentlemen which might be named, certain and reliable opportunities of obtaining Christian instruction be afforded to the natives, so that the one only thing which shall exclude them from such instruction shall be their own indisposition to it; and where no such indisposition exists, that there shall be no obstruction at all, but that access to Christian knowledge shall be plain and open. The state of things which prevails at present, and with which friends in Calcutta are so well contented, makes no such provision. Thus the position of Government remains unaltered. It has not vindicated its own motives and intentions. It has done nothing to rectify the evils which are caused by its educational system. Those evils have been clearly indicated; their existence cannot be denied; yet rather than modify its system, Government adopts those evils, and is now doing that wilfully, which, at first, it had done in ignorance. Every new despatch, every new minute, shows the determination of Govern-

ment, *quoi qu'il en coûte*, to adhere to the old principle of neutrality, and to that which may be regarded as the manifesto of this policy, the exclusion of Christianity in toto from its course of education. If liberty has been expressly and authoritatively conceded to Governmental teachers, out of school hours and place, to do as they please in the matter of Christian instruction, it has been done because such permission does not interfere with the principle of neutrality. This will be evident on a reference to the despatch of Lord Stanley. The sixty-first paragraph commences by a declaration of the inability of Government to sanction any modification of the rule of strict religious neutrality. "But it concedes this liberty, because the course of study in all the Government institutions will be, as heretofore, confined to secular subjects." The principle of neutrality rules the exclusion of the Bible. Until then, by the formation of voluntary Bible classes in school hours and within school buildings, the prohibition be withdrawn, neutrality on religious matters continues to be the avowed principle of our policy in India. Some there are who dislike the word neutrality, yet object to the introduction of the Bible into the schools. But in objecting to the proposed modification, they are most strenuously maintaining the old principle; and if the principle remain unaltered, it is preferable it should retain the old name, rather than be disguised under some new designation. Certainly it is impossible, with any appearance of consistency, to maintain the exclusion of the Bible, and yet disavow neutrality.

Voluntary Bible classes, then, out of school hours, and wholly isolated from the authorized and regular course of instruction, do not meet the emergency. We cannot, therefore, as the "Friend of India" admonishes us to do, accept of this compromise. That paper judges us accurately when it expresses its conviction that "it will be impossible to persuade the religious public of England that they are wrong in agitating" this question. We thank our Indian contemporary for the justice he has done us. We believe him to be correct in this sentiment, as much so as he is incorrect in other opinions he has expressed. For instance, he informs us that in entering upon this question, he does so "knowing that almost all Missionaries in India, whether Voluntaries or Churchmen, agree that it cannot be done, and that if it could, it ought not to be attempted." Side by side with this assertion we place the resolution arrived at by the South-India Missionary Conference of 1858, on the "Govern-

ment system of education," reminding our readers that the conference consisted of Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, American Board of Missions, Free Church of Scotland, Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of America, London Missionary Society, German Evangelical Mission, and Wesleyan Missionary Society. The resolution to which this mixed body of Churchmen and Voluntaries came is as follows—

"They desire to give expression to their most solemn and deliberate conviction, that it is the duty of the Christian Government of this heathen and Mohammedan country, not only to impart to all, who will receive it, true knowledge on all secular subjects, but also to abstain from all teaching of Hindu and Mohammedan errors in their schools; while, in order to afford the fullest opportunity to all the pupils of learning the true nature of the Christian religion from the Bible itself, they should introduce it into all their schools, in order to be read each day during the first hour of teaching, and that the attendance of the pupils during that hour should be voluntary. Moreover, they consider that it should be publicly declared by the Government, that all teachers in Government schools are at full liberty to teach the word of God to those of their pupils who may be desirous to study it, and that in the working of the schools, suitable arrangements should be made for that purpose."

One point more, and only one, claims our attention. The "Friend of India" writes as though impressed with the conviction that our proposal is fraught with danger, and that to admit the Bible into the schools, is "to risk the empire." We do not share his apprehensions. Fidelity in the discharge of obvious duties will never endanger, it will consolidate the empire. The empire has already been risked, imperilled to an extreme degree. The danger arose from those to whom the Gospel had no access, and British supremacy was jeopardized by withholding, not by communicating, the truth of God. From the same cause new dangers must ensue. There is no risk in affording to the *élèves* in our Government schools the opportunity of being instructed in the Bible, should they desire it; but there is great peril in refusing such an opportunity, and permitting the infidelizing process to go on. Then will our next danger be, not from the ignorant and brutal, but from the educated, yet, unhappily, infidel mind of India, and that will be a worse danger than the preceding one.

The native gentleman, to whose paper we have already referred, agrees with us in this matter, not with the "Friend of India." We shall, for the information of our cotemporary, again quote from him—"Few nations on earth are so indifferent to religion as the Hindus are. Their religion has undergone mightier and more numerous changes than that of Europe. It is absurd to think that the English are hated by the Hindus on account of their religion It is not religion, but the want of religion, which has brought so much evil on this country. The people know that the Government is a Christian one, let it act openly, as a true Christian; the people will never feel themselves disappointed; they will admire it. You may have a thousand Missionaries to preach, and another thousand as masters of the schools at the expense of the Government, or distribute a thousand Bibles at the hands of the Governor General,—the people will not murmur out a single syllable, though they may laugh and jeer; but take care you do not interfere with their caste, you do not force them to eat the food cooked by another in the jails, or thrust grease down their throats with the cartridges made by Europeans."

Let us not be deceived; to remain in our present position, this indeed will be to risk the empire.

The "Friend of India" itself, in a previous number (Nov. 22), bears testimony to the change of opinion which is going forward amongst the Pundits of Bengal. Adverting to a new edition of the *Sabda Kalpa Druma*, an Encyclopedia of Sanscrit, it speaks of its author, Rajah Radhakanta Deva Bahadur as the last of the old Pundits. Such men are said to be fast dying out. Their rivals, "the fruit of our English colleges, rush from the Rajah's extreme of credulity, to the opposite point of scepticism, and in search at least of a nominal faith, profess Vedantism, the easiest of all. For Vedantism is as accommodating as the German form of rationalism; it tickles the intellect and ignores the passions; it feeds speculation and does not interfere with the practical life; it satisfies the love of abstraction, while it silences the conscience and deadens the will. But, like all scepticism, it must be temporary; it is unfitted for the mass."

"Like all scepticism, it must be temporary; it is unfitted for the mass." It may be so, but it will not die out without having wrought its measure of mischief, probably in relation to the political interests of England; certainly in relation to the spiritual

interests of man, as destroying, in the glare of its meteoric transit, many immortal souls. "Yet this is the fruit of our English colleges, where Christianity is prohibited." Is it not time, then, that the prohibition be withdrawn? and can Christian men denounce such a proposition as an extreme opinion? "Is the Bible a charm?" No, but the Bible is for use. Some appear to think it too holy for use; others think it too dangerous for use. We leave the two absurdities to deal with one another, like the lion and the bear, from between whose threatening jaws the endangered traveller dexterously withdrew himself, and left them, rather disconcerted, in the presence of each other. We do not want the Bible to be used "as a mere outward symbol of the English raj," but to rescue the English raj from the stigma which has hitherto attached to it, namely, that by an express prohibition it excludes the Bible and the religion which it teaches, from that educational course which, at the cost and on the responsibility of the British nation, is afforded to the youth of India, so that even those from amongst them who would be glad to read it under suitable guidance, and esteem the permission so to do as a grateful concession from the Government, are debarred [from all such opportunity. We do not propose it to be used "as the priest his holy water, or the Mussulman and the Pharisee their circumcision," but as that book, in the willing perusal of which the Hindu youth may find a better faith than the superstitions he has learned to despise. We agree with the "Friend of India"—"It is the boast of Christianity that it is a belief, that it is of the heart, that it does not consist in the washing of pots and cups, and of brazen vessels, and of tables;" and, therefore, we desire that the Hindu youth under our instruction should have free and unrestricted access, in school and out of school, to that revelation of God, which designed for the use of men, ought never, by human prohibition, be withheld from any, and which will be his best preservative from the opposite but equally frigid extremes of superstition and scepticism.

We shall not disguise our conviction that Government would have yielded on this point, as they have done on the questions of Missionaries visiting sepoys in the lines, and the intercourse of officers with native converts, had good men been unanimous on the subject; nay, however Voluntaries might have differed from us, if even Churchmen had been united on the subject. The numbers of such as oppose us

this point are not many; but in a delicate state of the balance a little weight suffices to

decide it. The responsibility rests not with "the extreme party, which is represented by the Committee of the Church Missionary Society." But just in proportion as their position is a responsible one, are Calcutta friends under an obligation seriously to reconsider the conclusion to which they have come, and the grounds on which it has been formed. With all due respect to the "Friend of India," its reasonings are to us unsatisfactory. Its article—"Is the Bible a charm"—is declamatory, but not conclusive. We, "unattractive Missionary periodicals," are quite ready to admit that we are the small fry, the minnows of the great ocean of literature. Compared with us, no doubt, our worthy

cotemporary is a leviathan. Yet even great whales sometimes get into an awkward position, when they become entangled in the shallows. There they flounder, and beat the water into a foam. This is precisely what the "Friend of India" appears to do in the article just named. It is not because our cotemporary has not power, but because he is in the shallows. He has unhappily got on the wrong side of the question, and can find no depth. Let him avoid for the future these narrow places; they do not become him; and prefer those grand and comprehensive views of truthful subjects in which there will be room for him to swim.

THE AFFAIRS OF CHINA.

It is said that "Lord Elgin's credentials, as Plenipotentiary to China, are literally stained with opium. They went down with the 'Ava' when she foundered at Ceylon; and, when recovered by the divers, it was found that they were damaged by the drug which formed part of the cargo." This, if true, is indeed a significant fact. England's diplomacy in China is stained with opium, and, moreover, He who, in his providence, rules the nations, is aware of it. Opium, and the incidents connected with it, originated those complications on the coast of China which have necessitated wars, carried on at vast expense, and with little of satisfactory result. We send forth expeditions, with immense cost, to China, and our armies are irresistible so long as they remain on the coast. Under the severe pressure of Armstrong guns the Chinese are ready to concede every thing. Treaties are entered into, and signed amidst all due formality; and so long as we are enabled to stand over this intractable school-boy, with the rod in our hand, he sulkily does what we compel him to; but his feelings have undergone no change towards us, except that, with each new correction, he dislikes us the more, and he is secretly resolved, in his own mind, to play the truant again so soon as our vigilance relaxes. Such has been our past experience. Such we fear it will still prove to be. We go forth and beat into tremendous excitement and agitation some limited portion of the vast ocean of Chinese life. Canton is bombarded; Peking lies at our mercy; but, after performing great acts, we are forced to retire, from the necessities of the case; and the waters, rapidly subsiding, relapse into their former state of sluggish impassibility. Meanwhile our withdrawal, on such occasions,

appears to have something awkward about it. The Chinese present us with a state document, which we have agreed to accept, and then, with all Chinese ceremonial, "bow us out; while we retire with the uncomfortable feeling that our claims are met with a bill, accepted indeed, but which we have sad misgivings will never be paid.

This has been the fate of former treaties. Upon the one which has just been concluded it is premature to express an opinion. Experience of the past is not favourable. It is true our artillery guns were never before planted on the walls of Peking, nor proclamations posted about the city, making the inquisitive population acquainted with the provisions of the new treaty, and convincing the Pekinese, at least, of this, that England is not, as they had been taught to think, the vassal of China, and that our combined force of Europeans and Asiatics did not come for the purpose of bearing tribute to the Celestial Emperor. We destroyed also the summer palace, of the restoration of which, in the present exhausted state of the Chinese treasury, there is little prospect; and its ruins remain to tell we have been there, and that we did it, as the least objectionable way, amidst a choice of difficulties, of expressing our just indignation at the treacherous murder of British officers and their companions, under a flag of truce. We have also our Plenipotentiary residing at Peking; but then we have a brigade of troops wintering at Tientsin, and it is impossible to say how our representative will fare at the hands of the Chinese, and whether he will find his post tenable when these troops are withdrawn.

Meanwhile the prospects of the future are any thing but serene. Already little

gaucheries have occurred, which show that the national mind of China is not mollified towards us. Two Englishmen have been seized by the Chinese authorities at Wang-Chow, a fort near Foo-chow. Their arms were pinioned, they were tied to a pillar, to be hooted at by the crowd, and finally thrust into the common receptacle of Chinese felons, their necks being made fast by chains to the prison bars. After a detention of six days they were forwarded on an overland journey to Ningpo, occupying three weeks instead of seven days, the delay being caused by their being promenaded through various towns and villages.

The recent treaty secured free access into the interior, under passport regulations. This privilege, however, when attempted to be acted upon, does not appear to be practicable. Two Missionaries, the Rev. Messrs. Lambuth and Allen, proceeded on a visit to Hang-chow, now in the possession of the Imperialists. The Government officers, however, would not permit their entrance, and when to some of them, who came on board their boat, the Missionaries offered Christian books, they were rejected, on the names Jehovah, Jesus, being found in them, these being, as the Imperialists declared, rebel terms.

Meanwhile our opium traffic and the Taeping rebellion are pursuing their usual course of devastation.

On the first of these subjects our views remain unaltered. It is a fruitful source of poverty, demoralization, debility, and death. We have heard evidence of a conflicting character, but the testimony of the evils, both physical and moral, attendant upon its use, is preponderating to an immense extent. The very fact of the anxiety of the Chinese to be cured of the propensity, proves how deep-seated is *their* consciousness on this point.

Again, as a matter of commercial policy, we believe it to be "intensely mischievous to every branch of trade." "Our commerce with China has been the most disappointing chapter in the history of free-trade." Our imports from China have amazingly increased. Take the averages of the two periods from 1843 to 1846, and from 1854 to 1858, and the average of the latter period is double that of the former. The average increase of tea imported from China is to the value of 1,557,761*l.*, and of silk to the value of 2,915,379*l.*: but our exports to China of British produce and manufactures have *decreased*, on a comparison of the same periods, by 22,774*l.* The discrepancy is great. Were the trade in a healthy state our exports to China ought to increase in a fair proportion with our imports from it.

But this is prevented by the interference of the Indian trade. The average value of imports from China, during the years 1854-58, amounted to 8,967,055*l.*; the average exports from India to China, during the years 1853-54 to 1857-58, amounted to 7,335,728*l.* But of this latter sum not less than 6,365,319*l.* is for opium; cotton and sundries stand at a reduced figure of 970,409*l.* The opium traffic interferes with the expansion of trade in those articles which are beneficial to the consumer, while their sale feeds the various branches of healthful industry at home. The revenue from opium is raised at the expense of other and superior branches of commerce.

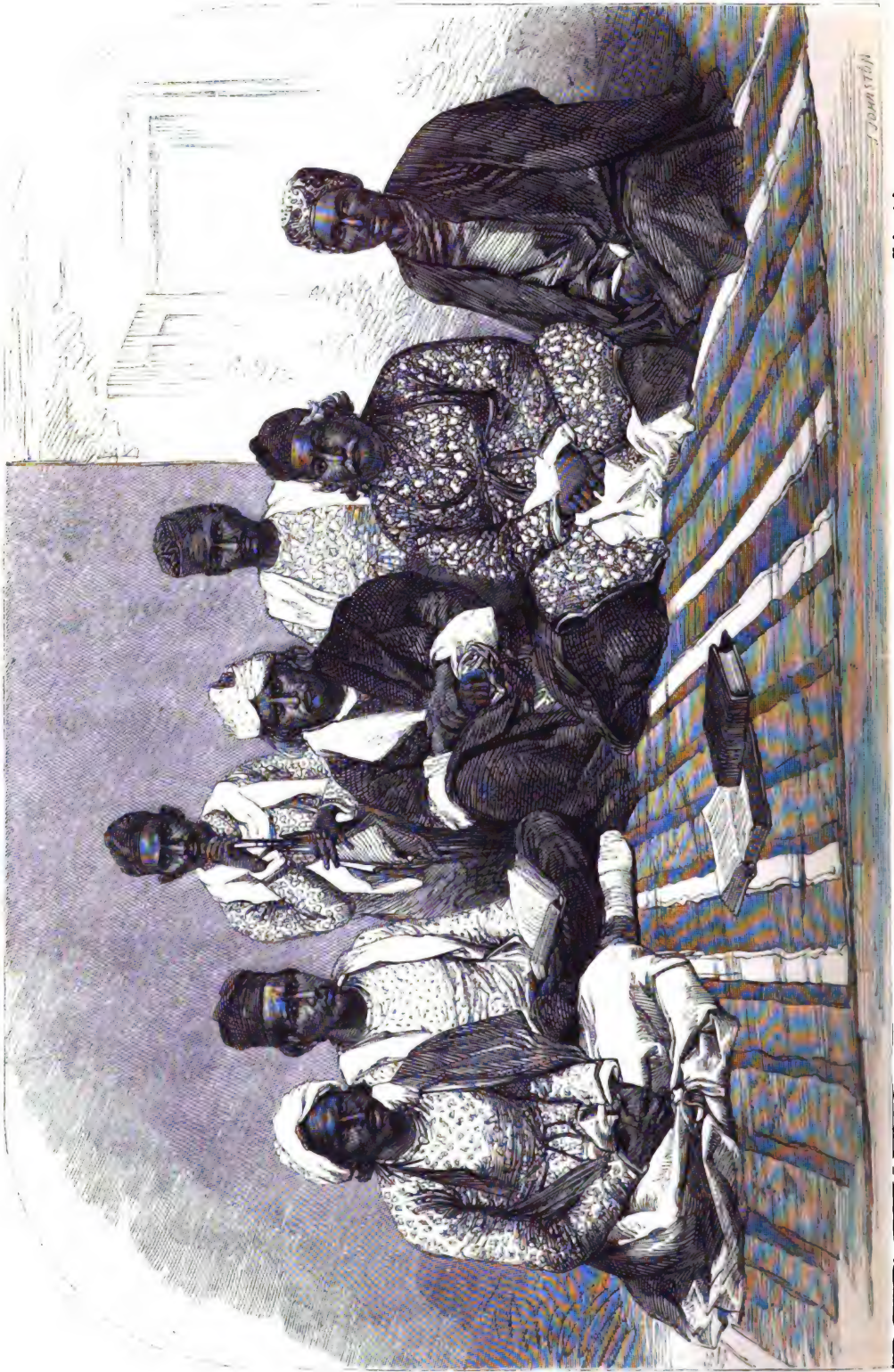
Moreover the raising of this article is most expensive. The sums realized at the annual sales are not all clear gain to the authorities. Large deductions have to be made, so much so that the gross revenue of 5,800,000*l.* might be reduced to 4,000,000*l.* The breadth of acreage taken up for opium within the last twenty years has been greatly increased; but there has been a proportionable increase of expense, while the greater the quantity brought into the market, the less its rateable profit.

Without the opium trade, the nation would have been immeasurably richer, although, it is true, the same facility would not have existed for the accumulation of private wealth. There are in Calcutta large English and native houses. Their princely wealth, and, as regards many of them, their princely munificence, alike testify how lucrative the trade is to them.

We cannot pursue the subject further at this time. Such of our readers as wish for more information can consult with advantage the pamphlet from which we have just quoted.*

The Tae-pings appear to be making progress. One of the chiefs of a local insurrection Honan is reported to have given in his adherence to the Tae-ping-wang; and the leader of the insurrection in Shense is said to have done likewise. The Missionaries Lambuth and Allen, in their return from Hang-chow, fell in with an enormous force belonging to the Tae-pings. The canal was crowded for twenty miles with their boats. The leaders received them kindly. "We distributed Christian books to the soldiers, and answered all their inquiries about religion." Certainly the contrast between the Imperialists and Tae-pings is marked—the hostility of the one, the friendliness of the other, to Missionaries.

* "An Inquiry into the Results of the Opium Trade with China." By David M'Laren, Edinburgh. Elliott, Prince's Street.



Mahmud.

Nasir. Theodor.

Talib.

McLennan.

Timothy.

Terah.

THE KAREN MISSION.

THE first war with Burmah, concluded by the treaty of Yendaboo in 1826, ceded to the British crown the provinces of Arracan, Moulmein, and Mergui, together with a part of Martaban. Previously to this, the great work of Christian Missions existed only by sufferance within the territories of Burmah, and was exposed to continual interferences from the capricious action of the Burmese authorities. Now, however, under the protection of the British Government, the encouraging prospect of more settled labours presented itself, and Moulmein, at the mouth of the Salween, and Tavoy, further down the coast, became the head-quarters of the Mission.

It was not until this time, 1828, that the Karens attracted the attention of the Missionaries. They are a people widely dispersed throughout the territories of the Burmans, but entirely distinct from that people, by whom they were regarded as inferiors and slaves; and wherever their wild fastnesses had been penetrated, and they had been brought under the yoke, they were in an exceedingly degraded condition, and compelled to perform every kind of servile labour. The first Karen who felt the subduing power of the cross, was a man of this class. A Burman convert, finding him in slavery because of a debt, paid the small sum that was due, and took him into his own family; but his rude and passionate conduct rendering him a most unpleasant inmate, he was transferred on trial to the Mission compound, where, under daily instruction, the light of Christian truth commenced to break in upon the darkness of his heart, and to exercise a softening influence upon his character. Immediately after his baptism he proceeded to Tavoy with the Missionary, Boardman, and his family. Among the Karens in the neighbourhood of Tavoy, Ko-thah-byu—for that was the name of this first-fruit of the Karen nation—laboured diligently. He sought them out and brought them to the Missionary. The tidings of the arrival of a white teacher spread far and near, and soon the Karens came forth in considerable numbers from their jungles. They were found to be anxious to learn, and quick to receive impressions. Their traditions had taught them to regard themselves as a nation suffering under the displeasure of God, and deprived of advantages they had once possessed. "The Karens," so their forefathers had taught them, "once had God's book written on leather (parchment), and they carelessly allowed it to be destroyed. Since then, as a punish-

ment, we have been without books and without a written language." But they had also been led to look forward with eager expectation to the coming amongst them of white men, who should give them all the instruction which they needed. "Our prophets say the white foreigners have the book, and will, in future time, return it to us." Impressions of this kind no doubt led to the deification of a book left in their villages twelve years before by a travelling Mussulman. The person to whose hands it had been entrusted had wrapped it up in muslin, and enclosed it in a basket, until the time should come when, by the advent of a white teacher, its mysteries should be explained. It proved to be the Book of Common Prayer and the Psalms, an edition printed at Oxford. The keeper of the book, who had been specially venerated by the people, cast away his sorcerer's dress, and, with a Karen chieftain as his companion, took his place among the inquirers; and so soon as they had tasted the Lord's grace and love, these two converts hastened forth among their countrymen, and from village to village, and from house to house, exhorted them to faith in Jesus. Ko-thah-byu, the Karen apostle, entered into his rest in 1840. "In 1828 he was the first Karen Christian. In 1840, when he died, there were officially reported as members of the Christian congregations in Pegu, above 1270 individuals of that oppressed and despised race.

From Moulmein, also, as a centre, Missionary efforts on behalf of the Karens were led forth in a very remarkable manner. About the time, when, in consequence of the breaking out of the first Burmese war, the Missionaries Judson and Wade had retired to that place, a Burman of the name of Myat Kyan arrived there also. He was a person of some rank and influence among his countrymen, his brother being the governor of Shwaygyeen, under the Burman *régime*, and he himself having been collector of taxes among the Karens in that district. Thus brought into intercourse with that people, he had become acquainted with their traditions of an eternal God, and his faith in the old negations of Buddhism became shaken. Long and vainly had he sought for truth, until at length he took up his abode at Moulmein, not far from the zayat where Dr. Judson was wont to preach. He soon became an interested listener. "Day after day, he was at the zayat from morning till night. One prejudice after another melted away, cloud after

cloud dispersed, until the Sun of righteousness arose with healing on his wings, and he stood forth a new creature in Christ Jesus." Domestic trials ensued, but they did not turn him aside from the faith of Jesus, or chill his earnest zeal to be a Missionary of good news to his countrymen. He became an earnest evangelist amongst Burmans, Talains, and Karens. To the latter people he specially directed the attention of the Missionaries. Often would he say, "The Karens are not like the Buddhists: they have no idols, no priests, and if the teachers would go and preach to them, great numbers would listen and believe the Gospel."

Thus all along the jungle, as far as Mergui to the south, and above Moulmein to the north, the Karens were moved to inquire after God.

But beyond the British boundaries in Burmah proper, the Karens were to be found in great numbers; and in the hope of reaching these, attempts were made to occupy Rangoon as a station; but the work was troubled by the continued interference of the Burmese authorities. Two new positions were therefore taken up at Akyab and Sandoway, in the British province of Arracan. Information was soon conveyed "to the people on the other side of the mountain-ridge, which separates the two countries, and though the passes were constantly guarded by jealous Burmese officers, the eager Karens found their way in great numbers across the mountains, some asking for baptism, others seeking books for their countrymen at home, and others still desiring to remain and study with the Missionary. They came from the districts of Maubee and Pantaceau, and even from the districts of Rangoon, telling him of the progress of the Gospel among their countrymen. Through a wide extent of country, village after village received the Gospel, and within the first year of his residence, Abbott baptized nearly two hundred of those simplehearted and interesting people. He made occasional visits to the Burmese frontier, and entered the territory of the king, always finding scores of converts awaiting his coming, and desiring to be baptized. In one of those excursions, in which he was absent thirty-one days, he visited all the churches along the frontier, received reports from all the native pastors and preachers, and administered the ordinance of baptism to two hundred and ninety-nine persons, who professed their faith in Christ. During the year 1844 the number of persons baptized through the regions here referred to was upwards of two thousand, and the whole number thus baptized

within five years was considerably more than three thousand—a number larger than had at that time been baptized in all the other Missions of the American Baptist Board taken together. But these numbers but imperfectly indicate the extent to which the Gospel began to exert its influence on the Karens of that district: multitudes more were instructed in its doctrines, and became obedient to its precepts, though they never presented themselves to the Missionary for baptism. An entire change came over the population: they assumed an aspect of higher civilization; they became honest and industrious; the vice common to their race disappeared, and they were eager for knowledge, and every kind of personal and social improvement."

Such a season of special encouragement was followed, as is usual in Missionary work, by an outbreak of bitter persecution—

"In 1843 the Christian Karens were subjected to cruel and vengeful sufferings, inflicted on them by their Burmese oppressors. Large numbers of them were seized and chained together, and marched away in companies to distant prisons, from which they were liberated only by the payment of a ransom, which exhausted their entire wealth. They bore those persecutions with heroic Christian fortitude. They refused to abandon the faith which they had embraced, and maintained it with a firmness which commanded a respect even from their persecutors, and commended the Gospel still more widely to the people around them. So frequent and violent were these persecutions, that the Karens in large companies abandoned their homes and their country, and fled across the mountains to Arracan. In the course of a single season Mr. Abbott received upwards of 200 families at Sandoway. Many others went to other regions, and many perished by the way from the ravages of the cholera; but the emigration of these humble martyrs for conscience sake still went on, till the districts to which they belonged were well nigh depopulated. They awakened the sympathy, not only of the Missionaries, but of the resident English, who made contributions for their comfort and support. The pages of Missionary history do not record a more signal display of divine grace than was seen among these simple dwellers among the mountains of Arracan. With but little instruction from human lips, they seem to have been largely taught of the Holy Ghost. With no outward aids or encouragements, they clung to their faith with a tenacity that nothing could subdue, and in the day of frightful

persecution they literally gave up all for Christ.*

After a time the storm exhausted itself; the infant work, although sifted, was not overthrown. Of the Karen Christians, as of the ancient Hebrews, it might with truth be said, that "the more they afflicted them the more they multiplied and grew." It is remarkable that the portion of the work which was the most severely tried was the most zealous and self-denying in pecuniary contributions, and in efforts made for the maintenance and consolidation of Christian ordinances. The Sandoway Mission was especially designed for the persecuted Karens who dwelt in the neighbouring districts of Burmah proper; and although each one of the Missions had been exercised from the commencement in the great duty of religious contribution, yet in this, the Sandoway Mission was more specially forward. "The efforts and sacrifices of these humble Christians to secure the blessings of the Gospel, and to maintain its institutions in their villages, afforded the noblest proof of the sincerity of their faith and the fervour of their piety. Several churches erected chapels at their own expense, others supported their native pastors, while all contributed in some way or other to the pecuniary maintenance of the Mission."

This rapidly-increasing work required reinforcements from the Parent Society, and several new Missionaries reached the British provinces in 1849 and 1850. It was decided that a new effort should be made permanently to occupy Rangoon, and from thence, as soon as the rainy season was over, to ascend the Irrawaddy as far as Ava. But they found themselves again embarrassed by the uncertain and capricious action of the Government. At one time they were forbidden to distribute books, or associate with the people, while those who visited them were punished with fines, scourging, and imprisonments. Then again, an unexpected message from the king set them free from these restrictions, and, profiting by this season of opportunity, multitudes of Burmans and Karens, many of them from a great distance in the interior, both converts and inquirers, flocked to the Missionaries.

But the time was come when heathen Burmah, which thus arrogantly tyrannized over the consciences of men, and interfered with the Gospel in its mission of mercy, was again to be humbled, and the sceptre of her power broken. British ships of war appeared in

the Rangoon river. It was full time, for hundreds of British subjects had been most cruelly treated. Many had been thrown into prison, some had been tortured, and two had died under torture. The "Battle of the Stockades," on January 10, 1852, introduced the last Burmese war. Martaban was taken on April 5th. Rangoon was attacked on the 11th, and, after a most desperate resistance of nearly four days, fell before the British arms. On the 20th of December the ancient kingdom of Pegu, which, precisely a century before, had been conquered from the Talaings by the renowned Alomfra, was declared to be annexed to the empire of British India. The territory thus designated includes the entire of that section of Burmah lying between the Salwen river on the east, the Yoma mountains on the west, and the Bay of Bengal on the south, and extending north to the nineteenth parallel of north latitude, about fifty miles above the city of Prome. Thus the British possessions in the peninsula of India were united in one continuous sea-board, commanding the entire outlets and deltas of the Irrawaddy, the Sitang, and the Salwen.

In the presence of these enlarged openings, the Parent Committee in America invited the Missionaries to assemble in convention at Moulmein in the spring of 1853, appointing their senior Corresponding Secretary, accompanied by another minister, to proceed as a deputation to Burmah on this important occasion. Various matters were discussed, and decisions arrived at. The entire field of labour was divided into distinct Missions: Moulmein, Tavoy, Arracan, Bassein, Rangoon, Prome, Shwaygyeen, Toungoo, and Henthada. Of these, Shwaygyeen is a large town at the junction of the Shwaygyeen and Sitang rivers, about 100 miles northward from Rangoon; Toungoo is a large walled city on the Sitang river, about 100 miles above Shwaygyeen; Henthada is situated on the Irrawaddy, at the point where the stream branches into the Bassein and Rangoon rivers.

In September 1853 the Missionary, Mason, proceeded to occupy Toungoo as a station. "Stepping into a large canoe, with a Karen Bible and hymn-book, they turned its head towards Toungoo. From Martaban, to Ava and the Himalaya, a range of granite mountains runs nearly north and south, between the waters of the Salwen on the east, and of the Sitang and Irrawaddy on the west. For fifteen miles they had to stem the torrent of the Salwen, which, at this season, pours down an immense volume of water. At noon

* "Encyclopædia of Missions," p. 205, &c.

they rested for refreshment under the shade of a large spreading acacia tree, of which upwards of ten species are known in Burmah, some with globular heads of flowers, some white and some yellow; some are immense creepers; while others are noble timber-trees, rivalled by none except the teak. . . .

"At last Shwaygyeen was reached, which is so beautifully situated that it affords one of the most picturesque views that can be found even in the East. It lies in the forks of the Toungoo and Shwaygyeen rivers, with the mountains close behind, and is one of the most convenient stations for a Karen Missionary of all towns in Burmah. The Karen settlements commence half an hour's distance from the city, and continue, at short intervals, in untold numbers, north, south, and east. At this station Mr. and Mrs. Harris, from the time of the annexation, carried on their earnest self-denying labours. They and their four children had gone up to the place in a country-boat, rowed by Karen disciples. It was on a Saturday night they anchored, and the next morning, finding an empty shed, they assembled to worship God, and there, for the first time, the glorious Gospel was proclaimed at Shwaygyeen. At that time no Christian hearts beat there, but now, scattered up and down the hills, are hundreds of baptized believers. . . .

"After nineteen days of travelling, Dr. and Mrs. Mason came in sight of the walls of Toungoo, looming up from a forest of palm-trees. The city is a rectangle, a mile from north to south, and a mile and a half from east to west. It stands on a plain, a quarter of a mile west of the Sitang river, which is there about four hundred yards wide, and deep enough for the navigation of large boats at all seasons. The walls of the city were built twenty-five feet high, with towers and battlements: these, however, have been destroyed, but the walls themselves are still in good preservation, and the earth has been heaped up on the inside so as to form a beautiful promenade all round the city. Here the chain of mountains on the east, which approaches within a few miles of the river, is seen in all its glorious sublimity, pile upon pile, until they rise to a height of eight or ten thousand feet. The far western horizon is bounded by the Promé mountains and valley of the Irrawaddy.

"The position of Toungoo as a Missionary centre appears to be one of considerable importance. Burmans, Shans, Kyens, and Toungos gather within its walls, and around are various tribes of Karens, two or three of which were before unknown. This

station appears to be likely to rise in importance, and, from it, the hope is cherished that many will go forth to be lights in the surrounding darkness, and perhaps to be the heralds of salvation even into China and Siam."*

Sau Quala, the Karen minister, joined Dr. Mason in December 1853. The first baptism took place the following January, in the presence of more than fifty Burmans. Before the end of that year the number of converts was 741, who were associated in nine churches. "In May 1856 they had increased to thirty churches, with an aggregate of 2124 members, all of whom had been baptized within two years, and more than 2000 of them by one man." Thus girded with faith, this native Christian went forward to his labours. "Having no salary, one and another of the disciples gives him a garment when he needs, and, having no house, he gets his food where he labours." On Mason's returning to America for a short season, Sau Quala was left with three native assistants, amongst Sgans, Bghaés, and Pakeés. By degrees, other native helpers were given him, and the wide field diligently cultivated.

This brief sketch of the early history of the Mission will prepare our readers to peruse with interest the following

REPORT OF LIEUTENANT-COLONEL PHAYRE, THE COMMISSIONER OF PEGU,

on the subject of a recent tour accomplished by him among the Karen mountain tribes, in which will be found ample references to the efforts which are being made for their evangelization—

"Having lately returned to the station of Toungoo, from a short tour among the Karen mountain tribes dwelling to the east of the Sitang or Paung Loung river, I have the honour to submit, for the information of the Honourable the President in Council, a brief report of what I have observed among that interesting race of people.

"The mountainous country of the Toungoo district, east of the Paung Loung river, in which the Karen tribes reside, extends over an area of about 2000 square miles. It is bounded by the line of the British frontier, with Burmah on the north, along the parallel of 19° 29' north latitude; on the south by the river Youkthie, which divides it from the Martaban province; on the east by the country of the independent Red Karens; and on the west by the lowlands skirting the Paung

* "The Gospel in Burmah," pp. 308, &c.

Loung river. Within the above tract of country dwell the several tribes distinguished by the Burmese under the general name of Karen. These tribes, though acknowledging a relationship to each other in race, yet bear separate distinctive names for themselves. Their dialects, in some instances, differ from each other, so as to render communication between the tribes nearly as difficult as if the languages were altogether distinct. The following are the names of the several tribes or clans within the above tract of country—

“1. Pakée; 2. Manne Paghá; 3. Bghaé, divided into two sections; 4. We Wan; 5. Sgan, and one or two more not yet satisfactorily ascertained.

“It is impossible to give an accurate return of the numbers of these people, but it may be stated generally to be about 50,000, of whom over 20,000 souls are either professed Christians, or under Christian instruction and influence. They are scattered over mountains which rise to 5000 feet above the sea: their villages seldom contain more than thirty to forty houses. Their cultivation, like that of all the Indo-Chinese mountaineers, is carried on, not by terracing the hills, but by cutting down the forest on the mountain sides, burning the whole mass of timber and grass, and then sowing the seed in the ground among the ashes. As the next rain washes away the fertile vegetable soil, a crop cannot again be raised on the same spot for some ten or fifteen years. Each village, therefore, requires a wide extent of mountain land, in order to have a rotation of cultivable spots. This method of cultivation acts as a bar to the progress of the people, since they are engaged in a constant struggle against the forest; but there appears no prospect of any immediate improvement being effected in this respect.

“Up to the year 1853, the several tribes—and it may even be said the different villages of the tribe—lived in a state of enmity and actual warfare with each other. By open force, or by stealthy manoeuvre, they would capture women and children, and sell them as slaves to other tribes, while they generally put to death all grown-up men who fell into their power. These predatory habits still exist more or less among those tribes who have not accepted Christianity.

“In my annual Administration Reports I have narrated how, by the unwearied labours of the Rev. Dr. and Mrs. Mason, of Sau Quala, and other Christian Karen teachers, from the Tenasserim provinces, Christianity has been introduced among these tribes; how their languages have been mastered and reduced to writing; and how religion and education have simultaneously wrought a vast

change in the habits, the feelings, and the hearts of these wild mountaineers.

“The Government have been pleased in past years to make grants of money to Dr. and Mrs. Mason, for the translation of books, and for the building of the school for Karen females at Toungoo. Having now been present at the meeting, in a central mountain village, of a considerable number of people from all the tribes—an annual gathering held to recount their past proceedings, to compare their progress, and to animate each other to future efforts—having witnessed this deeply interesting meeting, I deem it my duty to report, for the information of the Honourable the President in Council, the result so far of the work which has been going on among these people.

“Their educational institutions are closely connected with their village or clan system. Each village community constitutes a church or congregation in itself. Among the Sgan, Manne Paghá, Pakée, and We Wan tribes, there are fifty-eight stations or churches. At each village there is a teacher and a school. The teachers are generally young men of the tribe, who have been selected and instructed under the care of Dr. Mason. The village teacher is not in all cases an ordained minister; but he it is who conducts the public worship, and is also the schoolmaster. In each village a church is erected, and the school is held in the same building. At those villages which I have visited, these mountain places of worship were neat wooden buildings, with a house adjoining for the minister or teacher. *All are built at the expense of the people, and the teacher is entirely supported by the same means.* I need hardly add that it is a completely voluntary system. A bamboo fence, put round the church and the teacher's or minister's dwelling, separates them from the rest of the village.

“Among the other tribes, namely, the Bghae and Mopgha, there are sixty-two stations, or parishes, as they may be termed, which I am informed are provided for in every respect as above described.

“In January 1859 the Pakée Association of all the churches belonging to that and some adjoining tribes held a meeting, at which I was present. It was at a village named Bangalee, situated on a fine commanding position, at some 3000 feet elevation, with forest clad mountains all round. There were about 700 or 800 people present, men, women, and children. The Rev. Dr. Mason, with several Karen ministers and teachers, occupied a central platform of bamboo, slightly raised above the ground. Around this platform, under the shade of a temporary shed of

bamboo, were the Karens, seated according to their tribes and families, clad in their picturesque national dress, and with intelligence and deep interest in the objects for which they had met beaming in their faces.

"The business of the meeting commenced with a hymn and with prayer, both in the Karen language. The Karens have naturally a taste for melody, and the soft sounds of their language are well adapted to vocal music. Several of the young Karen ministers and teachers successively addressed the assembly in earnest language, exhorting the people to make increased exertions to educate their children, to support religion, to procure Bibles, and to be careful of them when they had them. One read a paper containing a brief account of the illness and death of a brother pastor who had lately died. Several of the chiefs also briefly addressed the meeting, exhorting the people. Finally, it was announced that the associated churches had subscribed over 500 rupees towards the support of the central schools at the town of Toungoo, where both boys and girls are educated more highly than can be done in the village schools. They are there trained as teachers for the village schools.

"It was a wonderful sight thus to behold, in the midst of an assembly of tribes so lately savage, and with no written language, the evidence of a people appreciating the benefits of religion and of education, supporting pastors and schools, listening to speeches on social improvement and religious duties, delivered by men of their own race, in their own tongue; abandoning their evil habits and their cruel wars, and living as quiet, industrious mountaineers, anxious for improvement. I was surprised at the youth of some of the teachers, and more also at the respect and attention shown them by many of the chiefs. This is the more remarkable, as we might almost have looked for jealousy from the latter at their own influence being impaired. It is not so, however: Dr. Mason has found, as was to be expected, that young people were more readily impressed with new ideas than those advanced in life, and has employed young men as teachers, while their education ensures them respect and influence among both chiefs and people.

"Though the people support their village teachers and schools, and will, and do, also support those youths who go to study at the normal schools in towns, yet it is beyond their means to defray all the expenses of the latter institutions. I was present at an examination of the girls of the Female Institute at Toungoo by Mr. Mason: fifty were present. They appeared to acquit themselves

creditably in geography, arithmetic, and other branches of knowledge. To show what a change education has wrought in the opinions of these people generally, I may mention, that in the absence of regular teachers, in the more remote villages, some of the chiefs have applied for young women from the Institute to instruct the children of their tribe. This fact, showing a disregard for all previous prejudices—for they heretofore considered women only as useful drudges to the lords of our creation—evinces the wonderful change effected in their habits of thought.

"I have entered into these details of the progress made among these tribes in order to lay clearly before the Hon. the President in Council my reasons for making application for further grants towards supporting and extending education among them. On this subject I beg to annex copies of two letters to my address, one from Mrs. Mason, dated the 13th of Jan. 1859, and one from the Rev. Dr. Mason, dated the 21st idem, both asking for assistance for the normal school for Karen young men, established at the town of Toungoo.

"Hitherto the Government has contributed as follows towards education among the mountain Karen tribes—2000 rupees for the translation and printing of useful works in the Bghaé and Manne Paghá dialects, and 1400 rupees for books, apparatus, &c., for the Karen Female Institute: a grant of land at Toungoo has also been made for erecting the building.

"With reference to the present application by Dr. and Mrs. Mason, I beg earnestly to recommend that the Hon. the President in Council will be pleased to sanction a grant towards the young men's normal school,—a school which is to fulfil the important object of furnishing instructors to the various tribes scattered over the mountains. The great importance of aiding the Rev. Dr. and Mrs. Mason in affording these young men a liberal education, through whose agency these tribes may be raised from the depths of ignorance and barbarism, to have hereafter, it is hoped, a prominent place amongst Asiatic races,—the great importance of aiding in this noble object requires not a word from me to recommend it. I shall content myself, therefore, with stating that many tribes still remain to be rescued from barbarism, and recommending as follows—

"First, That the sum of 3000 rupees be granted towards the building at Toungoo of a schoolhouse for the Karen young men. The school is proposed to be of brick, and 100 pupils are to be educated therein.

"Second, That I be authorised to indent for, or otherwise procure for, the said school the following instruments—1. A telescope on

stand, of sufficient power to observe the eclipse of Jupiter's satellites; 2. a sextant and artificial horizon; 3. a pair of globes, one foot in diameter; 4. a prismatic compass and chain complete; 5. a set of school maps.

"I have not the means of making an estimate of the expense that will be incurred in procuring these instruments, but I believe that 1200 rupees will be the outside."

There are several topics referred to in this report, on which we would desire to offer some observations, and first, on the important subject of

THE NATIVE PASTORATE.

"At each village there is a teacher and a school. The village-teacher is not in all cases an ordained minister, but it is he who conducts the public worship, and is also the schoolmaster."

We greatly regret that we have not before us the last annual report of the American Baptist Missionary Union: unhappily it has never reached us; thus we are obliged to fall back upon an old report of 1858, in order to bring out with some accuracy the precise status of the Missionary work in Burmah. At that time the natives in orders were between thirty and forty, the licentiates and native preachers 264. The increase in these branches, since the above period, has no doubt been considerable. This we can ascertain from fragmentary documents. In the Henthada Mission there were, in June 1860, twelve more native preachers than in the previous year 1859, which no doubt presented a similar increase when compared with the maximum of 1858.

The importance of the native pastorate is now universally admitted. Under providential discipline, the comparative paucity of European Missionaries, the loss by death of many, the difficulty of obtaining new and able men: the conviction of necessity has deepened and strengthened in the hearts of the various Missionary Societies.

In this periodical the desirableness of a native pastorate has been often dwelt upon. It may suffice, on the present occasion, to introduce from a former article one sentence:—"The Holy Ghost, in his administration of the church, dispenses to collective bodies of God's people various gifts and administrations, promotive of mutual growth, and usefulness as to those who are without. But, in order to the exercise of these gifts, the native-Christian element must be permitted to rise to conscious self-responsibility, and the European agent must be careful not to place himself in such a position as to inter-

fere with this. He must be prepared to have the truths of the Gospel committed to faithful men from amongst the converts, who shall be able to teach others also; and he must be willing and anxious to afford them full scope for the exercise of whatever gifts may have been bestowed on them, standing himself out of the way, when it be necessary, that they may have room to do so."* And to this we will add one paragraph on this subject from an address delivered by the Rev. R. S. Hardy, of Ceylon, at the Liverpool Missionary Conference—"The truth must be naturalized; it must cease to be regarded as an exotic before it can thoroughly permeate and permanently regenerate any given nation. Its power can only be universally diffused by that which is alike native in its fount and in its flowing: look, tone, word, imagery, idiom, all must be native. Every people, even the most degraded, has a nationality, and each tribe an idiosyncrasy; sacred circles, that the stranger can never completely penetrate." We entirely agree, therefore, with a Missionary cotemporary, that "it is a mistake to suppose that the value of native agency has only of late years been perceived by Missionaries and Missionary Societies." It is quite true that "attention has for many years been directed to this matter, and that the native agents of every Society have undergone continued additions." In our own Missions it has been so.

Thus, for instance, in our South-India Missions, comprehensive of the work in Madras, Tinnevely, and Travancore, there has been, in our native agency, a very decided increase, so much so as to enable them to compare not unfavourably with the result of the Karen Mission. In 1850 we had, in those Missions, only seven native clergymen: there are now twenty-three; while the catechists and readers have increased from 231 to 254, and the schoolmasters from 278 to 393.

In the Asiatic Missions of the American Board there has also been an increase, but not to the same extent. The ordained natives, from the report published October 2, 1860, do not appear to be more than seven, while the American Missionaries number sixty-six. The native preachers are seventy-seven, and the native teachers and helpers 172; a total of 249.

We cannot go farther into these statistics: they would occupy too much space and time. It is evident, that in the working of the various Societies the great desideratum of a

* "Church Missionary Intelligencer," August 1858.

native pastorate has not been forgotten. The attention of the Missionaries in Burmah was specially directed to this point by the Moulmein Conference, and the paper drawn up on that occasion is so valuable, that we think it worthy of being recalled from oblivion and placed before our readers—

“We have reached a period in the history of our Missions when this subject demands the most profound and prayerful attention. This will appear most evident to the convention, when it considers that at this present moment there are 117 churches connected with the Burnese and Karen Missions, with a membership of some 10,000 converts, with only eleven ordained pastors. New churches are rising, and, under the blessing of God, will continue to rise, until the whole land is filled. The question at once suggests itself, To whom must these numerous churches look for faithful pastors to go in and out before them?

“It must be admitted that, in the early stage of their profession, the immaturity of the converts, the presence of evil habits acquired in a state of heathenism or idolatry, the ignorance and imperfect apprehension of the Gospel, must and do require the judicious treatment of Missionaries. They demand from them incessant instruction, great watchfulness and pastoral supervision. But a long-continued supervision your Committee believe would be attended with many serious evil results. It would engender feebleness in the native churches, and incapacitate them for that state of independence and self-sustentation designed by the great Head of the church. It would accustom the native converts to a style of ministry which can in vain be looked for from a native pastorate when circumstances shall compel its employment. It would have a reflex influence disastrous to Missionaries themselves. Their exertions would become limited and confined to small bands of converts, while myriads are perishing around them; and, so far as influence goes, they would set a most injurious example to the churches and to native assistants. It would teach them to be satisfied with what had already been gained, instead of impressing upon them, by personal example, that they should never rest satisfied while the world around them remained in darkness of heathenism.

“It will appear evident, that if the reasons adduced are valid against a long-continued pastorship of Missionaries, ‘they are valid arguments for the employment of native pastors alone to superintend the converts gathered into the Christian fold. In no other way can the wants of the native converts be

supplied, and the Gospel they have received be perpetuated.’

“Your Committee have been led to inquire, has the Lord Jesus Christ made no provision for these churches purchased by his own blood, in raising up a native ministry? We rejoice to say that He has done, as He has been wont to do in every stage of the church’s history down to the present time. There are now eleven ordained men, who, by their fidelity in the discharge of the high duties entrusted to them, demonstrate that the Missionaries do not err in the laying on of hands, and setting them apart to the work unto which they were called by the Holy Ghost, though they may have done it with fear and trembling. In addition, there are more than 120 native preachers connected with these churches, many of whom, until recently, have been inaccessible to the Missionary in Burmah. These men (or most of them) have been raised up by God himself, and endowed with gifts and qualifications for the ministry of the word. They have sat side by side with your Missionaries in the *zayat*, they have stood with them in the field of active service, they have been entrusted with the Gospel, and have wended their weary way to the distant jungle and preached the crucified Saviour in the vales and on the mountain-tops: relying alone upon Him who had called them, they have made the jungle vocal with the praises of God, so that the Missionary following in their footsteps has found the wilderness budding and blossoming as the rose. These are tried men: they have met persecution and have not quailed; they have been reviled from day to day and have not fainted; they have been subjected to stripes and imprisonment; the naked sword has been suspended over them; but all in vain. These men preach with power and acceptance, and have been the pioneers in your Missions, harbingers of the Gospel of peace. Many of them, even now, are in charge of churches (which may have been raised up through their instrumentality), feeding them, and guiding them onward in the path of life, while others are raising up new ones, the converts around them waiting for the Missionary to come and set in order the things that remain. Can we for a moment doubt that God is raising up a pastorate for the native churches? or shall we hesitate and permit a system not sanctioned by Scripture to become established and entailed, with its accumulating evils, upon the rising churches of Burmah?

“Your Committee would recommend the most serious attention of this convention, and of every Missionary, to this subject, and that

pastors be ordained for every church just so soon as suitable men, qualified as the Scriptures demand for this important office, are raised up, not forgetting the injunction, 'Lay hands suddenly on no man;' for we know of no question connected with the case of native converts which calls more loudly for the exercise of sound judgment and judicious action than the ordination of native pastors. And we recommend, therefore, that the native churches be directed to look upon God, by prayer and earnest supplications, to raise up faithful men, not only pastors, but deacons, to take charge of them in the fear of God, and that the churches be instructed sacredly to sustain them by their prayers, and support them with a generous liberality. This recommendation has the high sanction of apostolical example. The attention of the apostles was at once directed to this subject by the Divine Spirit; a subject so important that it was entered upon in the most solemn manner, with fasting and prayer; thus recognising the ministry not only as of divine appointment, but that God had, in raising up churches, endowed them with suitable gifts, which were to be sought out and publicly set apart to the work, and then commended to God.

"Your Committee, in making this recommendation, would by no means convey the idea that they would have the Missionary cease to instruct and watch over the pastors and infant churches raised up under his ministry. No: in addition to all the trials and labours of the faithful Missionary, he will have 'the care of the churches' still.

"When we have thus complied with the injunction, 'And the things that thou hast heard of me, among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also,' may we hope to see 'the native churches walking in the fear of God, and edified by their own brethren under the teaching of the Spirit of God, and the Missionary unfurling the banner of salvation in the regions beyond.' Then may we see these sheep-folds so regulated, that, were every Missionary withdrawn, they would possess within themselves both the men and the ability to continue as the witnesses of Christ, until 'the wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them, and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose.'"

For various reasons the action of the native pastorate is most requisite; and first, to simplify the position of the European Missionary, and set him free for that which is his proper vocation—the preaching of the Gospel in "the regions beyond." The Eu-

ropean Missionary, when acting as the pastor of a native church, is not, we conceive, in his right position. It is one which necessity alone can justify, and from which he ought to be relieved as soon as possible. In connexion with native churches, his position, until the time comes when they can be left to their own independent action, should be exclusively that of superintendence.

We consider the Missionary district under the superintendence of the Rev. J. Thomas to present the *beau ideal* of the organization which had best prevail when a Mission work has reached that degree of progress which prevails in Tinnevely, where the native church is gradually rising to its true position as a Christian church, supplied, as was the custom in the apostolic times, with its own native pastorate. Here we have merged into one, three districts formerly worked by three European Missionaries. Now there is but one European Missionary, who is charged with the supervision of the whole; but under him there are three native clergymen engaged in pastoral duties. The language which Mr. Thomas uses with respect to this arrangement is remarkable—"I cannot help thinking that we have been led to this course of action by God's overruling providence, for the employment of native pastors seems to have been gradually forced upon us by the removal from the field of European Missionaries; and now that the experiment has been made, and, I think, with success, the difficulties which appeared at first have been removed, and the system may, with advantage, be enlarged." We are fully persuaded of this, that into the arrangement which prevails in Mr. Thomas's district we were providentially guided, and that we have now before us a specimen of the system which ought to be promptly carried out in all native churches. Let only the native pastorate be satisfactorily increased, and such only of the European Missionaries be detained in the more settled districts as may suffice for that supervision work of guidance and encouragement which the native pastorate, in its present early state, requires, and a considerable number of such men will be at once set free for their proper work—aggressive action on the perishing myriads around. Why may not our Kishnagurh districts be thus dealt with? Instead of a limited district, continuing under the pastorate of a European Missionary, why should it not have a *native* pastor; and then several of these be placed under the superintendence of one European Missionary, a selected man, duly fitted for his peculiar

work? Surely we want, at the present day, a grand onward movement like that which is being pushed forward in Karenee-dom; and yet our European Missionaries are few, and reinforcements come in slowly. We can, then, the less spare them for pastoral work of a limited character.

Nor would this be the only advantage; but we are persuaded that the native congregations would profit immeasurably by such a change. Between a pastor and people of the same race there is that assimilation which secures sympathy and promotes growth. An interesting proof now lies before us of the effective working of the native pastorate. A native flock, formerly at Secundra, near Agra, which had been severely tried during the late mutiny, has been transferred to a position entirely new at Allahabad, and there placed under the care of a native pastor. We cannot avoid wishing we could, on occasions like these, present the information, and yet withhold the names, for even gracious human nature is a weak and feeble thing, and is liable to be injured by commendation or notoriety. But this often is not possible; and the facts must either be withheld, to the detriment of the work at home, or the names given. After all, both ministers at home and Missionaries abroad must remember that they are but instruments, and that nothing can be done except the Lord uses them; and therefore whatever be effected, He should have *all* the praise. The following brief notice of this native pastor and his work is from the Rev. J. Owen, an American Missionary at Allahabad: its date is Jan. 4, 1861—

"You ask me about your Mission here. Your native pastor, the Rev. David Mohun, I know well, and have known him several years. I have known him as a catechist at Sigra, Benares, and have great confidence in his soundness and piety. His congregation here, consisting of about 400 native Christians, is one of the most interesting in the North-Indian church, and he is, I believe, a laborious and faithful pastor. When the Bishop was here, more than a year since, Mohun presented several of his flock for confirmation. It was a truly interesting scene. The other day I had the pleasure, with others, of attending an examination of the school, composed entirely of children of Mohun's congregation. The general superintendence and direction of this school is by no means the least important of his duties. I may mention that he has been living in one of the houses in my compound more than a year past, there being no other house convenient for him, and consequently I have seen much of him. He

often comes to me, when in perplexity or anxiety, and we have had much pleasant intercourse. Your Committee have reason indeed to thank God, and take courage, for this Allahabad native church and pastor. May such be speedily increased a thousand-fold throughout the land. The crying want in all our Missionary operations is that of a native agency. When Christianity becomes indigenous, I have no doubt its progress will be rapid."

It is evident, however, that even in the most advanced of the Missions a commencement only has been made, and that much remains to be done in order that the supply of native pastors may become equal to the requirements of the churches. Such is the conviction of the South-India Conference.

"In view of all that has been done in this direction, the Conference acknowledges the goodness of God in raising up so many godly and able native agents; but believes that much yet remains to be done in order to secure an agency worthy of the work; and for this our eyes must be directed to the great Head of the church, whose prerogative it is to raise up men after his own heart, endow them largely with self-denial and true devotion, and fill them with the knowledge of divine things and with burning compassion for perishing souls."*

Suitable materials for the pastorate, if only looked out and wisely dealt with, cannot be wanting. Wherever a congregation has been raised up, if indeed it be a genuine work, it will not fail to include the materials for its own pastorate. They must be looked out, and they will be found—men of sterling piety, and sufficiently endowed with natural gifts for the work they have to do. Let them be taken and subjected to such a training process as is going forward in the Palamcotta Propaganda Institution, in the training school at Santipore, and under Bishop Williams at Waiapu, New Zealand; and then, if they be apt and able to teach in the vernacular the truths of the everlasting Gospel, let them be ordained, although they do not know a word of English. To insist upon a knowledge of English, as an essential requisite to the ordination of a native, would grievously hinder the development of the pastorate, and inflict upon the nascent work a very serious injury.

THE SUPPORT OF THE NATIVE PASTORATE.

But the difficulty in the increase of the native pastorate does not lie in the paucity of

* "South-India Conference," p. 170.

materials, but in the question of support. So states the "Baptist Herald"—"the only limitation to the largely-increased use of the native agency is the want of funds." And, again—"It is this very question of the support of a native agency which is the real difficulty to be grappled with." Hitherto "they have been dependent on foreign sources for their support, or have received it under the direction and control of Societies which have sanctioned their employment;" and the burden thus cast on the home organizations has interfered with the onward movement of the Gospel.

"The burden of both propagating and maintaining the Gospel has weighted the action of every Missionary Society, and compelled slower progress than might have been attained had propagation been their only task. Missions have not expanded as they ought and would have done had not Societies been constrained, or thought themselves to be so, to uphold the churches they have formed, and to provide for the pastors they have supplied. With the calls to new fields daily opening upon the Christian church, and the increase of converts in every Mission field, this draft on our resources becomes more burdensome. If the means of extrication are not speedily found, Christendom will have to provide not only for the spread of the Gospel, but for the permanent maintenance and direction of the numerous churches which are rising up throughout heathen lands. But for the amounts swallowed up in the support of native agents, many more active, energetic Missionaries might have gone forth to preach 'everywhere' the unsearchable riches of Christ."

Now this is a very serious state of things. The native churches are injured by the tardiness that marks the development of the pastorate, and the great onward movement is hindered as well by the diversion of funds from direct evangelizing work to the maintenance of Christian ordinances amongst them, as by the preoccupation of the European Missionaries. "If the means of extrication are not speedily found, Christendom will have to provide not only for the spread of the Gospel, but for the permanent maintenance and direction of the numerous churches which are rising up throughout heathen lands." But it was not so at the commencement. Judæa was the originating centre from whence the work went forth. But Judæa did not contribute to the maintenance of the native churches which were raised up so extensively throughout the then known world; nay, on the other hand, these

churches contributed to the necessities of the poor saints at Jerusalem. They met their own necessities; they maintained their own pastors; nay, not only so, but instead of depending for pecuniary support on the Missionary agency which had introduced amongst them the Gospel, they contributed to the support of that agency as the Philippians did in the case of Paul. Certainly these native churches were not all rich and affluent. The churches of Macedonia are stated to have been in deep poverty. (2 Cor. viii. 2.) Yet they found means not only to support their own "bishops and deacons" (Phil. i. 1), but to contribute to other and extraneous objects. The poverty of the church at Smyrna is also noticed—"I know thy works, and tribulation, and poverty." In fact, if in those days, churches, as they were raised up, had not started at once into vigorous and self-supporting action, the whole work must have stopped, for there were no home funds to fall back upon. And now, with respect to ourselves in these modern days, the various Societies are entrusted with means which, if duly husbanded, will be found to suffice for initiative work, but which cannot be otherwise than wholly inadequate to the maintenance of native churches and pastors. The attempt to do this, even over a limited area, is already producing serious embarrassment and difficulty. What, then, is to be done, or how are "the means of extrication to be found?" Every church raised up from amongst the heathen ought to have its own native pastor, and the pastor should be such as that the native church shall be able to support him. If in any collective body of converts from among the heathen the work be genuine, it will be found to include the materials for the pastorate. If the men selected for the pastorate be genuine men, they will be contented with such a measure of support as their flock can yield them; and if this be not enough, they will work with their own hands to make up what may be wanting. But then the pastors must be of the people themselves, amongst whom they are to minister. They must be men of like habits, and accustomed to the same mode of living. It is this which makes us so deprecate the European standard of qualification for orders being used as the measurement of qualification for the native ministry; so that no candidate will be accepted unless he be sufficiently conversant with English as to be able to meet an examination carried on in that language. To insist at present on such a measure of qualification would be to dissimilate the pastorate from the churches as they are now. With the knowledge of the

English language, there must of necessity come in English ideas, and a tendency to English habits and mode of living; and this will engender just so much of dissimilarity as to disable the native church from the support of its own pastorate, and, to a certain extent, indispose it so to do. A native ministry, retaining native habits and modes of life, so far as they be not inconsistent with the emendatory influence of Christian truths, and yet carrying with it into its ministry "grace and truth," so as to be "an example of the believers in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity," this will command affection and respect. The whole native church will be benefited, because such a ministry will present a convincing proof, that, in order to be advantaged by the Gospel, it is not necessary that a man should change his language or abdicate his nationality; and that this wholesome leaven, introduced into the midst of any distinct race, can so pervade it, as, without destroying the national type, to assimilate it to the will and service of Christ. Such a ministry, having a hold on the affections of the people, will soon attract to itself the means of sustentation, provided that foreign Missionary Societies do not unwisely interfere, and injure the native church, by salarizing the pastorate. Considerations of this kind have had their due weight with the Bishop of Calcutta, and decided him in his primary charge thus to express himself on the subject of native ordination—

"I am assured, as a matter of fact, that in a period of transition like the present, to teach a Bengalee convert English, is too often only to separate him from his countrymen, to 'Anglicise' him, as the phrase is, to make him discontented with a simple life, a small salary, and quiet native habits. . . . Our first object must be at present to raise up pastors having perfect sympathy with the people, and to make war upon the notion, that Christianity is in some way or other essentially connected with England, that it is the religion of the *Sahib log*, and implies the abandonment of innocent native customs, the native dress, the native mode of living, or the native names. Most strongly do I feel the importance of vindicating the catholicity of Christianity, and its power of absorbing into itself all things harmless and indifferent. Therefore, when I am told that this is at stake, I now repeat, what I have said elsewhere, that as I consented, on the anxious recommendation of trustworthy witnesses, to ordain, as an experiment, a native of the north-west, who did not understand English, so, if I live to return from my pre-

sent journey, I shall be ready, also as an experiment, to admit to the office of deacon any Bengalee catechist who satisfies me of his experience in pastoral work and fitness for the ministry, and who, in the judgment of my chaplains and myself, has attained the degree of knowledge which I have announced as requisite for admission to orders."

It is on this point, that in our Preparandi Institution, and other seminaries designed to prepare native Christians for orders, great care is needed, lest, in the earnest effort to give them Christian and intellectual development, we so Anglicise them as to unfit them for usefulness amongst their countrymen. It is urged that the vernaculars of India are barren of theological and other books which are requisite for the due instruction of candidates. That is to be regretted. Let the deficiency, by all means, be corrected as soon as possible; but the proper mode of effecting this is not to Anglicise the pastorate, but by translational labours, such as are contemplated by the "Christian Vernacular Society for India," to enrich the native languages. The ministry will rise with the enrichment of the vernacular, and that in a gradual and safe way, without endangering its simplicity.

We believe that the sustentation of the native pastorate ought to devolve on the native churches, and that if the pastorate be of the right kind, and, in sympathy with them, they will not fail to accept and discharge that responsibility. Our cotemporary, the "Baptist Herald," says, "It is surely reasonable to expect, that when instructed converts become pastors of churches, their churches would support them, and, in their turn, contribute somewhat towards the spread of the faith. Yet this is the very thing that has not been done, and, from present appearances, cannot be done. With the partial exception of the remarkable Mission among the Karens of Burmah, and the Baptist churches of Jamaica, no Mission has succeeded in rendering native churches independent, or a native ministry self-supporting." Well, but in these instances it has been done. What has been done in one or two instances may be done in others, and therefore the desideratum, whatever it be, although a difficulty is not an impossibility. The South-India Conference has borne explicit testimony to the success which has attended the efforts of the American brethren in this respect—

"The American brethren in Burmah have apparently been very happy in selecting the right men for the right places; and the ex-

tent to which their plan has been carried to the establishment of nearly a hundred separate and independent churches, shows clearly that the Divine Head of the universal church has blessed their endeavours for his glory."

The Conference then proceeds to say—"These results have, it appears, been chiefly in the rural and mountainous parts of the country. Perhaps many of these pastors, beloved and honoured by their people, and successful and able ministers of the New Testament, if removed to a large town, especially where the inhabitants have had some of the advantages of education, might prove not so acceptable."

Let the pastorate be a handful taken out of the mass amidst which it is to minister; if in large towns, from amongst the town-converts; if in the rural and mountainous parts of the country from amongst the Christian inhabitants of those places. But this is the point to be indicated, that the poor converts in the rural and mountainous parts of Burmah sustain a pastorate chosen from amongst themselves. Referring again to the American Baptist Report, we glance at the "Shwaygyeen Mission," a district which had been kept in alarm on account of the rebel Mein Long, and yet, under such disadvantageous circumstances, we find the following notice—"The churches, with the exception of the one at Shwaygyeen, support their own teachers. They give them no regular monthly salary, but furnish them with food, and make them presents, from time to time, of various articles of clothing, &c. One teacher was presented with a pony, and twenty betel trees; another with seventy-five pounds of betel-nuts, worth about twenty rupees; and another with eight baskets of paddy. In short, our brother Harris commenced aright with these churches, and now they support their own teachers without feeling it a burden. Besides what they have done for their teachers, the churches have contributed 273 rupees during the year for other benevolent and Christian purposes, which, being the first offering of the kind, shows a good beginning."

In the Toungoo Mission, where, at the above date (1858), there were 101 stations, each provided with a licentiate, or school-teacher, besides three ordained preachers, the subscriptions to the male and female normal schools, and to their village teachers, amounted in cash, the one to 930 rupees, and the other to 453 rupees.

It may be interesting here to introduce a paragraph which shows the earnestness of the village-teachers to become fitted for their work, and the means adopted for affording

them additional instruction. It is from the report of Dr. Mason—

"No feature of the work among the Karens appears so full of promise as the eagerness with which the young preachers seek for information on biblical subjects. During the three or four weeks spent with our Associations, whenever I sat down to eat they were always more or less around me, seeking information on difficult subjects; and when I strolled into the forest at evening, a long peripatetic train questioned me at every step. Sometimes I would seat myself to rest on a granite rock, overtopping the plains thousands of feet below, when all around would quietly seat themselves—a crowd of young men, with their open Testaments—each eager to ask me concerning some passage or other which he found difficult to comprehend. . . . Some have chronological difficulties to settle; others ask for historical information; and still others have numerous inquiries to make on the natural productions mentioned in the Bible; while not a few have questions to ask which Gabriel himself could not answer. Thus a single lecture is diversified, like mosaic, with theology and botany, exegesis and zoology, metaphysics and lightning wires, history, sacred and profane, geography, ancient and modern, with a sprinkling of almost every other subject of the past, the present, and the future. After lying down to sleep, I often hear the younger teachers inquiring of their seniors the signification of various passages, and asking information on numerous topics on which they have been instructed. In this way the knowledge communicated to one is passed on to tens, twenties, and thirties, and my school of theology is as wide as the province, and its pupils as numerous as the ministry within its borders."

In addition to this "extemporaneous" method of imparting a knowledge of divine things, Dr. Mason has, during the year, initiated a more formal and systematic plan. Under date of October 1858 he writes, "I have taught a school for the assistants these rains—three or four months—embracing over forty pupils, most of whom are employed as preachers and teachers, and could not be absent long from their congregations. Some could attend school a month, others two, and others three, and I adapted my school to the wants of my pupils, and let them come and go so as best to further the interests of the churches. . . .

"It is astonishing to see the progress these men make under the most unfavourable circumstances, when they are really

called of God to the work ; or, if that language be too old-fashioned, when they are in earnest. My pupils embraced Sgans, Mannie-pghas, Pakeés, Mo-pghas, Tunic-Bghaes, and Pant-Bghaes. It was a Missionary Society as well as a school. While in operation, four several parties of wild Bghaes came to me for teachers, all from districts farther north than we previously had any stations. I brought the applicants before the school, and told them they should have any teachers present whose hearts God moved to go. We never wanted for volunteers.

"In the matter of studies, we went through Matthew, with parts of Luke, Acts, Romans, Hebrews, and 1st Corinthians, and I stood ready to answer all sorts of questions on every part of the Bible that the young men sought light on. Many learned the first principles of arithmetic, a few to measure land and the distance of inaccessible objects ; and, having no book on geography, all attended one hour a day on Mrs. Mason's *viva-voce* instructions, aided by a good set of large coloured maps."

Nor is the self-supporting animus confined to the Karens, but is at work among the Burman converts. Thus, at Rangoon, "the pastor of the church is maintained by the voluntary contributions of the church and congregation, who have raised for the purpose the sum of 241 rupees 11 annas, besides 71 rupees 13 annas for the incidental expenses of public worship and general Missionary purposes."

We rejoice to find that the same healthful element is manifesting itself in connexion with our Church Missionary work, and that, in proportion as the native pastorate comes into action, our native churches feel the duty of contributing to its maintenance, and take it up heartily because they feel it to be possible. The native church at Allahabad, to which we have already referred, is one which has passed through much trial and severity of discipline. At Secundra, before the mutiny, its temporal circumstances were prosperous. There was a flourishing printing-press, around which the native village was grouped, and which, used by Government, afforded sufficient means of support. That was ruined by the mutineers, and the congregation, after many wanderings and hardships, at length settled at Allahabad. They are not rich, and yet they are doing much to the support of their pastor and their Christian ordinances. This will appear from the following extracts from the Rev. D. Mohun's annual letter—

"The Lord has been our rock of defence

and protector during the past year. In my first letter I mentioned that all the Secundra native Christians were dispersed, and were not living together ; but now I am happy to inform you we have been able to find for them some temporary huts, and collected them together, and thus I am enabled to visit them almost daily. We have also managed to build a temporary schoolhouse in the village, where the children of these native Christians receive instruction, and which also serves for our daily and weekly services. The salary of the teachers is paid partly by the native Christians themselves, and partly by some kind gentlemen of the station. The Christians subscribe for this school, besides the pastorate fund, about twenty-seven rupees, and about thirty rupees from other friends of the station. In one school there are fifty-five children, out of which twenty-seven are boys and twenty-eight are girls, who are taught in English and Urdu, and some in Persian. Though we have three teachers, yet I also have to teach them three hours daily, and, I am happy to state, the children have made some improvement. They were examined on December 20th, on which occasion several kind gentlemen and ladies were present, and expressed general satisfaction.

"With regard to the native Christians, I am glad to say they are all doing well ; and it seems that some change has recently taken place in some of them, as I can, without hesitation, say that the Lord has many of his children among them. Our Sunday and weekly services are well attended, far better than what they were last year. Hitherto they had learned to *take*, but now they have commenced to *give*. You will be happy to hear they subscribe for the pastorate fund, for the school fund, for the poor fund, and for the clearing of their village, a thing which I believe was never done before. It is my earnest prayer that the Lord, who has commenced the good work among them, may also bring it to perfection. The conduct also of these Christians is very much changed. Very few quarrels take place amongst them now. We have appointed twelve men of them, who act as *punat* (jury). Their business is to see that no quarrel takes place in the village ; and should there be any, they decide small cases themselves, but difficult matters are brought to me, and we settle the quarrel to the satisfaction of the parties.

"They have appointed a prayer-meeting among themselves, and also have daily prayers in our schoolroom, all conducted by themselves. I am very much pleased with some of these Christians. They all subscribe for

the poor beggars who collect every Sunday in their village. They are made to sit on the grass, when a portion of the Bible is read and explained to them, and then some pice or grain is distributed to each of them. This is all done by themselves. . . .

"We are still short of a place of worship of our own. Our Sunday services are still held in the station church. I wish we had one of our own. I hope, when a helper comes here, he will be able to do something for us. I am extremely happy to inform you that our congregation presented me on Christmas-day with a preacher's gown and a pulpit Bible. I believe it is a new thing in India for an Hindustanee congregation to present such a thing to their native pastor."*

We gladly welcome these commencements of self-supporting action in the native churches of the Bengal Presidency. But in this important feature, so far as the Missions of the Church Missionary Society are concerned, the first place must be assigned to our South-India Missions, and especially to those in the province of Tinnevely. We shall first state the increase in the yearly sums which have been contributed, and then specify the special objects for which they are intended.

	Ra.	A. P.
1855. From Tinnevely alone .	6775	1 8
1856. Ditto (a year of scarcity)	5632	13 8
1857. From Tinnevely and Travancore	8743	12 10
1858. Ditto	8350	3 1
1859. Ditto	9353	5 11

Let it be remembered that "the equivalent

value of 9350 rupees, if raised in England, would be upwards of 4000*l.*, if we allow for the high comparative value of money in the rural districts of South India, and represent a sum about equal to the combined Church Missionary contributions of the counties of Cambridgeshire, Oxfordshire, and Durham."†

The following are the objects among which the sum total of contributions is distributed—

	Ra.	A. P.
Missions	1919	4 0
Church-building and repairs .	2090	8 10
Lighting of churches and church fees	939	8 9
Communion alms	437	9 0
Endowment fund	630	11 7
Poor fund	866	11 7
Widows' fund	733	11 3
Miscellaneous	1695	5 3

In these items two important principles are represented—the self-supporting principle, as manifested more especially in the Church-building and Repairs Fund, and the Missionary principle, as manifested in the contributions given expressly for that object. Both these are essential to the healthfulness of a church, whether at home or in the Mission field; and both, although as yet in an infantile state, are to be found, and obtain increasing action, in the vast native churches of South India.

The sums contributed towards Missions are entirely spent upon the support of readers sent by various southern districts to la-

* In our engraving we present a group of catechists labouring in connexion with our Benares Mission. One of them, Nehemiah, may be known to some of our readers, having been for some time in this country with the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh. We would recommend a little volume, "Dwij," published some ten years ago by the Rev. W. Smith, our senior Missionary at Benares, which details the labyrinth of doubts and difficulties through which this native brother had to pass, but from which, through the grace of God, he was finally extricated, and brought forth into the enlargement of the Gospel.

"Pundit Nehemiah having completed his work on the Six Darshans, which has been printed by the Calcutta Tract Society, is now engaged in a similar work on the Vedas and Purans. It has come to our knowledge that he has been the means, under God, of the conversion of at least two or three persons. A Missionary in the west of India lately informed us that his best man now employed as a catechist ascribed his conversion to the instrumentality of Nehemiah. This should encourage our brother, and all of us, indeed."

Triloke had been a Zemindar on the opposite

side of the river from Benares, and, through the instrumentality of the late Rev. W. Bowley, was brought to the faith of Christ so long back as in 1826. He was baptized on Sunday, January 28th, 1827, and received the name of Christian Triloke. Ever since has he with consistency persevered in the service of the Mission. Timothy, originally from Jubbulpore, received his education in the General-Assembly School in Cornwallis Square, and was brought to the full knowledge of the truth, and baptized by the Rev. W. Bowley. Thakoor, also a fruit of Mr. Bowley's labours, a Brahmin, was baptized March 9th, 1828, being then about twenty years of age. Samuel, a Brahmin, whose heathen name had been Nand Kishor, was converted through the instrumentality of the Rev. P. L. Sandberg in 1848 ("Church Missionary Record," p. 135). Davee Solomon, with Paul Tulsi, the pastor of Dhera Dhoon, and David Mohun, was ordained by the Bishop of Calcutta in January 1859, and placed in charge of the native flock at Chunar. Let us be much in prayer for these men.

† "Madras Church Missionary Record," April 1859.

bour in the itinerancy which is being carried on in the northern portion of the province. This is most judicious. Money raised for Missionary purposes amongst our native churches should be expended, not on remote, but proximate objects, which they can observe and feel interested in, so that their own contributions shall react beneficially upon themselves, and serve to the increase amongst them of a Missionary spirit. It will be observed that the contributions of 1859 exceed those of 1858 by upwards of 1000 rupees. Of this the Tinnevely districts have given 830 rupees, and that for the special purpose of evangelizing the darker parts of the Tamil districts. Catechists went, in the first instance, from the southern congregations to the itinerating work, remaining there a month or six weeks, during which they were supported entirely by the congregations which sent them forth. It was subsequently resolved, at the anniversary of the Native Missionary Society, to appoint catechists who should attach themselves permanently to the itinerating work.

Public meetings are held throughout the native churches in order to sustain interest in the various objects to which they contribute. On the first day of each year there is always a general meeting at Mengnanapuram, in the large church, for the purpose of hearing the report, with the names of the subscribers, when spirited addresses are delivered by the native clergy and catechists to an assemblage of 1800 people.

At a recent meeting, English sovereigns were found among the contributions, and it is by no means rare to find ear-rings and other ornaments of value among them. Half-sovereign donations also occur: many give pagodas (=7s.), and others, according to their means, down to a quarter rupee (=6d.). Nothing, however, tells more than the systematic collections made in the small earthen chatties. These singular Missionary-boxes were first placed in service some time during the year 1855, and sixty-nine of them were opened at the anniversary meeting of January 1857. The result exceeded expectation. "One poor woman, who earned her living (under one penny a day), by sweeping out the yard of the Travellers' Resting-house, brought her pot, as full almost as it could hold of coppers, with only two small pieces of silver, amounting in all to one rupee and fourteen annas. There were about 260 small coins." What a lesson this poor Shanar woman addresses to ourselves at home! "Many that were rich cast in much." It may be so, and no doubt there are many such amongst us; but there are also many more rich who cast

in little or nothing to this work; and then there is the further attainment which we have yet to reach—"she of her want did cast in all that she had, even all her living." On that first occasion the earthen chatties yielded 76 rupees 10 annas. They have since continued to do good service.

One pair of ear-rings was given by a catechist. In his itinerancies he had met a respectable Hindu, with whom he entered into conversation. "What do you wish me to do?" was the inquiry. "Remove the mark of idolatry from your forehead, seek to know the true Veda, and obtain the salvation of your soul," was the answer. "I will do so," replied the heathen, "provided you will comply with my request: take off these ear-rings, put aside that white jacket, and then go and mind your own business." The catechist demurred. He was as unwilling to part with the ear-rings as the Hindu his ashes, and they parted. But the incident did not part from recollection of the catechist. At length he came to our Missionary, the Rev. E. Sargent, and, placing the ear-rings in his hand, said, "I did not see this matter in the clear light I now do. Here are my ear-rings, which you will please to accept as a donation to the Missionary fund, as I can well part with such things for so good a work."

We are happy to find, that amongst our new Christians in the Sivagasi district similar meetings are being held, and that from the first they are accustomed to the great duty of religious contribution. We introduce a description, by the Rev. W. Gray, of one of these meetings, held on June 15th of last year—

"You would have been truly delighted if you had been with us on Tuesday morning, June 5th, and had looked out from our tent on the many varicoloured groups that studied the beautiful tope of Thiruthangal. A more desirable place for a public meeting, such as that which we held, could not be found. It would not have been possible to have provided house shelter for all that came, and each tamarind, with its capacious shade, was a house-roof for each family, which far surpassed any artificial efforts for their comfort. Our own party was much larger than usual. We had Mr. Fenn and Macdonald, our two native brethren, and Isaac and Daniel of Strivilliputthur. Mr. Hutton was ill and could not join us. We were all ready at ten o'clock, and our pandhal gave accommodation to the whole assemblage. We calculated that in all there were 350 persons present. I commenced the proceedings by singing a hymn, then reading King David's glorious prayer (1 Chron. xxix.), and offering

up a short prayer. I then opened the meeting with a short statement of the object of calling them together.

"I endeavoured to show them that there was a threefold relationship in which they should view themselves, and that out of each grew a corresponding duty.

"1. There was the relationship which we Christians of North Tinnevely peculiarly bore to each other, and out of which grew the duty of helping each other in spiritual advancement. Those who were well off should help those who were weaker, &c., and the channel for doing this lay in the Church-Building Fund, and the Catechists'-Houses Fund. 2. There was the relationship in which we Christians of North Tinnevely stood to our brethren of the church in Tinnevely, of which we must ever look on ourselves as a part. This called on us to give to the Native-Pastors' Endowment Fund. This, as I thought, would be the truest way of showing our brotherhood to the church of Tinnevely; also the Tinnevely Church Missionary Association. 3. There was the relationship in which we stood to the church universal throughout the world. By subscription to what object, could we show our brotherhood with the whole church? What object was nearest to all true Christians' hearts? Was it not the Jews? I therefore recommended a subscription for the building up of the walls of Zion. These were the objects I set before the meeting.

"Our speakers were, the Rev. D. Fenn, who addressed them for an hour; the two native brethren; Daniel, Royappen, Davidhu, catechists; Mosé, schoolmaster; Yosseppu, Pétheru, Vedhamanikkam, Savarimutthu. The speeches were generally short and to the point.

"The collection came then, and the chat-ties were broken. I had appointed a Committee for the apportionment of the funds to the several objects.

"The Committee was, all the clergymen who might happen to be in the district, one catechist and two Sabeiyars from each section. Several jewels and ornaments were put on the plates, and it was a part of the Committee's business to decide the value of the ornaments.

"This was our collection—

	rs.	s.	d.
1. In pots	20	12	5
2. On the plate	13	8	10
3. Jewels (Committee's valuation)	9	0	0
4. Ditto, ditto, given before,	8	12	0
	52	1	3

"This we divided thus—

1. Tinnevely Church Missionary Association	13	0	0
2. Church Building Fund	5	1	3
3. Pastors' Endowment Fund;	21	0	0
4. Jews	13	0	0

52 1 3**

And here we desire, with sincere regret, to notice the loss which the church of Tinnevely has sustained in the death of one of the most valuable of our native pastors, the Rev. Paul Daniel. He was ordained to deacons' orders early in 1856, and, under the superintendence of the Rev. J. Thomas, was placed in charge of Saththankulam. There his diligent and earnest labours were felt everywhere. His power as a preacher was of no ordinary character. Mr. Thomas, in one of his reports, says, "It is a never-failing pleasure to me to listen to his discourses. I have at times, upon hearing his text, felt sorry that he had not selected one which I should have thought more appropriate; but five minutes are quite enough to rivet the attention of all present: and so wonderfully great is his power, that I have felt, as he was proceeding with his discourse, 'I should not have thought of that, and yet how appropriate.' But he is never so interesting as when he expatiates upon the redemption of a lost world by the death of the God-man, and grace provided for the chief of sinners. These are themes at which he kindles and burns, and absorbs the attention of all, and is often overwhelming. I am thankful to say that Paul continues to manifest the most profound humility; and I doubt not but that he keeps close to God in prayer and the study of the word, which is the secret of his great power in the pulpit. Cruden's Concordance, I think, spoils the English preacher in that kind of power. I have great reason to speak of Paul's behaviour to myself in the highest terms. He is uniformly affectionate and confidential, and uses every effort to carry out in his district whatever wish I may express with reference to the catechists, congregation, or schools. His district is in a healthy, thriving state."

He was continually to be found side by side with his European brother and superintendant. In the evenings they would go out and speak to the people in the streets; and then they would visit the houses of the Christian people. He accompanied Mr. Thomas to the public meetings, and rendered efficient aid by his very telling speeches. This good

* "Madras Church Missionary Record," Aug. 1860.

and able man has gone to his rest. He died the 23d of last November of a severe attack of cholera. All that could be done was attempted on his behalf, but in vain. The Lord had need of him; and this was the first of the twenty-four native clergymen, in connexion with our Society in South India, who has been unexpectedly removed in the prime of life and usefulness, and before many of his seniors in years and in the ministry. Mr. Thomas writes—"It has pleased God to remove his servant Paul from among us. He expired on Friday evening at six o'clock, after much suffering. How mysterious are the ways of the Lord! He doeth all things after the counsel of his own blessed will, all for the best; but He giveth not account of any of his matter. I cannot tell you how much I feel the loss of my dear friend. His affection, his simplicity, honesty, and straightforwardness, his amazing pulpit abilities and profound humility withal, endeared him to me beyond all that I can describe. The last sermon that I heard from him was, without exception, the greatest sermon I ever heard—'Enduring the cross, and despising the shame,' &c. Never did I hear Jesus Christ so exalted by human tongue: the effect was perfectly overwhelming. His sun went down at noon."

On the important question of self-support, a few more remarks may be permitted before we close this part of our subject. How is it that the same results which we have pointed out in the Karen and Tamil Missions are not more universal, and that some from amongst the poorest of the native churches have confessedly done the most? We think the reason may be indicated. We wait till the churches have attained a certain measure of maturity before we put upon them the burden of this duty. Until this be reached we consider them too feeble to bear it: we fear that, if expected of them too soon, it will offend them, and turn them back. So we salary the native pastors and catechists, in the expectation that, in due time, the native churches will relieve us of this expense, while, by the very course we are pursuing, we are unfitting them for doing so. We ought to begin at once, and from the first. It is wisdom so to do. There is not one of the native churches dispersed throughout the world, the members of which, before their conversion to Christianity, had not something which they called religion; and that religion necessitated pecuniary contribution and outlay, often of a very burdensome character. What they had been in the habit of doing up to the time when they became Christians, they should continue

to do on their profession of Christianity. Their offerings should be at once transferred from the service of superstition to the service of the Gospel. The habit should not be suffered to be interrupted. It is here the mischief occurs. The Missionary, in his solicitude for these, as yet, babes in Christ, provides them with all the requisites of Christian ordinances and teaching free of expense. Thus the habit of giving is interrupted, and, when expected to resume it, they are not disposed to do so. Circumstances may be such as to render it necessary that, in the first instance, aid should be rendered; but it should be so done as not to supersede the necessity of immediate efforts on the part of the native Christians, but to encourage and supplement them. Thus, in the report of the Henthada Mission, it is said—"Last year we aided, more or less, forty-two native preachers, for the whole or a part of the year. We pay none of the native preachers regular wages; yet where they are so numerous, and the Christians so few in each place, we must, for the present, aid these brethren a little. These native preachers, on an average, do not receive ten dollars a-year each. Hence, where men are needed, where people desire to know the way of life, how can we refuse to send men? We cannot refuse. We say to them, 'Go, brethren, and be faithful. If the few worshippers cannot furnish you with your food and clothing, we will try and aid them. Go, and expect your reward in heaven.' Do not forget to pray for these brethren. Remember, God is able to convert the vilest heathen through their instrumentality."

The grand point is, not to defer this duty, but to move in it with the first formation of a Christian church. The convert should be taught to regard this duty as part of his profession of Christianity. Much is said of the poverty of native converts by way of accounting for the backwardness which has prevailed on this important point. "But the apathy is apparent even where poverty has no existence; while, in a large majority of cases, it is sufficient to reply, that were only a portion of the sums saved from the grasp of the Brahmins, from the cost of superstitious practices, from the exactions of the Zemindars and others, from which most of our native Christians are protected by the Missionary, devoted to Christ's cause, ample funds would be forthcoming for the house of God and the spread of the Gospel. . . .

"But the truth is that the native Christians have been so long accustomed to see the Missionary take the lead, originate every

evangelistic movement, promptly supply the funds for its support, and require little more than obedience from his converts, that, notwithstanding occasional exhortations to zeal and liberality, they have learnt, by example and practical experience, that there is no need for activity on their part. They have been tutored into apathy, or into dependence on the Missionary. Necessity has not been felt to preach or support the Gospel.*

We cannot but think, that not unfrequently in these matters there is an unhappy inversion of the true order. Missionaries say, "We should seek to promote the temporal welfare of our converts as far as practicable. In many instances our native Christians are miserably poor;" and then we are informed, "the more our native Christians are raised in the social scale, the *greater ability* will they possess to build their own places of worship, and support their own teachers." But, with the increase of ability, will there be an increased readiness? Are we to wait until they be raised in the social scale before we summon them to the discharge of their duty? and, in the meanwhile, is the Missionary Society not only to send out the Missionary, but to maintain the church? Nay, let us not delay for a moment the commencement of this duty. Whatever the converts be as to temporal circumstances, let us take them as they are. If the church be poor, the ministry must be poor. But in doing what they can, Christian energy will be developed, and, with the improvement in principles and habits, their temporal circumstances will improve also.

PREPARANDI AND TRAINING INSTITUTIONS IN THE KAREN AND TAMIL MISSIONS.

We shall now look back upon the Karen Mission, in order to consider, so far as space permits, another important feature in their organization—the Educational Institutions, so far as they are designed to provide suitable materials from whence the native pastorate may continue to be supplied; and then, side by side with these, to place our South-India Institutions of like character. We find, then, in the Karen Mission, a Young-Man's Normal School, for the due maintenance of which the Missionaries have availed themselves of Government grants-in-aid during the last five years. There is, besides, a Theological Seminary at Rangoon, under the charge of the Rev. Dr. Binney. Such of the young men in the Henthada

Normal School as are found to be suitable are transferred to the Rangoon seminary, there to be instructed in the holy Scriptures and collateral subjects.

There is also, at Henthada, a National Female Institute, of which Mrs. Mason, in a letter to the Commissioner, relates the following interesting particulars:—

"On raising the posts of the National Female Institute, the following resolutions, written in the Karen language, were deposited by the Toungoo chiefs in a lead box in the north-east corner of the building.

"Resolved—

"1. That we, the members of the Burmah Karen Education Society, will guard and watch over this institution, and be faithful in supporting a girls' school on this land, given us by the English Government, down to the remotest generation.

"2. We will send our daughters here annually for education, and will give them up freely for school-teachers to their countrywomen.

"3. We will regularly supply our daughters with board, fuel, lights, books, and clothing, while pursuing their studies in this institution.

"4. We will faithfully come down from the mountains and clear this land, and cultivate fruit-trees three times every year.

"5. We will repair and keep in order the roads on the institute land.

"6. We will annually choose a Principal, and one assistant, for each tribe in the school, who shall instruct and guard the pupils, look after the books, furniture, apparatus, gardens, garden implements, roads, and every thing appertaining to the institute.

"7. We will attend annually the public examination of the school, and select the teachers for the year at that time.

"8. We will choose a Board of Managers once in three years, always re-appointing one member of the board that had served in former years.

"We will faithfully appoint men possessed of wisdom, understanding, patience, meekness, and love; men strong in body, and who are willing to deny themselves for the public good.

"Here follow the names of the present Board of Managers—the Nga Khans chiefs, deacons, and schoolmasters of thirty-six Pakeé and Manne Pagha villages; eighteen Bghae; ten Mopgha; fifteen Pant Bghae; two Wa Wan, and one Sgan village, numbering 164 chiefs, 82 schoolmasters, and some thousands of Christians, who, six years ago, had never seen a book in their own lan-

* "The Missionary Herald," November 1860.

guage, or heard the name of Jesus Christ, and many of them men who for ages had gloried in kidnapping women and children, and selling them into irredeemable slavery.

"Since this school was opened, in 1857, the Karens of Toungoo, and two villages of Shwaygyeen, have aided it in labour, produce, and money, as follows—

In Produce.

2 goats.	11 dahs.
5 pigs.	15 rupees of rope work.
130 fowls.	12 or 15 rs. worth of eggs.
2 buffaloes.	550 strips of rattan.
1 pony.	2500 leaves of thatch,
3 boats.	2500 large bamboos, and
75 mats	5000 small ditto.
20 baskets.	

In Labour

"They have cleared the whole thirty-three and a half acres all over once, and much of it twice and three times.

"They have cut and floated down to town fifty-eight large teak logs, and eighty long ironwood posts.

"They have conveyed by hand several thousands of bricks from the city to the institute, for the purpose of securing the posts in the sandy soil.

"They have made six good roads, and drained them, around the institute land.

"They have built a storehouse, two long dormitories of bamboo, two chapels, all the saw-pits for sawing up the fifty logs, a teacher's house with wood frame, the first ever erected by them in Toungoo, and have built themselves thirty bungalows around the institute land, three of them with wooden posts and frames.

"They have planted—

500 plantains.	20 betel vines, and
100 palms.	100 oranges and groves.
300 betel-nuts.	

In Money,

"For board for the girls' school and young-men's school.

"For a ferry-man.

"For lights, fuel, and garden tools, and for paint for the house-posts, they have paid into my hands 1600 rupees, all voluntary donations.

"Besides the Government grant of 1400 rupees, this Society has received, since its formation, about 5500 rupees from friends in India, England, and Scotland. . . .

"The Karen young women manifest the greatest eagerness to acquire a knowledge of letters, and are perfectly docile and teachable.

"The Karen department has been taught three terms, and the present term each pupil came bearing half a basket of rice down from the mountains upon her back, while brothers and friends brought the remainder for the term.

"One, whose chief refused to grant it, in order to study, walked three days up the mountains, begged her basket of others, and came back, bearing it down triumphant, amidst the ridicule and contempt of her people.

"Four of these girls have already commenced teaching, and have become so popular, that ten chiefs have applied for schoolmistresses as soon as the present term closes, although, when the school commenced, many opposed.

"The Young-Men's Normal School, which has also been undertaken by the Karen Education Society, is of very great importance, as to this we must look principally for teachers for all the northern and eastern Karens."

In our Tinnevely Mission we have a Preparandi Institution. "From the first, as each Missionary station was formed, the Missionary took under his instruction young men who gave promise of being useful as Christian teachers, and sent them out to labour as opportunity offered. The demand on each Missionary's time, for such work as this, rendered it at length desirable to form one central establishment, and to assign a Missionary to this particular work. This institution was accordingly commenced in July 1851, and, during a period of seven years, had yielded to the service of the Mission forty-one catechists forty-five schoolmasters, of whom fourteen were subsequently employed as catechists, besides four transferred to the Vernacular Institution for the training of schoolmasters. From these men, after having been tried, the native pastorate is recruited, such of them as are selected with a view to the higher office, returning for a season to the institution that they may pass through a special preparation.

In close parallel with the "National Tamil Institute" of the Karen Mission, we have, in Tinnevely, the Sarah Tucker Institution. The elementary instruction is given in the boarding and village schools, and from them a transfer is made of such young persons as appear suitable to be trained for schoolmistresses to the Sarah Tucker Institution.

In our Cottayam Mission we have the Cottayam College, which, after a season of depression, is now rapidly recovering, and promises, at no distant period, to become an effective organization for the accomplishment

* Parliamentary Papers, "Karen Mountain Tribes," Feb. 1861.

of objects similar to those contemplated by the Preparandi Institution at Tinnevely.

There is on one point, and that an important one, a divergence, as it appears to us, between the system of our own Society and that of the American brethren at Burmah. They say in their report, "The schools belong to no Mission Society, but are Karen Institutions, supported by the people themselves." Not so supported by the people, we apprehend, as to render altogether unnecessary pecuniary appropriations from America and elsewhere. Neither are they so entirely Karen institutions as to be wholly remitted to Karen management, but remain for a season at least under the direction of the American brethren. Now, however, we are prepared to devolve the care of native congregations, and the village schools connected with them, on the native pastorate, desiring that the pastorate should be supported by the people themselves; yet the Normal Training Institutions and Theological Seminaries we consider had better remain in the hands of the Parent Society. For the sake of the native church, until it has acquired a measure of consolidation, which cannot yet be looked for, they ought to be regarded as belonging, not to the native Christians, but to the Missionary Society; and to the support of such colleges and institutions the funds raised in England or America may, with all propriety, be applied. The Parent Society, with jealous care, should continue to watch over these feeding-places of the Mission, and wisely and progressively raise the intellectual acquirements of the native ministry, so that they shall keep pace with the growth and increasing exigencies of the native churches.

CONNEXION OF AMERICAN MISSIONARIES WITH THE BRITISH AUTHORITIES.

We observe that the American Missionaries apply, without hesitation, to the British authorities to support their schools, and that the aid which they ask is readily granted, although these schools are intended for the express purpose of helping on the evangelization of a heathen people. The Missionaries have always spoken out plainly and honestly on this subject. They have had no morbid scruples about receiving aid and co-operation from the State, as though a Christian Government was not at liberty, if so disposed, to help on the free action of Christianity amongst its subjects. But, on the other hand, they would not give up one iota of their

Christian teaching and freedom of action, in this particular, to obtain the aid of the Government. Early in the history of the Mission a resolute stand had been made on this point, and that by a Missionary's wife. In 1833, Mrs. Boardman, apprehensive lest some expectation had been formed in the minds of the authorities that the Mission schools would be modified on this important point of Christian teaching, thus addressed the Commissioner of that day—

"I apprehend I have hitherto had wrong impressions, in reference to the ground on which the Honourable Company patronize schools in their territories, and I hope you will allow me to say that it would not accord with my feelings and sentiments to banish religious instruction from the schools under my care. I think it desirable for the rising generation of this province to become acquainted with useful science, and the male part of the population with the English language. But it is infinitely more important that they receive into their hearts our holy religion, which is the source of so much happiness in this state, and imparts the hope of a glorious immortality in the world to come. Parents and guardians must know that there is more or less danger of children deserting the faith of their ancestors, if placed under the care of a foreign Missionary; and the example of some of the pupils is calculated to increase such apprehensions. Mr. Boardman baptized into the Christian religion several of his scholars. One of the number is now a devoted preacher; and notwithstanding the decease of their beloved and revered teacher, they all, with one unhappy exception, remain firm in the Christian faith. . . . With this view of things, you will not be surprised at my saying it is impossible for me to pursue a course so utterly repugnant to my feelings, and so contrary to my judgment, as to banish religious instruction from the schools in my charge. It is what, I am confident, you yourself would not wish; but I infer, from a remark in your letter, that such are the terms upon which Government afford patronage. It would be wrong to deceive the patrons of the school; and if my supposition is correct, I can do no otherwise than request that the monthly allowance be withdrawn. It will assist in establishing schools at Moulmein, on a plan more consonant with the wishes of Government than mine have been. Meanwhile, I trust I shall be able to represent the claims of my pupils in such a manner as to obtain support and countenance from those who would wish the

children to be taught the principles of the Christian faith."*

Mrs. Boardman's Christian fidelity had its reward. She was permitted to carry on her schools without being deprived of her grant, or constrained to compromise her principle. And so, at the present time, we find the American Missionaries asking the same help, on the same understanding, that in the communication of Christian instruction they are not to be interfered with, and their application favourably responded to. Thus Mrs. Mason, after that remarkable enunciation of efforts made by the people for the support of their normal school, proceeds to say—

"No assistance has yet been given this school by Government, and I would beg to ask that you will kindly take into consideration and do us the favour to recommend it to the Supreme Government.

"1. Three thousand rupees, or whatever amount might be thought suitable for the erection of a good brick schoolhouse, large enough to accommodate 100 pupils.

"2. As no continual grant-in-aid is desired, I would ask if Government will not grant twenty acres of good paddy-land, already under cultivation, near the institute grounds, and free from taxes, as a permanent support.

"2. That if the loan so kindly granted to the Karens in 1858 be promptly paid, that amount may be allowed for the purchase of buffaloes, to be used in the school fields, until the school shall be able to purchase for itself.

"This favour is asked because, even though the Karens be relieved from taxes for ten years, it will not apparently be any inducement to those of Toungoo to leave their wild highland homes simply because they have not the means to make a beginning. A hundred cultivators would come down immediately if they had means to purchase buffaloes, carts, and rice, for the first few months. I do, therefore, most earnestly hope that some help may be given for the school in this matter."†

Dr. Mason follows up this application by another letter to the Commissioner, dated Jan. 21, 1859, ten days later—

"At the Pakée Association which has just closed, you saw nearly 80 of our 120 Karen assistants, and were pleased to express yourself as much gratified with their attainments and general appearance. They belong to the Sgan, Manne Pagha, Sakn, Turrie, Bghae, Pant Bghae, and We Wan tribes, all of which, except the first, are found exclusively within

the limits of the Toungoo Mission. We are just commencing our labours among the Red Karens, who are more numerous, it is probable, than all the Karen tribes in the aggregate in Pegu and Tenasserim. We have also just occupied the first station among a new tribe on the northern boundary that show by their dialects an unmistakable affinity with the Pmas of southern Pegu and Tenasserim. We are dependent on our own normal school for teachers for those various tribes; and we are in great need of scientific instruments for this school. A good telescope to examine the heavenly bodies, a sextant, an artificial horizon, a pair of globes, and a set of large maps, are among our *desiderata*. An apparatus for taking photographs would also be very useful. Were Government to furnish these articles for the school, or as many of them as you may deem suitable to recommend, they would confer a great boon on these wild tribes, which are just awakening from the sleep of ages to see their ignorance and appreciate the value of knowledge, that they are now seeking with intense interest; and the youth exhibit no less intelligence than the Anglo-Saxons.

"During the last season a few learned to measure land by the cross staff; others acquired the use of the prismatic compass and the first principles of plane trigonometry; some understand the rudiments of astronomy, and, if furnished with instruments, would soon be able to determine the latitude of places of which our best maps give very erroneous representations. . . .

"It is not necessary to remind you, but it may be Government, that the Toungoo Karen schools are founded on entirely different principles from those of any other schools in Burmah, if not in India. They belong to no Mission Society, but are Karen institutions, supported by the people themselves.

"The present school-buildings, with a house for the teacher, were built at their own expense, and it is not intended to ask aid from Government, or others, for the support of the pupils, as the people are pledged to do that for themselves. Five hundred and fifteen rupees were brought in for the purpose at the present Association. The basis of all our operations is to help the people to help themselves."*

The response of the Governor-General of India to the application of the Commissioner of Pegu on behalf of the Karen schools is brief and satisfactory—

* Parliamentary Papers, Feb. 1861.

* "The Gospel in Burmah," pp. 83—85.

† Parliamentary Papers, Feb. 1861.

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, giving an account of the progress which has been made in educating and converting the Karens to Christianity through the efforts of Dr. and Mrs. Mason, and recommending certain grants of money to them.

"In reply, I am directed to inform you that the Governor-General in Council has been pleased to sanction the grant of the sum of 3000 rupees, recommended by you, towards the building of a schoolhouse for the Karen young men at Toungoo; the house to be of brick masonry, and to accommodate 100 pupils.

"His Excellency in Council has also been pleased to authorise you to procure the following articles for the use of the school, at a cost not exceeding 1200 rupees—

"1 telescope on stand. 1 prismatic compass
1 sextant and artificial horizon. and chain, and
1 set of school maps.*"
1 pair of globes.

How inconsistent, then, and absurd, the withdrawal of the grant for Christian schools among the Santhals. Surely that which is right to do among the mountains of Toungoo cannot be wrong to do among the Rajmahal hills! The Karens and Santhals both need to be civilized. It is in the interest of the Government that they should be so, for then they will become valuable and productive races. But they cannot be civilized except by the influence of Christianity. This can accomplish it; nothing else will; yet the Government has refused to do that for the Santhal which it does for the Karen. But we believe that the folly of that refusal has been seen, and that it either has been, or will be, rescinded.

THE REGIONS BEYOND.

One more remark: great as are the efforts which have been made among the Karens, yet they are only the beginning of a mightier and more extended work that lies beyond. Dr. Mason, in his letter to the Commissioner, says, "We are just commencing our labours among the Red Karens." Who they are will best appear from the following account of them drawn up by this able Missionary—

"The eastern Bghae, Bghae-mu-hay, or Red Karens, call themselves Kaya, their term for 'man,' and are called by the Burmese, Kay-yen-ni; by the Shans, Yen-laing, or 'Red Karens,' from the colour of their dress, which was originally all red, as it occasionally is now, but a mixture of black garments is now

commonly seen. Yule says, 'It is generally believed that they are not in any way closely allied to the Karens proper of Pegu and Tennasserim, but that they are rather a Shan race. I have not been able to find any proof of the latter kindred, other than their being *gens braccata*.' The men wear short red pants, with perpendicular narrow black or white stripes. Sometimes the pants have a black ground, with red or white stripes. Below the knee are black bands, several inches in diameter, formed of twisted thread. A shawl or sheet of white, with red or black stripes, is wrapped around the body, with or without a Shan jacket. A bright red turban is worn on the head, and an ornamental bag is hung across the shoulders. Every man carries a short knife in his belt; many, swords; and those who have not muskets or matchlocks carry from one to three light spears, which are used in war like javelins, and thrown from the hand. Every man has a pony, so that, in time of war, they form a species of light cavalry, when all turn to service, and the cultivation is carried on then by the women exclusively.

"The female dress is peculiarly picturesque, though every garment is only a rectangular piece of cloth. The head-dress is a large red or black turban, wound up to form a small tower on the top of the head. There is no gown, but a cloth like the Roman toga is tied by two corners on the right shoulder, and the left arm is sometimes kept covered, but more often it is thrown out above the garment. A second piece of cloth, like the first, is kept in the hand like a loose shawl, or wound around the body. These garments are usually one black and one red. For a petticoat, another rectangular piece of cloth is wrapped two or three times around the person, and is kept in its place by a wampum belt, some half-dozen inches in diameter. Another enormous band of beads is worn below the knees, and on the ankles large silver bangles. Both sexes wear silver bangles on the wrists, and the women a profusion of silver necklaces, formed of ingots of silver, or coins, to which are added a dozen or more strings of beads. Ear-drops are worn by both men and women, and the latter add silver ear-plugs of an inch or more in diameter. Beads are as numerous among the women, though all imported, as among the American Indians; and the profusion of silver ornaments seen indicates any thing but poverty. The feminine instinct for ornaments above all other things is strikingly illustrated while I am writing. A girl stood in the crowd while some boys were going

* Parliamentary Papers, February 1861.

over their spelling lessons, and she was asked to study. 'If I do,' she replied, 'must I put off these?' pointing to her ornaments; and on being told she must, the decided answer was, 'Then I won't yet.'

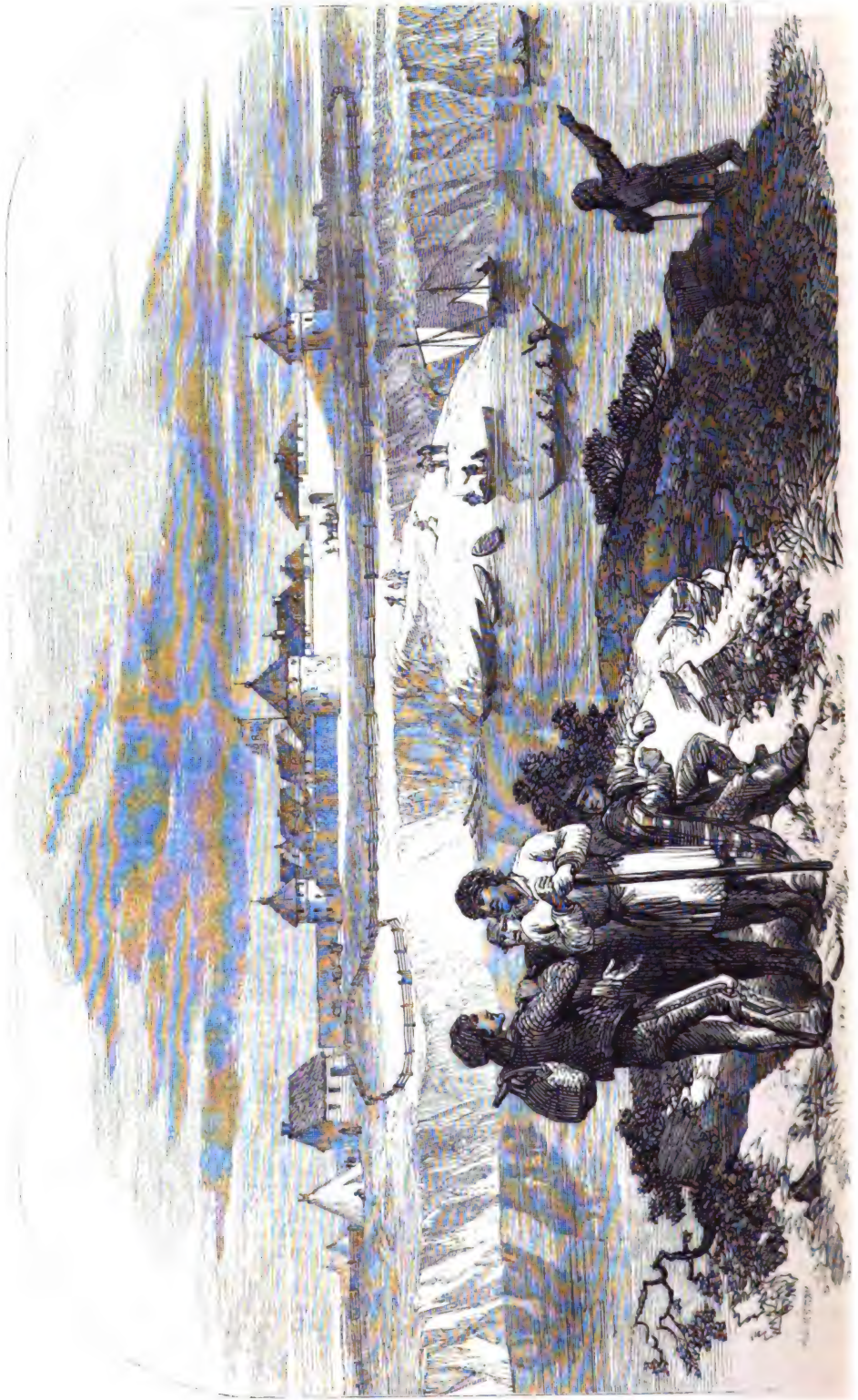
"It is not generally known that the country inhabited by the Red Karens is the finest known in the interior of Burmah. After fourteen travelling days from Toungoo, I found myself on the summit of a mountain some four or five thousand feet high, about the twentieth we had crossed on our way, when the land of the Red Karens opened suddenly before us, and a more beautiful prospect I never beheld. Mountains, in two massive ranges, ran down like the sides of a triangle, with the apex at the south near where we stood, and in the interval was spread out what appeared to be an immense plain, bounded on the north only by the horizon. It seemed to be pillared on mountains two or three thousand feet high, like a gigantic altar on which to offer sacrifice to God, or to build a temple for his worship. Its scant shrubby and bare red soil contrasted strongly with the dark mountain sides, covered with heavy timber. The picturesque summits of the almost perpendicular walls that supported this expanse indicated them to be, as they proved, of mountain limestone. On entering the country, however, I found it far from being the plain it appeared in the distance. It is a rolling country, with long dry ridges and deep hollows, in which the water sinks, to arise in perennial springs in other places. The village in which I now am, has no water for its fifteen hundred or two thousand inhabitants, except what one of these springs supplies. The country, with the mountains around it, resembles both Scotland and Vermont, and the inhabitants are only what the Highlanders were in the days of the Wallaces and Bruces. . . .

"The eastern Red Karens are said to be three times as numerous as the western, and these must amount to fifty or sixty thousand. I am told there are ninety-four large villages, and several smaller ones. This one has between three and four hundred houses, and there are three or four villages larger. Supposing them to average one hundred each, we shall have, at five or six persons to a house, the population of the whole district fifty or sixty thousand. I find the people, with all the savageness which is imputed to them, by far the most civilized Karens known. They are better clad, provide themselves

with better food, are better skilled in the arts, are more vigorous, active, laborious, than any jungle-tribe I have met. They make their own knives, axes, swords, spears, hoes, bangles, silver ornaments, and earthenware, bits and bridles, saddles and stirrups. Every foot of land they cultivate is hoed with a heavy hoe of the European form, such as is never seen among either Burmese or Karens, but is used by the Chinese. They have cattle in great abundance, which are trained to carry panniers as donkeys are in Europe, and which bring their produce from the fields to the villages. Almost every thing cultivated in Burmah is seen growing here. Jacks, tamarinds, mangoes, guavas, oleaster plums, limes, citrons, plantains, and other fruits, are seen scattered in all their villages. Millet is cultivated in great abundance; beans of several species, vegetable eggs, gourds, pumpkins, leeks, sugar-cane, and yams abound. Cotton flourishes here better than in any other locality where I have seen it in Burmah, and various dye-plants are cultivated. Their houses are kept in much better condition than among other Karens, and they fence in their yards and grounds, and have stiles and bars to take down and put up on their crossroads, reminding the traveller of the country in England or America before the advent of railroads. . . .

"The people seem more strongly devoted to making offerings to evil spirits than any with whom I have met; yet they have very distinct traditions of the true God, whom they denominate 'Eapay.' Eapay, they say, created the heavens and the earth, and man, and all things. He associated with men at first, but when they ceased to obey him, he left them, and is now in the 'seventh heavens.' When sick they often pray to God, saying, 'O Lord Eapay, have mercy on me. I am sick, I am suffering, O Lord Eapay.' They have long traditions in poetry, I am told, concerning God. A small specimen given me I found to be in lines of ten syllables, to which they have tunes adapted, a measure that I never before met in Karen poetry. Like the rhymes of other dialects, it abounds in repetition, as may be seen below.

"The earth at its origin Eapay created.
The heavens at their origin Eapay created.
Man at his origin Eapay created.
The sun at its origin Eapay created.
The moon at its origin Eapay created.
The grass at its origin Eapay created.
The trees at their origin Eapay created.
The bamboos at their origin Eapay created."



FORT GARRY, RED RIVER.

THE RED-RIVER SETTLEMENT VIEWED IN RELATION TO THE CANADAS AND BRITISH COLUMBIA.

THE co-operation of God's providence with man's efforts for the spread of the Gospel to unevangelized lands, is an experience full of interest and encouragement to those who, in the midst of many difficulties, are engaged in enterprises of this nature. It may be traced throughout the history of Bible and Missionary Societies. When the great work of translating the Scriptures of God into the languages of our world was nobly entered upon, the Turkish, amongst the first, claimed attention. The manuscript had been prepared nearly two centuries before. The famous Levin Warner, the Dutch Ambassador at the Court of the Grand Sultan, had originated the undertaking, the translator being a learned Mussulman, Ali-Bey, by birth a Pole, but stolen by the Tartars, and sold to the Turks at Constantinople. The manuscript, "corrected and ready for press," was sent to Leyden by Warner, in order to be printed; but this was never done, and there it remained in the library of the University, until discovered and made available by Dr. Pinkerton. The translation of the Bible into Amharic, the vulgar dialect of Abyssinia, under the direction of M. Asselin, the French Chargé d'Affaires at Cairo, presents another instance of the same kind. The reader who would desire to pursue this subject further, so far as the translation and circulation of the Holy Scriptures are concerned, may be referred with advantage to that *θησαυρος* of information, "The History of the British and Foreign Bible Society," by the Rev. George Browne.

In the proceedings of Missionary Societies, the same providential guidance may be traced, and more especially in the choice of starting-points where the work should be commenced. The range of selection was at first exceedingly limited, the difficulty being to find any *locus standi* where the Missionaries might be enabled, without molestation, to pursue their labours. Often we were obliged to avail ourselves of the first door of entrance which presented itself, although by no means as eligible as we could wish, and constrained to go forward in a direction from which, if left to our own wisdom, we should very probably have turned away. It is remarkable how opportunities, at first of a very contracted nature, and presenting but little encouragement, expanded into important fields, and remote localities, so secluded from the world, that it seemed as though they never could become otherwise than isolated points

of interest and labour, have eventually proved to be centres of commanding influence. In the table of our own Society's stations many such points might be indicated, places, the value of which in the first instance was not at all realized, but which, amidst the changing circumstances of this world's affairs, have risen into primary importance. When our Missionaries fell back on Sierra Leone, it was a matter, not of choice, but of necessity. As a British settlement, it afforded protection, but as a field of Missionary operation, its aspect was contracted and discouraging. It has become the basis of our operations, and the seed-plot from which Christianity may be transplanted into the interior. New Zealand might have proved as important a centre of Missionary operation for the Southern Pacific, as Sierra Leone for Africa, had the energies of the native church been promptly and energetically turned in that direction. When our Missionaries commenced their labours at Ningpo, they were scarcely aware that it would afford a door of access into one of the most populous and important of the Chinese provinces. When they occupied Peshawur, they did not know that they had secured a position at the gate which leads into Central Asia. When they sailed for the Mauritius, its importance as a confluence of languages, and as a *point d'appui* for the Asiatic and African coasts was but imperfectly known.

And so with another point, perhaps the most remote and isolated of all the stations of our Society, the Red-River Colony. A lone spot in the wilderness, where a few settlers were congregated, and around which wandered a few Indian tribes, it appeared incapable of expanding into any thing of importance. The only door by which it was wont to be approached, lay through the portals of Hudson's Bay, over which stern winter held unwearied watch, allowing them to be opened for a few weeks only in summer, and then closing them with barriers of frost and snow. But now this lone spot is opening out with unexpected importance, and promises to become a great connecting link between east and west—between the loyal Canadas and gold-producing Columbia.

The importance of bringing British Columbia into as brief communication as possible with the Canadas and the mother-country, becomes more and more apparent. It is not merely a question of gold-produce, important as this may be. After a time, as in other regions of the same character, the surface

gold will be absorbed, and science and capital will be required to render available the more latent treasures of the river and the rock ; but the population, brought together by the spirit of enterprise, in its more valuable portions, will have permanized itself on the soil, and the productive capabilities of the country, and its magnificent harbours and coal seams, will afford employment alike to an agricultural and maritime people. If England is to retain her influential position in the Pacific—and it is only as her influence is conserved that there is any security for the extension of human liberty and improvement—this important province must be brought into close connexion with the mother-country, watched over and fostered. Vancouver's Island, and the harbour of Esquimaux, serve as an equivoise to the mouth of the Amoor and the strongly-defended harbours in its vicinity. "Russia has now got possession of the great water-course, and the only one through which access from the sea to the vast plains and mountain districts of Central Asia can be obtained ; the Lena, the Yenisey, and the Ob being sealed in the Arctic Ocean. This is a great water-way, extending more than 2200 miles into the eastern portion of the empire, with its outlet into the Pacific. It will also open up a water-communication into the vast region bordering on the sea of Japan, and up to the great deserts of Gobi."*

"After passing the settlement of Vait, all the branches of the Amoor are united in one stream, nearly two miles in width, and varying from 150 to 200 feet in depth. This broad tide rolls up to Nicholiaiofak, the great defence of the Amoor. These works have been designed and constructed under the superintendence of eminent engineers, and their armament would speedily stop any ships that attempted to enter, while the fleet would remain safely moored higher up the stream.

"Martello towers are built on Cape Tabak and Cape Pronge to defend the mouth of the river : they would not be easy to pass ; and similar towers have been raised on the coast between Cape Pronge and Castrie's Bay at every point best suited for defence.

"The latter will ultimately be the port of the Amoor. It is only for three months in the winter that vessels would be sealed up here, even if caught in the ice, a circumstance that would rarely happen, as sailing a degree or two south would take the ship into a more genial clime.

"Both sides of the strait will, before long, be peopled by Russians, and the island of Saghalien be added to their empire. The latter contains valuable beds of coal, whence Russia can draw supplies for either a steam navy or for industrial purposes. It will also give her splendid harbours in the Pacific, and leave her fleets free for operations throughout every part of the year."*

God has given to England British Columbia and its island dependencies, as a post of observation, from whence undue domination from any quarter may be precluded, and the wide Pacific be left free for the intercourse of nations, and the extension from shore to shore of pure Christianity and civilization.

It is a singular and interesting fact, that railway communication between the east coast and the Rocky Mountains, and thence to the western shore, cannot be carried out on the American side of the frontier line on the 49th parallel. "The general character of the soil between the Mississippi River and the Atlantic is that of great fertility, and as a whole, in its natural condition, with some exceptions at the west, is well supplied with timber. The portion also on the western side of the Mississippi, as far as the 98th meridian, including the States of Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota, and portions of the territory of Kansas and Nebraska, are fertile, though abounding in prairies and subject occasionally to droughts. But the whole space to the west, between the 98th meridian and the Rocky Mountains, denominated the Great American Plains, is a barren waste, over which the eye may roam to the extent of the visible horizon, with scarcely an object to break the monotony.

"From the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, with the exception of the rich but narrow belt along the ocean, the country may also be considered, in comparison with other portions of the United States, a wilderness unfitted for the uses of the husbandman ; although in some of the mountain valleys, as at Salt Lake, by means of irrigation, a precarious supply of food may be obtained sufficient to sustain a considerable population, provided they can be induced to submit to privations from which American citizens generally would shrink. The portions of the mountain system further south are equally inhospitable, though they have been represented to be of a different character. In traversing this region, whole days are frequently passed without meeting a rivulet or spring of water to slake the thirst of the weary traveller.

* Atkinson's "Regions of the Amoor," p. 419.

* "Atkinson's Amoor," pp. 495, 496.

"We have stated that the entire region west of the 96th degree of west longitude, with the exception of a small portion of western Texas, and the narrow border along the Pacific, is a country of comparatively little value to the agriculturist: and perhaps it will astonish the reader if we direct his attention to the fact, that this line, which passes southward from Lake Winnipeg to the Gulf of Mexico, will divide the whole surface of the United States into two nearly equal parts. This statement, when fully appreciated, will serve to dissipate some of the dreams which have been considered as realities as to the destiny of the western part of the North-American continent. Truth, however, transcends even the laudable feelings of pride of country; and, in order properly to direct the policy of this great confederacy, it is necessary to be well acquainted with the theatre on which its future history is to be enacted, and by whose character it will mainly be shaped."*

Any railroad therefore "constructed within the limits of the United States must pass, for a distance of twelve hundred miles west of the Mississippi, through uncultivable land, or, in other words, a comparative desert. Along the 32d parallel, the breadth of this desert is least, and the detached areas of fertile soil greatest in quantity, but the aggregate number of square miles of cultivable land amounts only to 2300 in a distance of 1210 miles."

The northern limit of this great desert lies within the British territory; and then, north of this limit "there is a broad strip of fertile country, rich in water, woods, and pasturage, drained by the North Saskatchewan and some of its affluents, and being a continuation of the fertile prairies of Red River, the eastern water shed of the Assiniboine and Red-Deer Rivers, with the outlying patches called the Touchwood Hills, File Hill, &c.

"It is a physical reality of the highest importance to the interests of British North America that this continuous belt can be settled and cultivated from a few miles west of the Lake of the Woods to the passes of the Rocky Mountains, and any line of communication, whether by waggon-road or railroad, passing through it, will eventually enjoy the great advantage of being fed by an agricultural population from one extremity to the other.

* Dr. Joseph Henry, quoted in Hind's Narrative of the Canadian Red-River Exploring Expedition of 1857.

"No other part of the American continent possesses an approach even to this singularly favourable disposition of soil and climate, which last feature, notwithstanding its rigour during the winter season, confers, on account of its humidity, inestimable value on British America south of the 54th parallel.

"The natural resources lying within the limits of the fertile belt, or on its eastern borders, are themselves of great value as local elements of future wealth and prosperity; but in view of a communication across the continent they acquire paramount importance.

"Timber available for fuel and building purposes; lignite coal, though not equal to true coal, nevertheless suitable for many of the different objects to which true coal is applied; iron-ore widely distributed, of great purity and in considerable abundance; salt in quantity sufficient for a dense population;—all these crude elements of wealth lie within the limits or on the borders of a region of great fertility, and drained by a river [the Saskatchewan], of the first class, navigable by steamer, during several months of the year, for five hundred miles of its course, and by batteaux for nearly double that distance."*

Thus the Red-River colony, occupying a midway position between the Canadas and British Columbia, and situated in the very belt of fertile country which alone affords opportunity of facile and continuous communication between sea and sea, has emerged from its obscurity, and promises to become a commanding centre of influence and responsibility. Attention is now directed to this spot, which commands the approaches from the United States and the Canadas to those fertile districts, through the midst of which must run the highway of commerce. We have ourselves long desired a more minute acquaintance with its physical features and peculiarities than it has been possible to collect from the accounts of voyagers who pass along by the usual canoe route, and to whom the country behind the river's banks is an unexplored territory. Such an opportunity is now afforded us. The attention of the Canadian Government has been directed to the Red River and Saskatchewan districts as available for settlement and cultivation, if only routes of communication might be discovered sufficiently practicable to encourage the onward progress of emigrants. With a view to obtain reliable information on this point, the Government, in July 1857, organized and detached an expedition to ex-

* Hind's Narrative, vol. ii. pp. 234, 235.

amine the country between Lake Superior and the Red River of the north. The results have been given to the public by the geologist of the expedition, H. Y. Hind, Esq., in a work entitled a "Narrative of the Canadian Red River and Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expeditions of 1857 and 1858."

From this work we proceed to introduce some extracts which describe, in an interesting way, the general features of this as yet little-known territory, and more particularly the Selkirk settlement on the banks of the Red River. Let it be remembered that the completion of the Sault Ste. Marie Canal, in May 1855, established an uninterrupted water communication for sea-going vessels between Lake Superior and the Ocean, so that ships can sail from European or Atlantic ports, and, without breaking bulk, land their cargoes at Fort William for less than one-fiftieth part of the cost involved during the period when the North-West Company became a powerful, wealthy, and influential body.

A dividing ridge, separating the valley of Lake Superior from that of the Mississippi, precludes further progress by steam or boat navigation to the westward, its elevation being about 475 feet above the level of the lake. The direction of the route to the Red River is north-westerly to Rainy Lake and the Lake of the Woods, and from thence, instead of advancing in a direct line to Lake Winnipeg, which is difficult of accomplishment from the nature of the country, the great Lake Winnipeg is reached by descending the river of the same name, and the embouchure of the Red River being found, the ascent of that stream conducts to the settlement. Two established routes lead from the valley of Lake Superior to that of the Rainy River, one by Pigeon River, the other by the Kaministiquia River. The latter was the one selected.

The distance from Lake Superior to the Winnipeg, by the Kaministiquia route, measures 657 miles. There are, along this line, sixty-two portages, yet the voyage to Red River was completed in a month, Fort William being left on August 3, and their destination reached September 3. Many points of interest presented themselves. The Kaka-beka falls, about thirty miles from the mouth of the Kaministiquia, are "extremely beautiful. The river precipitates its yellowish-brown waters over a sharp ledge into a narrow and profound gorge. The plateau above the portage cliff, and nearly on a level with the summit of the falls, is covered with

a profusion of blueberries, strawberries, raspberries, pigeon-cherry, and various flowering plants, among which the bluebell was most conspicuous. On the left side of the falls a loose talus is covered with wild mint and grasses, which grow luxuriantly under the spray. Beautiful rainbows of very intense colour are continually projected on this talus when the position of the sun and the clearness of the sky are favourable. Numerous small springs trickle down a perpendicular cliff of about twelve feet in altitude at the base of the talus, whose coolness and clearness, compared with the warm, coloured waters of the river, make them a delicious beverage, the difference between the temperature of the springs and river being about 20°. The right side of the cliff at the falls is perpendicular for a height of more than 100 feet, and exposes the stratification with perfect fidelity."*

Beautiful are the falls at the Little Dog River, the difference in level between the Little and Great Dog Lake being descended by the stream in six successive leaps. "The shoals, rapids, and falls on the Kaministiquia, will always prevent that river being used as a means of communication with the interior for commercial purposes. The first large area of water is Dog Lake, and, with a view to reach that elevated sheet of water, a road from the shores of Lake Superior, in as direct a line as possible, will be required." A marshy lake stretches across the narrow level plateau forming the height of land between Lakes Superior and Winnipeg, its elevation above the sea being 1485 feet, and above Lake Superior 844.

At Fort Frances, situated about two miles from the point where Rainy River issues from Rainy Lake, in lat. 48° 36', and long. 93° 33', the party separated into three divisions, with a view to explore different routes. Mr. Hind, with a companion, struck direct west, in the hope of crossing the water-shed which divides the Red River and the Lake of the Woods, a route which, if accomplished, would shorten the journey by at least two-thirds, Shoal Lake, a westerly extension of the Lake of the Woods, being about eighty-seven miles in a direct line from Fort Garry, but, by the Winnipeg route, 320 miles. At the Lake of the Woods, however, their further advance in that direction was prevented by the Indians. Their camp-fires having discovered them, the voyagers were soon visited by the chiefs. "We counted thirteen canoes," says Mr. Hind, "and found that

* Hind's Narrative, vol. i. pp. 36, 37.

they contained in all fifty-three men and boys, there being seven of the latter : the others were the chief and warriors of the tribe. A portion of them had just returned from an expedition against the Sioux, and were decorated or disfigured, according to taste, with whatever advantages paint, feathers, and ornaments could confer. As the object of their visit was to ascertain the reasons why we wished to pass through this part of their country, a long council or 'talk' was the result of the visit.

"The council terminated by a distinct refusal, on the part of the chief, to allow any of the tribe to guide us through the swamps which separate the Lake of the Woods from the prairie country to the west. The replies and objections of the chief were often couched in very poetical language, with a few satirical touches, which were warmly applauded by the audience. The following is a specimen of the colloquy—

"What reason can we offer to those who have sent us for your having refused to allow us to travel through your country ?

Chief. "The reason why we stop you is, because we think you do not tell us why you want to go that way, and what you want to do with those paths. You say that all the white men we have seen belong to one party, and yet they go by three different roads: why is that? Do they want to see the Indian's land? Remember, if the white man comes to the Indian's house, he must walk through the door, and not steal in by the window. That way, the old road, is the door, and by that way you must go. You gathered corn in our gardens and put it away: did you never see corn before? Why did you not note it down in your book? Did your people want to see our corn? Would they not be satisfied with your noting it down? You cannot pass through those paths.'

"We ask you now to send us one of your young men to show us the road: we shall pay him well, and send back presents to you: what do you wish for?

Chief.—"It is hard to deny your request, but we see how the Indians are treated far away. The white man comes, looks at their flowers, their trees, and their rivers; others soon follow; the lands of the Indians pass from their hands, and they have nowhere a home. You must go by the way the white man has hitherto gone. I have told you all.'

"At the close of the council, the chief said to the interpreter, 'Let not these men think bad of us for taking away their guides. Let them send us no presents; we do not want

them. They have no right to pass that way. We have hearts, and love our lives and our country. If twenty men came we would not let them pass to-day. We do not want the white man. When the white man comes he brings disease and sickness, and our people perish: we do not wish to die. Many white men would bring death to us, and our people would pass away: we wish to love, and to hold the land our fathers won, and the Great Spirit has given to us. Tell these men this, and the talk is finished.'*

This interference, the refusal of guides, and the illness of some members of the expedition, induced the abandonment of an effort to strike out a new and shorter route to Red River, and the old canoe route by the Rat Portage and Winnipeg was followed.

"Issuing from the Lake of the Woods through several gaps in the northern rim of the lake, the river Winnipeg flows through numerous tortuous channels, for many miles of its course, in a north-easterly direction. Some of the channels unite with the main stream ten or fifteen miles below Rat Portage, and one pursues nearly a straight course for a distance of sixty-five miles, and joins the Winnipeg below the Barrière Falls. The windings of this immense river are very abrupt and opposite, suddenly changing from north-west to south-west, and from south-west to north-west, for distances exceeding twenty miles.

"In its course of 163 miles it descends 349 feet by a succession of magnificent cataracts. Some of the falls and rapids present the wildest and most picturesque scenery, displaying every variety of tumultuous cascade, with foaming rapids, treacherous eddies, and huge swelling waves, rising massive and green over hidden rocks. The pencil of a skilful artist may succeed in conveying an impression of the beauty and grandeur which belong to the cascades and rapids of the Winnipeg, but neither sketch nor language can portray the astonishing variety they present under different aspects; in the grey dawn of morning, or rose-coloured by the setting sun, or flashing in the brightness of noon day, or silvered by the soft light of the moon."*

Passing through a country marked by an appearance of hopeless sterility, the expedition reached our Church Missionary station of Islington, or the White Dog, occupying a cultivable tract of about 250 acres.

"The Rev. Robert McDonald, the Missionary in charge at Islington, informed me that

* Hind's Narrative, vol. i. pp. 98—100.

* Ibid. vol. i. pp. 106, 107.

the Mission was formerly held by the Roman Catholics for a period of several years, but was abandoned on account of the opposition of the Indians, who drove them away in consequence of the death of a young girl in the nunnery at Red-River Settlement. The heathen Indians persuaded the converts that all who embraced Christianity would soon die. The Mission was left vacant for a period of six years, after which Mr. Philip Kennedy was appointed catechist in 1850, a post which he held until the 20th October 1853, when the Rev. Robert M'Donald was enabled to revive the Mission by the generous and Christian liberality of an English lady.

"This Mission is at present sustained by a munificent gift from Mrs. Landon, of Bath, of 1000*l.* sterling for its establishment, and 100*l.* a year for its maintenance. Its present prospects are favourable, and it will eventually become an important station in the wilderness by which it is surrounded. I attended divine service in the schoolhouse, where it was celebrated in the Ojibway language. At my request, the heathen Indians who had assisted in conducting us from Garden Island were present. They maintained a respectful silence during the service, and a favourable impression may have been produced.

"Mr. M'Donald divides the Indians who hunt north-east and north of the Lake of the Woods, from those who inhabit the shores, islands, and the country east and south-east of that beautiful lake. The former belong to the Muskeg nation (Muskaigeos), or Swampy Crees, the latter to the great Ojibway nation. The Swampys have a tradition that, at a remote period, they drove the Ojibways from the lower Winnipeg to the country bordering on the Lake of the Woods, and since that time they have maintained their footing in the conquered territory."*

Below Islington the river precipitates itself down a succession of falls to Lake Winnipeg. Some of them are exceedingly beautiful.

"The Silver Falls are, perhaps, the most imposing and beautiful of all the cascades on the Winnipeg. The volume of water precipitated here is immense, all the inosculating branches of the Winnipeg uniting some distance above the magnificent Silver Falls. The vast torrent descends a slope about 200 yards long, with an inclination of nearly sixteen feet, in the form of five or six gigantic swells. The observer may stand close to the huge heaving waves, and watch them run past him with astonishing

velocity and ever-changing form. Sometimes they send a thin sheet of water over the smooth rock on which he is standing, at the edge of the torrent; in another minute there may be a gulf, ten or fifteen feet deep, with a terrible whirlpool raging below, between him and the crested swell fifty feet from the shore. Suddenly the gulf is filled, and the turbulent waters, dashing against the rocks, send a shower of spray far and wide over the polished gneiss which confines them. We reached Fort Alexander at four in the afternoon, stayed half an hour to procure some flour and potatoes, and then hurried on to Lake Winnipeg, camping at the mouth of the river."*

The voyagers now approached the Red River, and the settlement on its banks, the centre of Missionary operations in North-West America.

"The Red River of the north rises in Ottertail Lake, State of Minnesota. The north-east end of Ottertail Lake is in latitude 46° 24' 1", and the general course of the river is westerly, through an attractive undulating country, until it makes its great bend to the north, in latitude 46° 9". It then meanders through a boundless prairie, which gradually declines in elevation until it forms a vast level plain, elevated above the water of the river only about one and a half to two feet at its ordinary stage in June. The distance of this great bend is 110 miles from Ottertail Lake, and the vast low prairie through which the river subsequently flows, in an exceedingly tortuous channel, is level as a floor. In latitude 46° 23' 30" a belt of timber sets in, and continues, with some interruption, along its banks, on one side or the other, to Pembina.

"The length of the Red River, within British territory, is about 140 miles by the windings of the stream. It debouches into Lake Winnipeg, in latitude 50° 28', longitude 96° 50'. Its most important affluents on the east side are Roseau River and German Creek. On the west side it receives, in latitude 49° 53' 24", and longitude 96° 52', the Assiniboine River; at the confluence of these streams, Fort Garry, the capital of Assiniboia, and the head-quarters of the fur trade in British America, is situated.

"The following description in detail of Red River, within British territory, supposes the observer to ascend the stream from Lake Winnipeg in a bateau, or canoe, and is confined to those objects which come under observation during the voyage.

"Fourteen miles from the mouths of the river the Indian Missionary village occupies

* Hind's Narrative, vol. i. pp. 111, 112.

* Hind's Narrative, vol. i. p. 120.

a terrace thirty feet above the summer level of the stream. Above the village the banks are fringed with oak, elm, and maple, which soon give way to aspen, and then to open prairie land, the trees of larger growth appearing at intervals on the points and on the insides of the bends.

"About four miles above the Indian Missionary village, a remarkable bend in the course of the stream gives rise to a sharp projection of the level plateau of the prairie, called Sugar Point, from the groves of maple which cover it.

"Near to Sugar Point is an Indian school, in connexion with the Indian Mission below, situated north of the line which divides the parish of St. Peter from that of St. Andrew, and marking the northern limits of the Red-River Settlement. The banks on both sides are very heavily timbered close to the river, but, between this place and the Stone Fort, there are very few farmhouses. . . .

"In order to arrive at a true conception of its physical features, it is merely necessary to imagine a river, from 200 to 350 feet broad, with a moderately rapid current, having in the course of ages excavated a winding trench, or cut, to the depth of from thirty to forty feet in tenacious clay, through a nearly level country for a distance exceeding 100 miles, and the general physical aspect of Red River, within British territory, is re-produced. . . . At each turn of the river, above the Stone Fort, the houses of the inhabitants of Red-River Settlement come in sight, and occupy the banks, at short intervals, all the way up to Fort Garry, a distance of twenty-three and a half miles by the windings of the river. Two miles above the Stone Fort is the so-called Whirlpool Point, and immediately above it the Big Eddy : these are obstacles to further progress, formidable only in name. . . . The east side of the river is wooded to a depth varying from a few yards to a mile, and generally this feature prevails along the eastern bank as far as Fort Garry : the timber is similar to that already described. At the Grand Rapids, which, even during the low stage of water in September, offer no formidable obstacle to the Company's and freighters' boats, carrying four and five tons, an assemblage of well-built stone buildings are grouped, which create a very favourable impression of Red-River resources and comfort, not unfrequently repeated in ascending the stream. There is erected a very substantial stone church, capable of seating 500 people, and surrounded with a wall, enclosing an extensive burying-ground. About 300 yards south of the church the parsonage-house is seen from the river, and, next

to it, a capacious and well-built schoolhouse of wood. Four miles above the Grand Rapids, Water-mill Creek enters the river, having cut its way through the yielding clay substratum of the prairie to the depth of twenty-five feet, half a mile from its mouth. . . .

"Above St. Paul's church, in the Middle Settlement, eight miles north of Fort Garry, the river winds between high prairie banks, which generally maintain an altitude of about thirty feet : houses and windmills occur at regular intervals, until the steeple of St. John's church, the peaked roof of St. John's College, the schoolhouse, the bishop's residence, &c., offer the appearance of a large village, which is again reproduced after a sharp turn at Point Douglas, by the imposing Roman-Catholic church, dedicated to St. Boniface, the spacious nunnery, and the parish school, with other buildings on the left, and a group of several commodious private dwelling-houses just below Fort Garry, on the right. About half-way between these small centres of population, German Creek, a small meandering stream, comes in from the south-east. A quarter of a mile above the Roman-Catholic church the Assiniboine enters Red River, and, a short distance up this stream, the bastions of Fort Garry come into view. Above the mouth of the Assiniboine the course of the river is exceedingly tortuous. An idea of its meanderings may be obtained from the comparison between distances by the river from Fort Garry to the mouth of La Rivière Sale, and the relative position of the same places by the road, the former being sixteen and the latter nine miles. The houses of settlers appear at intervals on the banks for several miles above La Rivière Sale, the last house being situated thirteen miles from Fort Garry, or fifty-seven from the 49th parallel. Above this the river windings are fringed with forest, varying in depth from a few yards to half a mile. Here and there naked bends are exposed to the prairie, the peninsula portion on the opposite side being generally clothed with trees of large dimensions : this character is preserved far south of the 49th parallel. . . .

"The vast ocean of level prairie which lies to the west of Red River must be seen in its extraordinary aspects before it can be rightly valued and understood in reference to its future occupation by an energetic and civilized race, able to improve its vast capabilities and appreciate its marvellous beauties. It must be seen at sunrise, when the boundless plain suddenly flashes with rose-coloured light, as the first rays of the sun sparkle in the dew on the long rich grass, gently stirred

by the unfailing morning breeze. It must be seen at noon-day, when refraction swells into the forms of distant hill ranges the ancient beaches and ridges of Lake Winnipeg, which mark its former extension; when each willow bush is magnified into a grove, each distant clump of aspens, not seen before, into wide forests, and the outline of wooded river banks, far beyond unassisted vision, rise into view. It must be seen at sunset, when, just as the huge ball of fire is dipping below the horizon, he throws a flood of red light, indescribably magnificent, upon the illimitable waving green, the colours blending and separating with the gentle roll of the long grass in the evening breeze, and seemingly magnified towards the horizon into the distant heaving swell of a parti-coloured sea. It must be seen, too, by moonlight, when the summits of the low green-grass waves are

tipped with silver, and the stars in the west disappear suddenly as they touch the earth. Finally, it must be seen at night, when the distant prairies are in a blaze, thirty, fifty, or seventy miles away; when the fire reaches clumps of aspen, and the forked tips of the flames, magnified by refraction, flash and quiver in the horizon, and the reflected lights from rolling clouds of smoke above tell of the havoc which is raging below."*

The reader is here presented with a panoramic view of the Red-River Settlement, more graphic and interesting than any we have yet been favoured with.

At this point we must for the present break off, purposing in our next Number to accompany the author in his statistics of population and review of Missions at the Red River.

* Hind's Narrative, vol. i. pp. 125—135.

MISSIONARY ENTERPRISES IN CHEKEANG.

THE treaty of Pekin has terminated our war with China: may we hope that we are correct in using the word "terminated," and that no events will occur to show that we ought rather to have used the word "suspended." So far as the Tartar dynasty is concerned, and its promises are to be depended upon, no more obstacles will be interposed to prevent the intercourse of western nations, not merely with the sea-board population, but with the interior masses. British subjects, under the passport system, are authorized to travel for purposes of trade to all places of the interior, provided that they do not attempt to enter as the salesmen of opium. That drug, the sale of which is now legalized, passes at its port of entry from the hands of the foreign merchant into those of the native dealers, who can alone introduce it into the interior. It is the only article the transit duty of which has not been fixed by treaty. This is left to the discretion of the Chinese, who are making arrangements, not of the most scrupulous character, to tax it heavily.

Persons teaching or professing the Christian religion are declared to be entitled to the protection of the Chinese authorities; and are secured, so long as they peaceably pursue their calling, from persecution.

Let us briefly consider in what position we are, as a Missionary Society, to take advantage of these opportunities.

At Ningpo, on the sea-coast of the Chekeang province, a native church has been raised up, numerically small, but genuine in its quality,

and therefore, like the leaven hid in the meal, possessed of assimilating and reproductive power. Of 140 members, no less than 84 are communicants, while 12 are engaged in evangelistic labours among their countrymen, two of whom it is proposed, on the next opportunity, to present to the bishop for ordination. From Ningpo we have occupied, in advance towards the great city, Hang-chow, three outposts; one at a village about three miles from Ningpo, with a contiguous population of 10,000; a second, twelve miles further, at a Hin, or third-class city, with a population of 60,000, called Z-kyu; and a third, fifteen miles further in advance, at Yü-yau, a city of the same rank and population. Thus a highway has been prepared into the midst of the twenty-six millions of the Chekeang province.

So soon as tidings reached Ningpo of the conclusion of the war, it was deemed advisable by the Missionaries, in conference at Ningpo, that advantage should be taken as well of our advanced position towards the interior, as of the restoration of peace, to visit Hang-chow, the capital of Chekeang, with a view to ascertain whether it might not be at once occupied as a Missionary station. Let it be remembered, that in the previous March the Taepings, by forced marches, fell on Hang-chow, mined the walls, and, aided by sympathizers among the Chinese garrison, or the militia, entered it on the 19th of that month. The Tartar garrison, retiring within the inner city, held it for six days, until relieved by a

considerable detachment from Kiang-sin, when the city was, after a fashion, recovered, the captors—after, it is said, an awful destruction of life and property—retiring a short distance.

Accordingly, on November 22d, a Missionary party set out on this somewhat perilous expedition, consisting of the Rev. J. S. Burdon, the Rev. T. S. Fleming, both of the Church Missionary Society, and the Rev. Mr. Lord, of the American Baptist Missionary Society. The following is Mr. Fleming's narrative of their proceedings:—

“After conference with the brethren at Ningpo, it was thought well that the Rev. J. S. Burdon and myself should take a trip to Hang-chow, to see the state of affairs with respect to the rebels, and to ascertain the prospects of Mission labour there. With this view we hired an u-seen-jün, or black-bamboo covered boat, and having been commended to God in prayer, we started from the north gate at a quarter to five o'clock P.M., November 22. As the boat was to be our house for a fortnight, we had to make the best arrangements our limited space would allow for bed and board. The bow of the boat we appropriated to the cook and all his paraphernalia, while the boatmen, of course, had the stern for cooking, eating, sculling, and sleeping. Mr. Burdon and I had the centre, which possessed some advantages, though not without corresponding disadvantages. We soon got settled and at work; Mr. Burdon poring over Williams's Chinese Dictionary, and I glancing at Milne's description of his route to Hang-chow, which differed considerably from the route we took. But our silence and equanimity were soon disturbed, for tea-time will come round, and cooks will make a smoke, while boats, kept covered to keep the rain out, will, with equal certainty, keep the smoke in. The boatmen lighted their fire, and almost stifled us, and our cook soon followed their example; the latter scolding the former for making so much smoke, while he, with his charcoal-fumes, was the worst of the two. The rain having increased, we could not well remove the bong, or boat cover, so there were we, most industriously disposed, trying to write, while on one side we were smoked out, and on the other almost stifled with confined charcoal-fumes. Our books were covered with blacks, and our eyes smarted to such a degree we could not see a character. The cooking over, all was again peaceful till we reached Yiang-dzi, at half-past seven P.M., when we were disturbed by a crashing and

grinding, which made us think something serious had occurred. But we soon discovered our fears were groundless: the boatmen had left the river to avoid the force of the tide, and had entered a canal, where the water was too high to let the boat go under the bridges: hence arose the crash. With some difficulty we regained the river, and reached Pun-p'u, a small village about twelve miles from Ningpo, some time in the night. The scenery here is very cheerful: the hills contrast strongly with the immense mud plain extending from Ningpo northward to the Yiang-tse-kiang. Pun-p'u is the nearest point from which stone can be obtained, the quarrying of which provides many with employment. Here, too, we catch the first glimpse of the geological character of the district. The stone is a coarse grit belonging to the old red sandstone system, and is used for building bridges and paving. When we rose in the morning the wind was blowing a gale, and so we were detained. At noon, as the wind showed no sign of abatement, we resolved to leave the boat in charge of the cook, and walk back across the country to Ningpo, to spend the Sabbath there. After service on Sunday the storm died away, and so we returned to our boat. During the night we left Pun-p'u, and, by eleven o'clock the next morning, reached Yü-yiao, a large and thriving city, about fifteen miles farther on. Part of it lies on one side of the river and part on the other, the river being spanned by an old but pretty bridge. The chief trade of the city appears to consist in making large water-jars and wine-jars, all of which are of rough clay.

“Leaving Yü-yiao, in a few hours we passed through Mô-ctü, a busy place, with a good bridge that has a distinctly-marked keystone, which, I am told, is not common, in this part of China at least. After leaving the town the river takes several sudden turns, and the scene that bursts upon the view is beautiful beyond description. On either side are lofty hills clothed with pines, and at their base are plains highly cultivated; but in the midst of our admiration we are stopped by a pö, or sluice, a very frequent nuisance attendant on inland travelling in China. The object of these sluices is to facilitate the passage of boats between two canals, whose difference of level prevents a junction, in the same way as we use locks in England; but as the Chinese know nothing of these ingenious devices, they have to accomplish the same object in a very clumsy and imperfect manner.

“They erect a kind of embankment, or double-inclined plane, at angles varying,

perhaps, from 10° to 40°. On each side of the sluice is a capstan. A rope, attached to each capstan, is fastened round the stern of the boat, and the capstans being set in motion by a number of men, the boat is drawn up to the ridge of the embankment, and then launched into the canal below. This frequently necessitates unlading the boats, and carefully securing whatever baggage remains, a neglect of which precaution must be paid for by the fracture of crockery, &c., as our own experience proved, the velocity of the descent being very great. Scenes, very amusing to all but the unfortunate travellers, sometimes takes place at these sluices: a discussion as to the proper charge for being drawn over, invariably occurs, and it is not an uncommon thing—an instance of which we saw—for a boat to be kept balanced at the ridge of the inclined plane, in a state of tottering uncertainty, till money matters are satisfactorily adjusted.

“Having arrived at the pò, farther enjoyment of the scenery was out of the question, till the subject of the dong-din, or money, was settled, and whenever this is the topic, it is in vain that we try to stop the angry discussion, or induce them to draw us over first, and discuss liabilities afterwards; but, once over, all again is peaceful. The canals branch out in every direction; the fields are rich with rice, whose golden head bows before the breeze, and waits for the sickle; the hills, at hand and far removed, stand out in their peculiar freedom, some clothed with firs, and others in their naked grandeur, their forms curving in all the graceful lines of beauty. The sky was clear and cloudless, and the bright uncompromising sun threw ever-varying shades around and on the whole. As we proceeded the pretty kyiah-wò-jüns, or boats rowed by the feet, glided on with considerable speed, many of them bearing government despatches; these boats, on account of their speed, being frequently employed to perform the work of our English postal arrangements at home. Many of the fields were laid under water, which gave them the appearance of considerable lakes.

“The minds of the people seemed engrossed with the rebels and the rebel movements: at the mention of the name, all faces gathered blackness. As we passed through village after village, it was very painful to hear the oft-repeated inquiry, ‘Is it peace? Is it peace?’ May the time soon come when these poor people shall be equally anxious about peace with God. Had they but that, what daylight would it pour upon the soul when all around was darkness. What com-

fort would it impart, though all the ‘foundations of the earth were out of course.’ But such peace can come only from faith in Jesus. ‘And how can they believe in Him of whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a preacher? And how shall they preach except they be sent?’ Oh that the churches at home would lay the matter still more to heart, and answer the apostle’s questions. Oh that, while affording help to other countries, they would not forget ‘the land of Sinim.’ We could only distribute a few books as we went along, and thus scatter by the wayside the precious seed of the word of God. The seed has been sown, but the sun and the shower are the Lord’s. May both be given in rich abundance! On reaching ‘O-kô-pu, we were detained six hours, waiting for our turn to be drawn up over another pò. Soon after our arrival, a man came to ask if we had any ‘Jesus books.’ Of course we gladly gave him one, and distributed a few among the people. During our detention we visited a salt-boiling house, of which there were several in the village. The people were at first afraid to give us any information; for on asking them what they were doing, they told us that they were burning wood, for the ashes to be employed as manure. But this we thought a very small part of the intention of the curious structures before us; and so as we could gain no reliable information, we had to exercise our ingenuity to solve the mystery for ourselves. The fire was very large, and the draft so great, that a sudden puff sent the flames out, and burnt Mr. Lord’s hair and eyelashes. Over the fire was a kind of large boiler, twelve feet square and one foot deep, full of a white boiling liquid, which we soon discovered to be salt. We also saw large quantities of salt put up in baskets, and more being drained from the remaining water. The bottom of the boiler excited our curiosity especially. It was nothing more than a bamboo-mat, the size above mentioned, covered with a coating of lime one-eighth of an inch thick, of course the lime side being exposed to the naked flames. It was not till we saw a new one almost ready for use, and had examined very particularly the one containing the boiling liquid, that we were quite convinced that the men who made the statement had not deceived us. At this village, also, I saw, for the first time in China, what must have been intended for carts, but they were decidedly the most primitive and clumsy things I ever saw. They were drawn by buffaloes, a few of which were white. They were used

exclusively for the conveyance of the bush-wood fuel from the junks on the Dzong-'o river to the salt-boiling houses.

"Just before leaving we had an illustration of one of the many miseries attendant on the rebel movement. We had a short conversation with a travelling Hang-chow family of some respectability. Their history was as brief as it was sad. For six months they had fled before the rebels. From Hang-chow they escaped successively to Shanghae, Siao-hying, then back to Hang-chow, Siao-hying, Ningpo, Chefoo, and, when we saw them, they were returning, almost ruined, to Ningpo. We told them of a place of rest, but they had sought it where it was not to be found.

"Having crossed the pò, we were fairly in the Dzong-'o river, the banks of which were of solid mud, cut out by the resistless force of the tide in a very peculiar manner. Its rush is so great and sudden, that high embankments are required to keep the country from being flooded.

"A few li down the river is the Tseng-p'u-pò. Here many of the women have large feet. The head-dress also differs considerably from that worn at Ningpo; the wings of the latter place giving way to the Siao-hying helmet as worn at Hang-chow. Many of the people are very fair in their skins, and their countenances appear much more open and honest than any I have seen in China. I felt very much drawn out towards them, and longed to see their darkness yield before the dawn of Christian light. Buffaloes are here used to draw the boats over the pò instead of the capstans before alluded to. While our boat was being taken over, we gave away a few books, in the hope that faith might come by reading them.

"In two hours we reached Seng-tön, a good-sized town, with a red temple, in fair preservation, standing conspicuously on the banks of the canal. It contained thirty gilt bu-sah, or idols, besides the gigantic central ones, and a number more in gilt shrines. Seven very respectable women were busy counting their beads, precisely as the Romanists do. Indeed, there is a striking similarity in many parts of the Buddhist and Romanist rituals. They were afraid of us, and said to a native of our company, 'This is a poor place: why do foreigners come here? there is nothing worth taking.' The native silenced their fears by saying that we were good people, who came purposely to tell the people of a Saviour. They at once became assured, and one of them, coming to me, said it was very good, and thanked us.

"The language now quickly changes to such an extent, that a Ningpo man can with difficulty struggle out the meaning of what is said. The canals here are still large and beautiful, cut out in all the variety and freedom of nature; while the boats, with the fishing cormorants looking for their finny prey, made the scene one of still greater interest. On one side the country is a dead level, but on the other, hills are seen stretching away into the dim distance. A number of canals now unite, and form a large lake, through the centre of which we scud along at a rapid pace, till we reach another canal, which brings us through Tong-p'u to Siao-sæn, which city we reached before six A.M. on the Wednesday after leaving Ningpo. The silent highway ran through the middle of the city, and was crossed by several bridges, some of which had distinctly marked keystones. We had some difficulty in getting in, as the gates were closed and carefully guarded for fear of the rebels. Every boat is examined, and inquiry made, 'Where from?' 'Where going?' 'On what business?' Mr. Burdon and I were asleep, when we were suddenly aroused by a great lantern being thrust into the boat. We at once started up, and the lantern as suddenly disappeared. Mr. Lord, however, did not escape so easily, for he had to get up and write a card of name and address before the disturber of his slumbers would depart. Having passed through the city, we saw another instance of the sad effects of the rebel movement. Sleeping by the roadside were several refugees from Hang-chow. The weather was intensely cold, and these poor creatures were only shielded from its inclemency by a little straw, white with the frost. Such scenes as these, and many others like them, lead one still more earnestly to long for the time of China's gracious visitation, that, temporally as well as spiritually, 'garments of praise may be given for the spirit of heaviness.'

"The canal runs several li, and then falls into a large lake, over which were flying great numbers of wild-fowl. On our left arose high, picturesque hills, and on our right lay a widely-extended plain. The hills were covered with mounds and mausoleums: for miles they appeared like one vast necropolis. The coffins were not exposed, as many are at Ningpo, but were covered with earthen mounds, and some were surrounded by tombs, erected at vast expense. The summits of the higher hills were covered with azaleas and brushwood, which looked very beautiful. The purple leaves of the tallow-

tree contrasted with the dark-green pine, and the tall and sombre aspect of the latter was again relieved by the broad, gigantic, and cheerful-looking camphor-tree. The men were engaged in the peaceful pursuit of husbandry, gathering in a God-given harvest, yet blindly unconscious of the heavenly donor.

"The canals were now divided off by bamboo fences into fish-preserves, and the fishermen's huts, supported by four stakes about five feet above the water, to my unpractised eye looked very strange. As we went along, frequent were the inquiries, 'Who are they?' 'Are they good?' But in no case did we meet with the least incivility. During our entire journey we were not called even 'ong-mao,' or red-haired, more than two or three times, and then with no apparent malice.

"At length we reached Meng-kô-yin, a town on the banks of the Tseen-tang, about forty li distant from Hang-chow. The pò is about two li past the centre of the town, and the canal runs parallel with the river. The town consists chiefly of one very long street on the bank of the river, and a large proportion of the people seem connected with or dependent on the junks, most of them being government vessels and junks of war. On reaching the pò, we found boats which had been waiting six days to be drawn over, but as all work was suspended, it was alike hopeless for them and us. After some discussion and inquiry, we were conducted by a respectable Canton merchant, who spoke a little English, to a boat-hong, with the view either of getting our boat over, or of engaging another. We were followed by a great crowd of people, but all behaved with the strictest propriety. Here, as at other places, they took with avidity the books we offered, though I fear with no higher motive than that of mere curiosity. The crowd followed us into the reception-room of the hong, where tea was offered, and accepted. Then followed the usual inquiries respecting our honourable names and famous places of abode. My small acquaintance with the Ningpo dialect availed but little here where the language was so different, but Mr. Burdon was quite at home, speaking at one time the Shanghae dialect, then the Hang-chow, and then the Mandarin. At length we secured another boat, and, much to the grief of our servant—who said the dinner was partly cooked, and the change would spoil it—we transferred our beds, dinners, and cooking-utensils to the boat which we had just engaged. We then started on the beautiful Tseen-tang river, the Hang-chow hills being visible in the distance. The general appear-

ance of the ships was as different from, as it was superior to, the clumsy craft on the Ningpo river. They were much lighter in their build, had very superior houses on deck, and were very clean and nicely varnished with an almost colourless varnish. The Tseen-tang river is in some parts three or four miles broad, though, owing to the mass of mud washed down by the force of the current, it is very shallow. The tide turns with great strength and rapidity, frequently running eleven and a half knots an hour. As in some other large rivers, there is the phenomenon of frequent occurrence called the bore. This takes place at the full and change of the moon, and in the second and eighth months especially. In the hyperbolic language of the Chinese the bore is thus referred to—'The swell rises like a mountain, and the waves like a house: it roars like thunder, and in its progress threatens to swallow the heavens, and bathe the sun.' Milne says 'it ascends with a prodigious noise in one vast wave, rising from five to thirty feet above the natural level, and rolling up with a foaming head, upsetting all it meets with, until, exhausted by resistance, it sinks into a feeble undulation.'

"On the right bank, as we went along, were large camps of imperial soldiers, and the war-vessels, decked with their yellow, red, and black imperial flags, looked mournfully gay. After proceeding about thirty li, the large mulberry plantations reminded me of the silkworm, and the source of Hang-chow's greatness. At this point the river takes a sudden turn, and brings us in sight of the Lo-ho-t'ah, or pagoda, contiguous to Hang-chow, together with the majestic scenery on the outskirts of the city. One of the boatmen was on the footpath towing the boat along, when, close by the Lo-ho-t'ah, upon the shore, we came in full sight of a troop of, perhaps, 200 soldiers, creeping on in single file, and with the usual disorder of Chinese forces. Whether imperialists or rebels we could not tell, and being within range of their matchlocks, the English and French having too recently driven the rebels from Shanghae, it was a time of some suspense. The boatman was seized with great alarm, and came running back, crying, 'Feh k'yi, feh ky'i,' positively refusing to go farther. At length, however, he consented to go, on condition that we would be answerable for him and his boat. We soon afterwards landed at the pagoda before referred to. The temple adjoining was a large one, and, a few months before, it supported a great number of priests.

But where are they now ? All have fled : the cormorant and bittern alone remain. The temple was in ruins ; the hand of the iconoclast had been there, for nothing but the dust of the idols now existed."

We interrupt here Mr. Fleming's narrative, to introduce an extract from the Rev. J. S. Burdon's journal of the same tour :—

"We landed not far from a pagoda, distant from the nearest city gate about four miles, called the Lo-ho-t'ah. This pagoda is beautifully situated on the bank of the noble river, which, a little further down, widens into the Hang-chow Bay, and, in times of peace, was a very favourite resort of both the gentry of the city and the people from the country, for devotional, or, more properly speaking, superstitious purposes.

"Whether it is now any farther from being so or not I cannot tell. But this I have to record, that neither priests nor people are now to be found within the precincts of this idolatrous temple. The desolation at the time of the visit which I am now describing was complete, and one could not help feeling solemnized by the almost *audible* silence that reigned around. The rooms where the priests used to receive their guests were in utter ruin, even the roof being stripped from off them ; and other rooms in the building were entirely gutted. The pagoda itself (one of six or seven stories) seemed to have been untouched. The idols, too, were left intact. There they sat in grim and dirty and silent state, fit presidents of the ruins around them, of which, as a type of more terrible desolations in other parts of the country, their worship has been one great cause. Much as we mourn over the convulsions of China, and the miseries brought upon the people by the present revolution, we cannot help thinking that it is the only way in which the neck of that terrible monster, Idolatry, can be broken in this unhappy land."

Mr. Fleming proceeds—

"On landing, we found the shore was composed of coarse gravel and mud, and the rocks belonged to the old red sandstone system. From the pagoda we walked to the suburbs of the city, once teeming with life, but now almost as silent as the grave. For the distance of three miles, heaps of stones and tottering walls are all that remain of once noble mansions. If I except a few wooden huts, unworthy of the name, not a house is standing ; business is entirely suspended ; all men seem to gaze on vacancy, and to be ready for flight at a moment's notice.

"I speak not now of the beauty of the scenery, vocal with the song of birds of

varied tint. It is mournful to contrast the works of God with those of man, the hills in their beauty with the suburbs in their desolation. That man alone is vile, one cannot help feeling in the most acute manner.

"On inquiry, we found that all the city gates were kept closed except the Tsóng-gyiao-meng, which was open three hours a day. It being too late to go that day, we returned to our boat for the night, and started after prayer the following morning. Never shall I forget the scene of misery and ruin through which we passed *en route* to the city. Our way lay through several open spaces, defended by barricades of crossed stakes driven firmly into the ground, and across planks that supplied the place of demolished bridges. As we approached the walls, we saw they were in a state of defence, and near them lay a still unburied corpse, probably the victim of starvation. Flags, tents, soldiers, and barricades everywhere met the eye. Outside the Tsóng-gyiao-meng a strong temporary gate was erected as a further defence. We reached this spot about eight o'clock A.M., when above 200 people were waiting for admission. By nine o'clock the crowd had increased to about 500. The attention of all was arrested by explosion after explosion, then a succession of crackers and deafening shouts, and then a rush of 150 or 200 soldiers from the city. The gate was then opened, and the soldiers sallied forth in a very disorderly way, brandishing their swords and pitchforks in a most wild and frantic manner. After forcing a passage, and lining the way on each side, the people were permitted first to pass out. The sight was very depressing : all were laden, though not with merchandize. Heavy loads of furniture, and other household effects, and still heavier hearts, were all they carried with them, while those who were waiting to enter appeared as though doing so only to bring away the few things they had left behind.

"In a short time a guard came to take us within before the authorities, that we might give an account of ourselves, and of the reason of our being there. We were treated with great ceremony and politeness by about a dozen mandarins, the chief of whom, whose cap was adorned by a clear blue button, and, as a further mark of imperial favour, a peacock's feather, was evidently a person of distinction. Having shown our letter from the consul, and given explanations through Mr. Burdon, who spoke Mandarin, they expressed themselves satisfied, and said that at any other time we might freely go in and out ; but as the city was now in a state of siege, and the rebels only a few li off, they regretted their in-

ability to let us pass before they had shown our credentials to the Governor; but if we would kindly return to our boats till the next morning, an officer should come and let us know the result. As things appeared so unpromising, we thought it useless to wait; so, having expressed our thanks, we were shown out by a mandarin, who escorted us a long distance, forcing a passage for us through the crowd by striking the people on the head and shoulders with a bamboo stick. We then bade him adieu, and returned to our boat on our way back to Ningpo. Thus ended our trip to Hang-chow. 'How long, O Lord, how long shall the enemy triumph, and all the workers of iniquity boast themselves?'

Hang-chow being thus found for the present impracticable, Mr. Burdon has taken up his residence at Yü-yau, as the furthest accessible point towards the interior, where, a short time previously, a house had been offered and accepted, sufficiently large for a foreign Missionary. Mr. Burdon describes the importance of this city as a Missionary station, and of the labours which are being carried on there.

"Yü-yau is important, not merely from the fact that it contains a large number of immortal souls (perhaps 60,000 or 70,000), but also from its position as on the highway from Ningpo to many other large and important cities in this province. It is especially important in this latter respect, as a stepping-stone to Shau-hing and Hang-chow; and therefore, with the consent of my brethren, I proceeded to occupy this station immediately after my return from the visit to the capital, already mentioned. Mr. Bao, the oldest catechist of this station, was my efficient native helper. The people are particularly well disposed towards us; but there is as yet, of course, no movement in favour of the doctrines that we teach. 'The husbandman must *first labour* in order to be a partaker of the fruits.' Every afternoon the door of our little preaching-room is thrown open, and conversation is carried on with those who come in. Mr. Bao, at the same time, is diligent in pressing his message home upon those whom he visits at their own houses. In this kind of work he meets with various kinds of receptions. . . .

"It is only within the last few months that we have been able to reach our present position in Yü-yau; and it has been occupied as a basis of operations providentially granted to us, from which to extend the Gospel to regions still further beyond. This gradual mode of working seems to me the most natural, and, in China, the most appropriate

one. The people are not yet prepared for any sudden and great strides; and so, though it may appear but a small step in advance, it is our duty to take it, with a view to more important steps in time to come. Let us not despise the day of small things. If we cannot do great things for God, He will accept small efforts, as perhaps the truest way to produce great results.

"Many of these places, in the neighbourhood of Ningpo, on the highway to other important cities in this province, are at this moment as open as they ever will be to the Christian Missionary. They have populations of from 10,000 to 100,000 souls; and all we can do as yet is to station catechists in a few of these places, and one foreign Missionary in what is deemed, for our future purposes, the most important of them. Mr. Fleming hopes to locate himself soon at another of them; and I am in hopes soon to get beyond Yü-yau. But what can we do without men? What are we among the millions of this one province of China? One man cannot be in more places than one at a time; and to take advantage of further openings, which we expect will soon be made for us in the providence of God, we *must* have men to fill the places we leave. We are all willing here to leave these stations which God has opened for us, if the church at home will only send other men to fill our places. The position which the treaty gives is insecure. We know not but that the whole ground will have to be fought over again. But our position here, and in the cities and villages within fifty or sixty miles of Ningpo, has been obtained by the gradually extended influence of Christian Missionaries, and is far more secure than any treaty-obtained privileges. If the church now wishes this to be widened till this whole province is embraced, let her send us *men, men, men*, and never again sink down into the false idea that China is shut up against the preaching of the Gospel. If the church sends men, China will find places for every one of them."

Mr. Burdon, at the time when this earnest appeal for men to come and do the Lord's work in China was written (Jan. 14), was at Ningpo, whither he had to come to unite in one of those prayer-meetings which, at the commencement of this and the preceding year, have been so universal throughout every part of the world where few or more Christians were to be found.

"Last week was observed here, as I suppose in every praying community of Christians throughout the world, as a week of earnest public and private prayer for the outpouring of God's Spirit on the church and the world.

It was for the purpose of spending that week among Christian friends, and so of getting strengthened for the life of loneliness among the heathen yet before me, that I left Yü-yau a little more than a week ago. I purpose returning thither in a couple of days, with another catechist to assist me in any movements further in the interior that I may be able to make. But I go with a strong assurance that the prayers, earnest and faithful, of this little circle, will be followed here by immediate and devoted action. And so I am persuaded will it be in the church at large. It would be hypocrisy to offer such prayers for the conversion of the world without personal efforts to promote it. This is the only way in which we can prove to the world our sincerity in praying, and without it our prayers can only rise up at last against us to condemn us. What, then, will the Lord have me to do after all this prayer, so as to take my share in the work for the success of which I have been praying? This is the practical question left on the minds of all the little community with whom I have had the privilege of uniting in prayer during the past week. God grant that this may be the case with every individual member of the church of Christ. The unevangelized world waits for this result; God looks for it; our Redeemer deserves it at our hands. Then, and only then, will He who is 'able to do exceeding abundantly above all we ask or think' fulfil in us and by us 'all the good pleasure of his goodness, and the work of faith with power.'"

There is one consideration which ought to quicken our exertions on behalf of China. The treaty concluded between Her Majesty the Sovereign of England and the Emperor of China, designated "A treaty of peace, friendship, commerce, and navigation," provides for the free action of the "Christian religion," by which expression is intended Christianity and its counterfeit, Romanism. The treaty proceeds thus:—"Art. 8. The Christian religion, as professed by Protestants or Roman Catholics, inculcates the practice of virtue, and teaches man to do as he would be done by. Persons teaching it, or professing it, therefore, shall alike be entitled to the protection of the Chinese authorities." This treaty is a most melancholy specimen of a state-paper addressed by a Protestant nation to a heathen people. We tell them in this document that Protestantism or Romanism are alike Christianity, and alike efficacious in the result which they produce: "they inculcate the practice of virtue, and teach man to do as he would be done by." Then truly the Chinese Romanist, and other

Romanists also, are in a position to put rather an awkward question to England. They may ask, "Why then are you, as a nation, Protestants? You admit that the Roman-Catholic religion is Christianity, and that its influence on the conduct is wholesome and beneficial. But you were yourselves once Romanists: why then did you leave that religion?" Now, we would ask, is this treaty of peace a document that is likely to carry with it the blessing of God? one in which England tells the Chinese that Protestantism and Romanism are alike good, and that it matters not which of them they prefer? To scriptural Christianity this great country owes her eminence and prosperity. It is this which, in its influence, has developed the energies of the national character, prepared us for freedom, and given us that freedom to enjoy. And is this our gratitude—this faithlessness to the truth of God, and disgraceful compromising of ourselves with an old discarded system—discarded because it was as a curse upon the land? "Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter!" That woe is ours, so long as we permit such documents to be put forth in the name of the nation, and there is no protest against them.

We might have left it to France to take care of Popery, which she never fails to do whenever an opportunity presents itself. We might, too, have imitated her consistency; for while she stipulates for Romanism, on the subject of Protestantism she is silent. The Art. 6 of this convention of peace between the Emperors of France and China runs as follows:—

"It shall be promulgated throughout the length and breadth of the land, in the terms of the Imperial Edict of the 20th February 1846, that it is permitted to all people, in all parts of China, to propagate and practice the 'teachings of the Lord of Heaven,' to meet together for the preaching of the doctrine, to build churches and to worship; further, all such as indiscriminately arrest [Christians] shall be duly punished; and such churches, schools, cemeteries, lands, and buildings, as were owned on former occasions by persecuted Christians, shall be paid for, and the money handed to the French representative at Peking, for transmission to the Christians in the localities concerned. It is, in addition, permitted to French Missionaries to rent and purchase land in all the provinces, and to erect buildings thereon at pleasure."

But it is the more our duty so to act as to

convince the world that the acts of Government are not always true expressions of the mind and principles of the nation. There may be much rottenness on the surface, but that, at the heart's core, the nation is sound, this is our belief. But we are bound to vin-

dicare ourselves from the anomalous position in which, undoubtedly, state-papers such as these are calculated to place us; and one way in which this may be done is by multiplying one hundred-fold our efforts for the evangelization of China.

LETTERS FROM TINNEVELLY.

WE invite our readers to the perusal of the following letters, as they furnish, when taken together, a very complete insight into the present state and condition of our largest and, in many respects, most advanced Mission.

The first is the Annual Report just received from the Rev. John Thomas Tucker, now a Missionary of nearly twenty years standing, of his extensive district of Pannai. Long experience and deserved weight of character invest his statement with much importance. We have here a portraiture of a long-established Mission field, and may see how the work advances as it were by its own momentum when it has once acquired compactness and solidity. Pannai was separated from the district of Palamcottah in the year 1843, and, nine years afterwards, was again subdivided by the severance from it of the district of Pannikullam, the expansion of the work having made an additional Missionary indispensable. The population of the present district may be estimated at 100,000, of whom about one in fifty are now professed Christians: in 1843 the proportion was not more than one in 130. A noble church of stone, much of the cost of which was defrayed by Mr. Tucker from his own private resources, can now accommodate Sunday after Sunday, 1000 worshippers. It was the scene, at Christmas 1859, of the largest ordination ever held in Tinnevely, or indeed in India. Mr. Tucker's faithful catechist, the Rev. Abraham Isaac, was one of those who were then set apart for the ministry of the word and sacraments.

The next letter is a translation from the Tamil. The writer, the Rev. Paramānandhen Simeon, was ordained deacon on Feb. 2, 1851, and priest on March 1, 1856. His admission to the order of presbyters was regarded as a suitable occasion for placing him in a position of greater independence and responsibility. The village of Alvarnēri, which lies due south of Palamcottah, at the extremity of the district of that name, was selected with this object. It contains a suitable village church and schoolhouse, and the sur-

rounding neighbourhood within a radius of five miles was accordingly placed under his pastoral charge. When the late Mr. Ragland and his companions visited the stations of South Tinnevely, in July 1856, to stir up the minds of the native Christians to deeper interest in the work of evangelization in the northern part of the province, Paramānandhen Simeon presided at the Missionary meeting held at Alvarnēri, just as an English clergyman is in the habit of doing in his own country parish. Mr. Ragland, in writing to Mr. Sargent, the Principal of our Palamcottah Preparand Institution, thus expresses his pleasure at such a sight—"We have enjoyed our visits to the various congregations on our way here (Menguānapuram), and none more than the first we made at Alvarnēri. It was very delightful to see the manner in which our dear brother Paramānandhen conducted himself in the midst of his flock. Every word we heard from him was just what it ought to be, humble and Christian, and cheerful and amiable. You have reason indeed to be thankful for having been the means of preparing and introducing into the ministry such a truly valuable man." The letter we now present to our readers gives our native brother's modest estimate of his parish after five years' experience of it.

The other two letters have each their peculiar value. The Rev. R. R. Meadows, on returning to his former sphere of labour in North Tinnevely, presents us with a sound and wise review of the interesting revival movement there, which had taken place during his absence. We were not mistaken in hailing it as a work of God, to be welcomed, not to be ignored—to be guided with cautious vigilance, and yet with large expectations, in the remembrance that wherever influences for good are most active, there will the subtle enemy of souls be the most busy. Times of revival are sifting times. The brighter the light, the deeper the shadow. Some who, to human eyes, appeared correct and sincere, and who seemed previously to the Missionary worthy of his confidence, are brought to confess that their former profession was

worthless and hollow, and that in the sight of God they were very different from what they were taken to be by the sight of men. Such cases are recorded as among the results of the recent revival. But we are not to suppose that because some few of our native agents have been thus self-detected of hypocrisy, through that conviction of sin which has shaken their very inmost souls, it is a fair inference that such is the character of all, or even of many of them. We have just drawn attention to the letter of one who is but a fair average sample of the seventeen native clergy of Tinnevely. They have all of them been drafted from this very class of catechists, and each ordination of late years has witnessed a larger and a larger accession to their numbers. 'The highest is the measure of the man,' and we judge of the general character and capabilities of any class by the more prominent individuals. The great Tinnevely axiom—None but spiritual men can do spiritual work—is, we believe, faithfully followed by our Missionaries there, in the selection of their catechists. For inferior agents, such as readers or schoolmasters, it is practically impossible to require this standard; but, alas! is not this as true in England as on the Mission field? But whatever it teaches us, let us welcome this blessed work of revival. If it show us flaws and stains that had hitherto escaped detection, surely it is even thus a cause for rejoicing. And if it bring us agents who have learnt, like the prophet, their own vileness and the blessedness of pardon, and have thus the grand primary qualification for evangelists, we shall indeed have reason for abounding joy.

The letter of the Rev. G. G. Cuthbert well closes our series. Mr. Cuthbert's wise and faithful services for the last fifteen years as Secretary of our Calcutta Corresponding Committee, entitle him to speak with authority, when he brings his experience to bear on our Missions in the south. Had he resided there longer, he might possibly have modified his opinions as to the motives which have induced the Shānar people to come over simultaneously in considerable bodies to Christianity. This must of course be with many a nominal adhesion; but it has been found on investigation that there is generally a nucleus of really earnest inquirers, who sway and impel the rest. To grant, however, that mixed motives have drawn men under the sound of the Gospel in Tinnevely, is only to grant what has been true in the history of almost all Missions, and of the spread of Christianity in all ages. He who is the Lord of

providence as well as of grace, uses the brass as well as the gold in the service of His sanctuary. The grand question is, How have these nominal adherents been dealt with when enclosed within the 'Gospel net'? Mediæval Missions resulted in a gigantic system of spiritual despotism and superstition, for want of the pure infallible standard of the written word of God. We see a most hopeful future before Christian Tinnevely, because the Tamil Bible holds the first place in the literature, and is circulated most widely amongst the members, of that rising native church.

Letter of the Rev. J. T. Tucker, Jan. 23, 1861.

"In sitting down to write you my annual letter, I wish, in the first place, to ascribe my humble thanks to God for the great success which He has been pleased to give to the Missionary work in the Panneivilei district during the past year.

"Our converts being so weak, full of infirmities of all kinds, and so long accustomed from their childhood to many evil habits, cannot throw away all their heathenism in a day. We have, therefore, not only to seek after new people among the heathen, but we have also to watch over every new convert we receive, and endeavour to teach him or her all things whatsoever our Lord commanded. It is, then, a cause of much thankfulness to God that He has been pleased to bless our efforts to instruct the converts in His ways, and to give them strength and grace to remain faithful to their profession of faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. We have, through God's mercy, been permitted to retain possession of ground previously conquered in the name of Immanuel, and thence to sally forth among the slaves of Satan, to proclaim liberty to captives in the name of our Lord Jesus.

"The satisfactory state of the older congregations may be gathered from the fact, that in thirty villages out of forty, there has been a greater or smaller increase of Christians, and this effected, under God, by the zeal and teaching of the older Christians. This has been remarkably the case in the hamlets round, and in the neighbourhood of Panneivilei. In seven of these hamlets, in 1859, there were more than four hundred heathen, besides Christians: now, with the exception of four families, all are professedly disciples of Christ, and appear determined to remain so. The increase of so many converts in our immediate neighbourhood has greatly helped to swell the congregation every Sabbath in the large church, so that there are sometimes a

thousand worshippers assembled at the noon service in the Panneivilei church. I feel it indeed a great privilege to be permitted, in God's providence, to address so many souls at once on the great subject of their eternal salvation. For many years we were frequently disturbed during the service by the crying and playing of little children; but for some months past I have established an infant school near the church, where mothers are allowed to leave their little ones during divine service, and this enables us to worship God in peace. Moreover, the fact that six hundred and eighteen rupees, six annas and nine pice have been subscribed by the Christians of the district for Missionary purposes, during the last year, is some indication of spiritual life among the people. Is there any place in England where so much is collected in proportion to the wealth of the people? Gnānaprāgasam, a palmyra-climber, brought, at a late Missionary meeting, the sum of four rupees five annas, and eight pice in a Missionary-box. His average daily wages are about two annas, or threepence. Calculating the daily-labourer's wages in England at two shillings per diem, Gnānaprāgasam's offering would be equal to 3*l.* 9*s.* Do we often find an English labourer giving so much, or collecting so much, for a religious object?

"Another indication of the satisfactory state of the Christians generally is, that out of 2129 souls, including men, women, and children, 509 persons can read the Tamil Scriptures. This is, no doubt, the result of many years' teaching in our schools. It is indeed a happy thing to find so many of the people able to read in their own tongue the wonderful works of God.

"But the great cause of rejoicing to my heart is, that so many as 607 persons, who were worshippers of idols on January 1st, 1860, are now disciples of Christ, and are so apparently sincere in their profession of Christian faith, that I have admitted them into my list of native Christians. Moreover, besides the above 607, there are 500 more who have recently renounced idolatry, but as yet have not been long enough under instruction to be trusted. The total number, therefore, during the past year, of new converts, amounts to about 1100 people, a much greater number than I have ever before been permitted to receive in one year. I believe it is owing to the teaching and the preaching of the Gospel by myself and catechists among the heathen for some years past. I confidently look forward (trusting to God's blessing) to a still greater in-

crease during the coming year, should it please God to spare our lives.

"Of course I cannot look upon these 1100 new people as all true Christians. On the contrary, I fear that there are but few among them that are true children of God. Yet the facts, that they have destroyed their idols, which they once worshipped; that they willingly attend the means of grace where the Gospel is preached; and live, so far as man can see, a consistent life, is a source to my own mind of much joy and thanksgiving to the God of all grace. God's word most assuredly will not return void. Several instances of apparently true conversion have taken place among the new converts and among the older Christians.

I will mention two out of eight places where the banner of the cross has been established for the first time during the past year.

"1. Tiruvarlinādanvelei is a village two miles to the east of Panneivilei, containing about a hundred families of Shānars, some of whom are worshippers of idol-demons, and others of a strange religion called the 'Eight-letter religion.' These latter do not worship idols, but profess to adore eight letters, which they consider are the initials of the eight attributes of God. Their mode of worship, however, is very abominable, and the only thing I am astonished at is that such wicked men can become Christians. Perhaps their iniquities are so apparent, and their sins bring upon them such wretchedness, that they are more easily convicted of sin. At Tiruvarlinādanvelei there is a large temple built by the grandfathers of the present generation for the purpose of meeting to worship their eight letters. The ceremonies consist, first of all, of offering up a large number of sheep, and a great quantity of rice and fruit: this, of course, is turned into a great feast together, with much drinking of arrack. As soon as night comes on, men and women of all castes mingle together, and commit all kinds of abominations during the whole night, and this is a part of their worship. Strange, that in this land, where caste is so strictly observed, such a mixture of all castes should be sanctioned by the people themselves. However, the heart of man is naturally so vile, that, to carry out its hatred against good and against God, there seem no bounds. In short, debauchery appears to be the very essence of the Eight-letter religion. The Gospel, however, has found its way among these people. Through the exertions of some of the catechists, and one or two members of our Pan-

neivilei congregation, eighty persons of Tiruvarlinādanvelei have renounced their heathenism, the majority of whom were of the Eight-letter religion.

"The new converts of this place have attended the means of grace regularly, and afford much hope of their remaining true to their profession.

"Gnānaweri Pillay, a pilgrim supported by a lady at Brighton, has been the chief means of winning these poor people to the knowledge of the Gospel.

"2. Madatthapatti, a hamlet in the Sivapalaig Gramam, is another place where the Gospel has taken a strong hold for the first time this last year. The Rev. A. Isaac [native clergyman, ordained Christmas, 1859] has, in God's providence and grace, been the instrument of leading more than a hundred souls in this place to destroy their idols, and zealously profess themselves anxious to serve the true God. I was delighted on visiting Madatthapatti to see even little children smashing idols that their forefathers had long worshipped. On my second visit to the hamlet I was thankful to find that nearly all of the people had learnt by rote the Lord's Prayer, the Belief, and that some of them had commenced learning the Ten Commandments. Then, also, about twenty persons applied for baptism; but as they had only so recently placed themselves under Christian instruction, I considered it better to postpone their baptism until my next visit. May we not hope that God's blessing will rest upon the faithful teaching and preaching of the Gospel among these new converts? In addition to destroying their two devil temples, with all the images in them, they have also delivered over to me a well-built Rest-house, which they had hitherto allowed heathen travellers, proceeding to heathen feasts, to put up in. Moreover, they made over to me lands which bring in a rent of seventeen rupees per annum, which money I am to give away in charity. I have been permitted to establish a new school in Madatthapatti, at which the children of the new people attend daily. The following instance will show the good effect of establishing English schools for the benefit of the higher classes. The high-priest of a respectable caste, called Severli Vellālars, living at Mūditānanthal, on his deathbed sent a letter to me, requesting me to take charge of a son of his, and bring him up a Christian. Thinking that the poor man himself might wish to become a Christian, I proceeded to Mūditānanthal, and visited him on his sick-bed. He was delighted to see me, and then renounced all confidence in idols, and solemnly declared that he believed

that Jesus Christ was the only Saviour. I found that he had been in the habit of daily reading the Scriptures. Though weak, he was very anxious to relate what he knew of the history of our Lord; and the account he gave was correct, indicating that he had been a diligent student of the New Testament. He requested his son to come, and, as soon as the lad appeared, he put the child's hand into mine, and earnestly requested me to be a father to the lad, bring him up in the faith of Christ, and endeavour to make him the instrument of leading all his relatives to embrace the Christian religion. Afterwards I endeavoured to persuade this poor high-priest to be baptized, but I could not get him to consent to that. The Rev. A. Isaac also visited the man, and tried to get him to receive baptism, but he was afraid of his relatives. Before his death he made his eldest son swear that he would bury, and not burn, as the heathen, his corpse. However, after the poor man's death, his heathen relatives prevailed, and burnt the body. This man was so far led to look to Jesus Christ by attending occasionally the school where his sons were instructed in English. The lad that was delivered to me has ever since attended regularly the instruction of the catechist, and professes himself a Christian. Only yesterday three brothers of the deceased came and requested me to receive them under Christian instruction. They are a rich and influential family, and men of high caste. Mūditānanthal is a town of about 4000 people, the majority of whom are Severli Vellālars. The late high-priest was the headman over about 20,000 men of his caste. Previously to his last illness I had had several conversations with him about religion, and the last time he was very inquisitive regarding the resurrection of the body. Although the inhabitants of Mūditānanthal are high caste, yet they do not make the least objection to the thorough teaching of the Bible, either in the English school, or in another school of fifty children, where the instruction is given only in the vernacular. I have a great hope that, if spared to live and labour among these people at Mūditānanthal, this year I shall be permitted to see many of them turn to God.

"While writing about schools, I rejoice to say that friends in England have supported so liberally Mrs. Tucker's boarding and day schools, that now there are upwards of fifty in the former, and seventy in the latter. The increase of converts in the immediate neighbourhood of Panneivilei has enabled us also to increase the number of children. One young woman, by the name of Rachel, who

had been educated at Mrs. Tucker's boarding school, was obliged to pass through a severe trial. Her father selected a rich heathen to be a husband for her, but she boldly refused to marry a heathen. Upon this her father sent to say, that unless she would consent to marry the man that he had selected for her, he would have her murdered. I, knowing that such evil deeds are sometimes done in Tinnevelly, kept a watch over the school-room, lest the girl should be forcibly taken away. Soon after this we caught three men in the very act of attempting to take Rachel away. This obliged me to bring the case before the Collector, who sent for the girl, and finding she had been threatened with murder, very properly took measures to prevent such an evil deed. Subsequently she has been married, with the consent of her father, to a Christian man.

"Hearing that the Marquis of Westminster was disposed to assist our schools, I wrote to his lordship, giving him an account of our Mission, and asking for help; and in answer to my letter he sent me out 100*l*. to build a schoolroom for Mrs. Tucker's boarders. The foundation for this building has been laid, and the work progressing. I know that his lordship is very liberal in building and supporting schools, &c., at home. I trust that he may be led to use his great influence in spreading the Gospel among heathen nations.

The churches at Mannariandittu and Kannādvilei have been finished, and new churches and prayer-houses begun and finished at Nattatti, Vaikikullam, Nallangūly, Gurukavalei, Puthūr, Motachekudeyappu, Arlakapuri, Madatthapatti, and Tiruvarlinādanvelei.

"The village of Nattatti is a sacred place for the Nattatti Shānar caste. I was therefore very much opposed in building a church there by Nattatti Nādan, the priest of that caste. He went even so far as to vow to the chief idol in his large devil-temple, that if a Christian church was built in the village of Nattatti no more offerings should be made to the image. Moreover, he brought an entirely false complaint against me respecting the building of the church, in consequence of which I was obliged to appear five days in the Tāsildar's cutchery: however I was enabled, by cross-examining the Nādan's false witnesses to prove that his complaint was a thorough falsehood. Moreover, I proved that I had a perfect right to build a church on a piece of ground given over to me for that purpose by one of the Nattatti Christians. This struggle was a very great one in the

eyes of the heathen. Thanks be to God for the victory!

"The Christian zeal of Miss E. Gore, of Brighton, has led her not only to support two itinerating catechists herself, but to collect money for four more catechists, and also for some children in our schools. The above catechists have been doing their best to win heathen to Christ.

"In conclusion, I record my humble thanks to the God of all grace for His great mercies vouchsafed to my people, my catechists, my dear wife, and myself, during the past year, and for permitting us to make known to so many Christians and heathen around us His great and unspeakable love in sending His only-begotten Son Jesus Christ to die, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life.

"I add that the zeal and pious labours of the Rev. A. Isaac have given me great satisfaction.

Statistical Return.

Native Christians	2129
Baptized	1449
Baptisms during the year	161
Native Communicants	378
Native Teachers, including 17 School-	
mistresses	68
Boys' Day Schools (a few girls in some)	33
Scholars	647
Girls' Day Schools	1
Scholars	70
Boys' Boarding Schools	1
Scholars	40
Girls' Boarding Schools	1
Scholars	54

Translation of a Letter of the Rev. P. Simeon, Dec. 31, 1860.

"I thank God for the privilege I have enjoyed in labouring among my countrymen during a period of ten years. Though my labour among them is but feeble, yet it is encouraging to me to have occasion to think that the Lord's blessing rests on it, and that my efforts are not in vain. My feeble endeavours among the heathen, in bringing the Gospel of salvation before them, have not been without some good results; but they have been more frequently taught to feel their folly, by causes which we should perhaps regard, as in reality, less influential than the love of Christ to sinners as set forth in the Gospel. The catechists and myself have often visited them, and conversed with them on the subject of religion, pointing out to them the evil consequences of idol-worship, and exhorting them to repent of their sins and turn to Christ, in whom alone salvation

is to be found ; but it was not before they experienced the Lord's dealings with them, in the way of visitation, that they began to pay attention to our preaching. I shall state a few instances as illustrative of this point. There is a heathen village, named Karapukatti, about three miles from Alvarnēri, where the people have a festival annually. At these festivals they present sheep, fowls, plantain, cocoa-nuts, &c., as offerings to their god. The last festival they set about to celebrate was in July. They had prepared various offerings, and fixed a day for celebrating the festival ; but before they proceeded to offer their sacrifices, the headman of the village, who was the chief devil-dancer, was severely attacked with cholera, and died suddenly. Five others followed him to the grave. This circumstance disheartened the people in their attachment to idol-worship ; and all, except five families, fled to the neighbouring villages, and the festival was stopped.

"A similar circumstance took place at Patthinipare, near Kampukathi, where also the people had prepared various oblations to their god, and fixed a day for offering them ; but just two days before the appointed time cholera broke out in the village, and about ten or twelve died, and, consequently, the intended festival was stopped.

"The people of Thamaresari, a village about a quarter of a mile north of Alvarnēri, used to think very highly of themselves and of their goddess, Nallachiamman, by whose care, they said, they were always protected from cholera. During, however, the course of this month, it broke out among them also, and eleven people died : ten others are still ill. If it be asked, How is it that the heathen should be dissatisfied with their idolatry when they suffer from such calamities, and be drawn towards Christianity, although they see that Christians also are cut down by the same disease ? I answer, that the heathen, in their attachment to their idolatry, have regard only to worldly prosperity, and have no reference whatever to pardon of sin and peace of conscience. Consequently, in calamity they feel that their own system has failed them. Then, as they inquire about Christianity, they find that it promises more especially spiritual blessing and needful comfort under the sorrows and trials which will inevitably be our lot here, and which also are in themselves designed for our good. Hence, in the visitation of cholera, the heathen, who usually prefer their livelihood and bodily health above other things, are taught to feel their folly. They now speak contemptibly of their gods and goddesses. They say that, as

cholera generally breaks out among them during their festivals, it is evident that there is one Supreme Being who overrules every thing for the honour and glory of His name, and that such sicknesses are not at the disposal of their gods. They often remark, also, that the prevalence of Christianity in this country has deprived their gods of the influence and power they formerly possessed.

"There are two great Hindu festivals at Trichendūr, which is a place of resort for all classes of people from Madura, Malayalim, and other provinces. During the last festival cholera broke out among them, and many hundreds perished. It is a general belief among the Hindus that their gods will send rain during the celebration of the anniversary of their weddings and other festivals, but at present they experience the contrary. These circumstances have greatly shaken the confidence of the heathen in idols, and they frequently talk now as if their gods have lost all their virtues.

"The heathen, who are thus brought by providence to feel their superstition, acknowledge the excellence of the religion of Christ when we converse with them on that subject. But caste prejudice, worldliness, custom, and the vanity of the world, stand in the way of their becoming professed members of the church of Christ at once. But I trust in the Lord that many of them are not far from the kingdom of God. Heathenism, which is like a large tree, has now ceased growing, and daily its spread-out branches become scorched.

"The consistent lives of many of the members of the several congregations in this district have encouraged me much to labour cheerfully and hopefully among them. The scarcity which commenced in this province seven years ago, and which more especially increased during the present year, has reduced our people much in their worldly prosperity ; but I am thankful to say that the sums contributed by them to the different Societies have been a little more than in former years. In accordance with the suggestion of Mr. Sargent, that the people of each village should undertake to defray one-third of the expenditure of their church-buildings and the purchase of *ghurries* (used as bells to summon the congregation), before any aid can be given from the District Church-building Fund, the people of Konkanthanparei and Ambalam erected a prayer-house in each of their villages in this way. The people of Pulipattam have likewise paid one-third of the price of the *ghurry*, bought for use in their prayer-house. During this year a church was built at Marudhakulam at the

expenditure of Rs. 547. 8. 6, of which 200 rupees was paid from the church-building fund, and the rest, Rs. 347. 8. 6, was defrayed by the people; the headman, Enoch Nadan, subscribing rs. 286. 10. 6 out of his own pocket. Besides this, the people of Marudhakulam have cheerfully granted a piece of *nanjai*, or paddy-land, measuring two and a quarter *kotta*, to be annexed to the property of the district church-building fund as an endowment. The revenue from this source will give a profit of twenty rupees a-year.

"The congregations have contributed cheerfully for the relief of the poor and sick members in connexion with this district. Our poor fund was for a time so low that we were unable to attend to the wants of all. But the catechists and others, as they long felt that it was a part of their duty to attend to their distressed brethren, made great efforts to raise the fund; and I am thankful to say that they succeeded, and that the poor are now occasionally receiving suitable assistance from this fund.

"These facts, combined with what I have seen of the character of many in private intercourse, lead me to believe that Christianity has really taken root in the hearts of many. I can confidently say of many that they walk consistently with their profession as Christ's disciples, and that they are daily growing in grace and in the knowledge of the Scriptures.

"In our visits to the heathen villages we find the people either quarrelling with each other and using obscene words, or doing some open wickedness. Their children wander about, receiving no education. These things are painful to us. But when we come to Christian dwellings, we are encouraged with many things we see there. The attendance of the people at prayers, their comely behaviour in their homes, their reading the Scriptures, their holding family prayers, and the attendance of their children at school for instruction, lead us to think that certainly there exists a great difference between them and the heathen. It is a great comfort to us that those members of our congregations who are now under Christian instruction for a considerable time apply for no help from us in their worldly matters. This enables us to devote our time entirely to the service of God in ministering to them the Gospel of Christ.

"It is usual in this country, that when a heathen falls sick he first takes some remedy, making a vow at the same time to his god to offer him gifts in case of his recovery. If, by these endeavours, he is not cured, he is persuaded to believe that his enemies have

devised enchantments against him. He then sends for the best magicians and devil-dancers, and begs them to recover him of his disease, offering them money and other gifts. If they do not succeed, they induce him to believe, that as the sins of his forefathers have brought this disease on him, he should give alms to the poor, and so the poor man is led on to poverty. But the conduct of a Christian is quite different to this. I have often visited sick members of the congregations, and talked with them about their spiritual condition, and frequently have I been encouraged by perceiving in them a sense of their sins, and a sincere dependence upon the promises of God. There is a man at Alvarnēri who has been sick for three months. I often called upon him, exhorted and comforted him, and prayed with him, reading several portions from the Scriptures to him. The following is what he said to me on different occasions—"When I think over all my sins committed from childhood, I perceive that I am the greatest of all sinners, and I fear whether I shall ever have any portion in the Lord; but when I am in this state of perplexity about my salvation, I am encouraged to put my trust in the Lord. My sweet Jesus shed His blood for me also, and I am therefore entitled to have a share among the saints in glory. Had not the Lord afflicted me thus, I should never have thought of all my sins. I feel now that my disease is intended for my good. My constant prayer in these days is, O Lord, correct me, but with judgment, not in thine anger, lest thou bring me to nothing. The Lord hear my prayer!"

*Letter of the Rev. R. R. Meadows,
Sivagāsi, Jan. 22, 1861.*

"It will not be my province to give you a general report of the district for the whole year, for I arrived at Virdupatti only on Oct. 10. All I have to do is to convey to you my own impressions of things as they have appeared to me during the last three months.

"You will be anxious to hear in what condition I found the converts of the revival period, and how they are still conducting themselves.

"The places where they are chiefly to be found are Vāgeikulam, Rājapaliam, Melapatti, and Pattakulam. The first and last two places are only villages; Rājapaliam is a large town of 20,000 inhabitants. Some few cases have also occurred in other villages. The movement does not appear, in the Sivagāsi district at least, extensive. The numbers affected are not more than 160, nor do I

find that the heathen beyond the places, or the near neighbourhood of the places, in which the converts are, have been influenced. They listen no better to the preaching of the itinerants, and are no more inquisitive than before. However, having premised thus much, by way of caution, I would say most decidedly that the work is of God. I feel most thankful for what I have seen, and pray most earnestly that it may appear in other congregations, and to the heathen too.

"I find that persons of different caste, sex, and age, among whom are five Mission agents, have been awakened, some with bodily emotions, and some without. Where persons have been walking consistently for years, their zeal and earnestness, and the value they set on prayer, have been much quickened. The revival has brought forth the fruit of forty-five baptisms, and several more are nearly ready for baptism. Men and women and younger persons, to the number of seventy-one, have been stirred up to learn to read; and besides individual cases of heathen and backsliders being converted or restored, one village of about fifty persons has been added to the body of inquirers, simply in consequence of the revival.

"I have said that five native agents had been affected. I have long known four of these. We always felt suspicious of one of them, as a person mixed up with the affairs of the Zemindar of the district, and as probably receiving bribes from him. Indeed, since his conversion, he has confessed that he was a drunkard, and guilty of other sins, and he was cruel to his wife. He now goes occasionally to the Zemindar's house, but it is to preach the Gospel to him. His own house is now converted into a place for prayer for the congregation, increased from twenty-nine to forty; and his wife says that it is now like heaven on earth to live with him.

"Another of these native agents was a lazy, sleepy, unsatisfactory person, acting as reader at a little village in the district. He says now that he seldom or never read the Bible or prayed in private. Ever since his conversion he has been a diligent prayerful Christian. I have never, I think, heard from a catechist such a practical, common-sense, experimental, earnest sermon, as I heard from him at our last bi-monthly meeting of catechists; and his prayer at the conclusion was as if he were really pleading with God. He has just offered himself for work in the Mauritius, as it appears to me in a truly Missionary spirit. But it is not yet decided whether he is to go or not.

"There is a little company of awakened wo-

men in Rājapaliam who are constantly meeting for prayer. One of them goes to different houses to pray with the female inmates. She cannot read herself, but she gets one of the boys in the school to read for her, and then she prays. One of this party was a heathen a few months ago, and notorious, even among the heathen themselves, for her vile and abusive language. They notice now the change.

"There is a Christian woman in Vāgeikulam, who, since her own awakening, has been most earnest in her efforts for others, and God has blessed her zeal in more cases than one. Her husband's eldest sister, living some ninety miles off, was a very quarrelsome person. She quarrelled with her son-in-law, whom she was living with, and left him in consequence, and came to Vāgeikulam. One day this humble-minded but faithful woman, always a Christian, but much quickened at the great event of the revival, took her into the church close by, and talked and prayed with her for a long time. She now brings forth the fruits of the Spirit, which are 'love, joy, and peace.'

"I have seen only one case of bodily emotion, though, before I arrived, many were thus affected. It was that of a man, about thirty-five years old, from Kilapottalpatti. He had been an inquirer professedly for ten years, but he was a drunkard, and a person otherwise immoral. He had been awakened for some months when I saw him. Mr. Sathianāthen (the native clergyman) asked me to examine him for baptism. I was not prepossessed with his appearance and manner, but his answers were satisfactory. Soon, however, during our conversation, and from no apparent cause, his whole frame began to shake. He knelt down and remained upright upon his knees for a very long time; in fact, he seemed to be in a trance: his eyes were tightly closed, and he appeared quite unconscious of any thing that was passing around. Presently he sat down, but when I spoke to him he took no notice. He continued thus for about an hour and a half. When he recovered, he spoke to me very earnestly and excitedly. 'Jesus Christ,' he said, 'had commanded his disciples to be baptized, and I was in duty bound to baptize him.' Then he spoke of the sufferings of Christ, one by one, with the greatest feeling, and said, that if he committed sin again it would be like crucifying Christ again. At his baptism, about a month after, this trance came on him again, and during most of the service he remained transfixed to the ground, engaged in mental prayer. I asked him to account for this extraordinary manifestation.

He said he could not prevent it, but that it came on when he thought of his sins.

"I will now mention more particularly the condition of the two congregations of Vāgeikulam and Rājapaliam, adding a few cases taken from each.

"*Vāgeikulam*.—Three years ago, when Mr. V. Dēvanāyagam (a native clergyman) first went to this place there were but two men and one woman in the whole congregation giving signs of conversion. There were many nominal Christians, who attended church more or less regularly, but they were really heathen in life; and the abusive and vile language of many was such as to make it very trying to live with them. Before the revival the number of persons who usually attended from the village itself, and the neighbouring hamlets, was about 100: now the usual attendance is about 200, and it is with great difficulty that room can be found for them in the church. Abusive language has ceased, and Vedhanāyagam speaks without hesitation of more than thirty in the village itself as converted Christians. One of the most interesting sights, perhaps, in the whole district, is that of some twenty persons, men and women, sitting in the church on the ground, in the evening, round a lamp, learning to read: the schoolmaster and mistress, and a little orphan boy about nine years old, act as their teachers. Their conduct is the more remarkable, as they are employed all day at hard labour in the fields. It forms, too, a striking contrast to the general apathy, even among Christians, on the subject of education. I will now note down a few cases in this congregation as briefly as possible.

"Arulappan, aged thirty, baptized by me December 16th, was formerly notoriously wicked and debauched. He was awakened, had three days' struggle, wept, and confessed his sins. His wife was a careless person. She, too, for the last six months, has shown all the signs of a true convert.

"Yesuvādian, aged thirty-two, baptized, and a communicant, the most exemplary person in the village. He is one of those three true Christians whom Mr. Vedhanāyagam found there three years ago. He was much stirred up at the time of the revival, and is learning to read. There is scarcely a house, heathen or Christian, in Vāgeikulam, where he has not, at one time or another, spoken to the inmates about Christ. This he was in the habit of doing before the revival. His wife, represented as stubborn and disobedient, who had for several years lived away from her husband, was

awakened through the earnest, faithful teaching of Mr. Vēdhanāyagam's wife. She is learning to read, is now reconciled to her husband, and is, in fact, as good as he is.

"Ramai, a girl of fifteen, formerly a heathen: her husband is still a heathen. She was awakened with bodily emotions. She felt her sins deeply, has been the means of her mother's conversion, and is herself learning to read. She is persecuted by her husband, and, in fact, turned out by him; but she has, I am glad to say, been received back again.

"But I would not have you gather too favourable a view of Vāgeikulam, although it is impossible to contemplate the work there without deep gratitude. Vēdhanāyagam tells me that there are still among this congregation Christians, professing godliness indeed, but whose hearts remain as hard as ever. I gathered this also from the character of his sermons. Besides, I find, in looking over the memoranda of that village (which I keep for my own guidance), such expressions as these regarding different individuals—'Piety doubtful;' 'correct, but no appearance of piety;' 'not satisfactory, but improved a little;' 'awakened at the time of the revival, but grown cold;' 'always indifferent;' 'attends church, not sincere;' and so on.

"*Rājapaliam*.—The congregation in this large town live in three different localities. Some few from each locality were subjects of revival. The catechist and his wife were affected. She has since died, beloved and mourned by all; and we feel sure that she is now enjoying her reward with her Saviour. There are five men, two women, and nine children, learning to read here. The children from the school are deputed to teach them, and the youthful schoolmaster superintends the whole. The peculiar feature of the revival here was the simultaneous prostration and conversion, during divine service, of eighteen persons. All of these, I am thankful to learn, walk consistently. Others, who had come to see the wonder, were also converted. Nathaniel, a former schoolmaster of the Society, but who had ceased connexion for several years, and was in life more a heathen than a Christian, was persuaded by the catechist to attend the prayer-meeting on the Wednesday following Whit-Sunday. Thirty persons were weeping and crying for mercy. He was himself affected, and wept. He had been a very bad man, supporting himself, as many persons in this country do, by carrying false suits through the courts. He had been, moreover, a drunkard, &c.

He confessed all this to Mr. Saththiādhēn and the catechist. He is now a consistent Christian. He has left his wicked employment, and has become a petty trader. He tries to influence his father and wife, and the heathen. He is teaching his wife to read.

"I might bring forward many more examples, but these will suffice to show that, as far as man can judge, a real work of the Spirit of God is being manifested among us. I will now mention some congregations and individuals whose cases present much that is interesting and encouraging. One of them only, Pudhūr, is connected directly with the revival, though I am not sure whether they have not all been more or less influenced by it.

"*Pudhūr*, a hamlet about three-quarters of a mile from Vāgeikulam, and *Kuruvikulam*, about two miles from it, present this most encouraging feature, viz. that one of the Christians themselves, without receiving any salary, undertakes to instruct the converts, to conduct service, &c. I saw the people of Pudhūr about a month ago, and preached to them in their own village. I was struck with their proper behaviour, their progress, and the neatness of their women—a thing so unusual, among Pallar heathen at least. They all know the Ten Commandments, some know the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, and a few verses of Scripture. Their teacher himself did not know all the usual lessons, but he possesses the advantage of being able to read, and teaches the rest to the extent of his own knowledge. At Kiruvikulam, Saththiādhēn, a member of the congregation, acts as teacher. He is most efficient, equal, as Mr. Vedhanāyagam expresses it, to a catechist receiving ten rupees a month salary. His friend, Gnānapragāsam, has built a place for the people to assemble, near his own house, and at his own charges. He has shown, too, his Christian sympathy, by paying Ramai's subscription for the oil required for the reading class at Vāgeikulam. These two are not the only instances, in our district, of congregations helping themselves, and not depending upon catechists for instruction, or the Society for money.

"*Rettiapatti* is a village of Chaṅklars, a caste lower than the Pariars. Their occupation is cleaning and working in leather. All bullocks or horses that die of themselves go to them, I believe, as a right. Their houses, separated from the main village by a few hundred yards, built of mud and thatch, round in shape, are so small that one could almost stand in the middle and touch the sides with the arms stretched out. Very few of this caste have ever embraced Chris-

tianity. Here, however, are six families. It is very pleasant to see them in a congregation more neatly dressed, perhaps, than their fellow-worshippers of two or three grades higher in the social scale. Two of them, evidently taught by the Spirit, make a point of speaking to the people of their own caste about the Gospel, wherever they go. I saw them a few weeks ago at Strivilliputthūr. They had come, on their way, to places some thirty miles more north, whither they were going to tell their caste relatives 'as much as they knew of the Gospel, in obedience to Christ's command, "Go ye into all the world . . . and, lo! I am with you always"'. At a large meeting of Christians at Tiruttangal, some six or eight months ago, one of these men had more in his Missionary earthen pot than any other person.

"*Our Agents*—Besides the three native clergymen, there are six assistant catechists, nineteen readers, ten schoolmasters, five schoolmistresses, and three monitors. This includes seven permanent itinerators, paid by the Tinnevelly Native Church Missionary Association, and two supported by private funds. Six out of the seven itinerators are very efficient men. But with regard to the other catechists and readers, though we hope all are converted men, and though many labour diligently for their flocks, and are not wanting in ability or attainments, yet we have not one catechist, and not more than one or two readers efficient as preachers. And till the teachers of the people (as the catechists and readers really are) can expound the Scriptures, so as to inform and build up their congregations; and till they learn that the chief excellency in a sermon is not that of multiplicity of subdivision, but that of heart speaking to heart; we cannot hope for any general improvement in the standard of our people. This is a subject to which it seems to me we need to pay very great attention.

"The congregations themselves are generally composed of Pallars and Pariars, classes of people lower than Shānars, and very numerous in our district. I have already alluded to the defects of the catechists as affecting the congregations. Their own general poverty and ignorance are another hindrance to their improvement. They most of them earn no more than 1a. 8p. or 2a. [2d. or 3d.] a day, and are therefore very unwilling to spare their children for a few hours to give them the advantage of school-teaching. Moreover, out of 600 adult Christians, I find that only 86 can read: of these there are only six women. One cannot expect, therefore, to find them setting a very high value on education, till

indeed they begin to hunger and thirst after the word of God, and feel anxious to read it for themselves. The revival has had this effect upon some seventy, as has already been said, and one hopes to see its influence more and more in this respect.

"I cannot read over the facts which I have been able to collect, of interest and encouragement in this district without feelings of profound gratitude to Almighty God. Whoever has been the agent, He and He only has been the author. To Him let us ascribe all praise! And may He increase a hundredfold the present fruits, converting the nominal Christian, restoring the backslider, and turning the heathen from darkness to light!"

Letter of the Rev. G. G. Cuthbert, Jan. 20, 1861.

"I had heard much and often of Tinnevely and its Missions; but yet I think I can say, that, in many respects, the half was not told me. I suppose one never thoroughly realizes any scene or any work until one sees it. So it certainly has been with me, at all events, as regards the Tinnevely Mission. I had not realized its extent, nor its maturity, comparatively speaking, nor the advanced state of completeness to which its machinery had been brought. Nor, on the other hand, had I realized some of its less satisfactory features, nor been so fully aware that, essentially, its character is similar to that of our Mission in Kishnagar, though in several circumstances much in advance of it.

"Thus, the coming over of large numbers of people at once to join the body of Christians, seems to be caused by pretty nearly similar motives of a worldly or mixed kind to those which led over the people of Kishnagar. So also some of the Tinnevely brethren rejoice to find one or two at a time coming over, as with us, under apparently real conviction of conscience or of the mind, almost more than of a number coming together as has been usual.

"But the wisdom and care manifested in the treatment of those who have come over, whether in larger or smaller numbers; the judicious distribution of catechists among them; the patience and pains wherewith the catechists have been taught, directed, and encouraged for and in their work; the advance made in some of the stations in school work amongst the girls as well as the boys, must all be spoken of most highly. And so also is the energy, the skill, the perseverance shown by many of the brethren—especially at the first and also for so many years since—in reclaiming so much, not only of the moral wilderness, and converting it into a garden

of the Lord, but also of the natural desert around them, laying out their stations, erecting the various buildings, and gradually forming for themselves and their successors a pleasing civilized Christian home, in which they might feel willing and happy to abide as long as their work might require, and the Lord might permit.

"The Institutions, &c., at Palamcottah I like very much. I have scarcely ever seen a nicer girls' school than Mrs. Sargent's; and the Institution for Preparandi seems very well arranged, ordered, and taught. It is in its arrangements, style, and apparatus, much above our's at Santipore, in Bengal, though I think our youths are quite as well instructed. The training school is also very nice, but I did not see so much of it.

"I rejoiced very much to meet Messrs. Fenn, Meadows, and Macdonald, so simple and fervent, and yet sober in their work. Cold must be the Missionary heart that could forbear offering them a cordial 'God speed.' It is impossible to avoid expecting much fruit from their labours, though as yet but little has appeared.

"How far the late 'Revival' movement may be considered as indirectly a result of their labours, may perhaps be a question not easy to decide. Their devotedness, prayerfulness, and zeal, probably stirred up a somewhat like spirit amongst their native assistants, which may have communicated itself to some of those with whom those assistants were conversant, and it may have manifested itself in the 'Revival,' and in this way that movement may be said, perhaps, to have resulted from their labours.

"It has been tinged with a good deal of extravagance, and, as might be expected, with some false pretences; but I think it is quite certain that an influence for good has been, and I trust still is, at work among some of the people in North Tinnevely, and even down towards the South. I saw some of the effects of it myself, and heard several very gratifying facts from the Missionaries and others. A spirit of attention to the Gospel has been awakened in some places, a desire to read the Bible, and a steady effort to learn to read it, an improved moral tone, and, in some cases, a marked reformation in moral habits, may be stated as some of the evidences and results of the movement. And they have been so plain, that some senior brethren in other parts, who at first made light of the whole, now rather desire to see a like effect among themselves. I hope to see a little more of the Tinnevely Mission on my return from Ceylon."



"THE FOX"—CHIEF OF THE PLAIN CREES. (Vide p. 144.) by Google

THE LORD'S DEALINGS WITH THE NATIONS.

THE command of Christ is our authority for the work of Missions. He Himself it is that has enjoined and laid this obligation on his people. He had risen triumphantly from the grave, and in his resurrection proclaimed the victory he had achieved. As a mighty conqueror returning from the field of battle, He was on his way to the throne of glory which had been prepared for Him; and, in a solemn convocation of his people on the mountains of Gallilee, laid upon them the great Missionary charge, "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." The command is prefaced by a declaration of the supreme administration into which, as Mediator, He had entered, and which He has continued ever since uninterruptedly to exercise, "head over all things to his church," "angels, and principalities, and powers being made subject unto Him;" and this is done, not only as declarative of the fact, that He had authority to prescribe the course which should be pursued, but also to assure his people that this high administrative power would not fail to be exercised on their behalf; that not only should they be sustained by his Spirit amidst the trials inseparable from a work like this, but that human affairs in his administration of them, should be so ordered as might be most conducive to the furtherance of an enterprise which is to Him an object of such special interest, and that the operations of his providence throughout the earth should be such as to facilitate its progress.

The necessity that the "all power" given to Him, both in providence and grace, should be so used, is obvious. The duty is one of the most arduous character, inferior in its magnitude and difficulty only to the personal work of the Lord Himself, when He came amongst us to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness. The same elements of hostility which met Him on his path of sorrow oppose this undertaking. There are the same evil combinations. The earth is a great battle-field, where the god of this world, assailed in his strongholds by the action of aggressive Christianity, is putting forth all his craft and power to maintain his rule over the prostrate nations of the earth. And therefore, in the

face of such resistance, mere human efforts could only meet with a miserable discomfiture. Even the maximum of human power would be unavailing in such an enterprise: how much more the fragmentary portion of it which is brought into requisition in the Missionary work. The agency is so numerically feeble—the men who are willing to go forward to the van, and commit themselves to the great conflict which is carried on at the foot of the enemy's strongholds, are so few—that, had we not the hope of Jonathan, when he said to his armour-bearer, "It may be that the Lord will work for us; for there is no restraint to the Lord, to save by many or by few," we might at once desist. But divine power can work just as surely and effectively by a feeble as by a numerous agency. Nay, when the agency has been strong, the Lord has often purposely diminished it, lest the result produced should be ascribed to man, and not to Himself. The weakness of the agency throws us the more entirely on the promised strength of God, and penetrates us with the conviction, that unless He who has all power identifies Himself with us in this conflict, we should be unequal to wrest from the enemy one foot of the territory which he so resolutely defends.

This is our hope, and herein consists our confidence and encouragement to go forward, that we carry with us into the conflict the presence of Him who has said, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world," and that the "all power" vested in his hands will not fail to be exercised for the furtherance of the Gospel.

Something of this we are permitted to see; enough to assure us that this power is being so administered as to co-operate with human efforts in the great work of evangelization, and that not only by graciously sustaining the hearts of his people in this effort, and enduing with the necessary qualifications for its prosecution, but also by providential interferences of a very solemn and impressive character.

There are two difficulties which meet us in the Missionary work, one of an external nature, the other internal, and having its status in the mental condition of those to whom the Gospel is addressed. Amongst the first may be classified political obstructions, the jealousy of governments, and the efforts made by them to prevent the entrance of the Gospel amongst the populations over

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whom they rule. In the removal of these, the power of God in our day has been marvellously displayed. Princes and rulers have attempted to prescribe limits to the extension of God's truth, and the evangelist and the Bible have been alike arrested on the frontier, and turned back. But a great earthquake has come, and rent asunder the rocky barrier; political convulsions have humbled the pride, or levelled with the dust the thrones of the opposers, and "He who shutteth and no man openeth, and openeth and no man shutteth," has placed before us open doors where we least expected them.

One recent instance of this interference may be referred to. The Tartar dynasty of China has been obstinately opposed to the dissemination of Gospel truth amongst the inhabitants of that vast empire. If we have had any *locus standi* there, it has not been with the goodwill of the authorities. Reluctantly they gave us access to the free ports, and there they laboured to detain us; shutting us out from all freedom of approach to the interior populations, although China's need of the Gospel was of the most pressing character. Those restrictions are at an end. The arrogance of the Tartar has been humiliated. On Oct. 12th, 1860, half an hour before the wall was to have been breached, the An-tin gate (Gate of Peace) of Pekin was surrendered to the allied forces, and the ramparts occupied by detachments with field-pieces, the French on the east, the British on the west. Beneath lay at the mercy of the conquerors the subjugated city, with its vast extent of one-storied houses partially hidden amongst the many trees, the public buildings with their roofs of glazed tiles, green or yellow, rising above the rest; the streets wider and more regular than in the southern cities, but the houses and shops presenting an appearance of poverty and dilapidation that was little looked for in the capital of the Celestial Empire.

The first ceremony was one of mournful solemnity—the interment of those gallant officers and men who, captured by the Chinese, though under the protection of a flag of truce, had succumbed beneath the cruelties to which they had been subjected. No one can read the account of their sufferings, as narrated in a recently published blue-book, without a deep conviction that there is no nation on earth which, more powerfully than China, needs the ameliorating action of the Gospel, for there is none that, under a thin veil of *quasi* civilization, retains a more implacable and pitiless nature. The felons of China were found to be more merci-

ful than the Mandarins. One of the English gentlemen was cast into the common prison at Pekin amidst a crowd of murderers, thieves, &c.; but, such as they were, they pitied him. A large iron collar had been placed round his neck, with a long heavy chain attached to it, which sustained two other chains made fast to his legs. Three of the prisoners were assigned to watch and guard him, one of them at night always sitting at the head of his bed, which consisted of a board like a guard-room bed, the neck-chain being fastened to a beam over his head. They were very civil and kind, helping him by carrying his chain, getting him water to wash his hands and face, &c. Two of them were murderers, and the third was in prison for biting off his father's finger. Bad, however, as they were, the Chinese authorities and Mandarins were worse, and might with propriety have been made to change places with them. The remains of the four victims to Tartar cruelty were interred with military honours in the Russian cemetery, about a quarter of a mile from the north gate of the city; and there they remain to this day, a silent yet powerful testimony against the cruelties of a government whose days are numbered, for it has been weighed in the balances, and found wanting.

The imperial palace at Pekin would have been at once destroyed, as an expression of our just horror at such atrocities; but before the facts were known, a promise of protection had been extended to the captured city, and the stroke of retribution fell on the summer-palace of Yuen-Ming-Yuen.

"At Yuen-Ming-Yuen the tablets of the dynasty were preserved, on the safety of which, in the opinion of the Chinese, the existence of the present reigning family depends. By the people the palace was held in great veneration, from its being the constant residence of the emperor, and the place where all the great princes and nobles of the empire assembled: the gardens and buildings were famed for their beauty throughout China, and immense sums were expended yearly on their maintenance. It was the scene of all the intrigues and gaieties of the court. It was there that the great receptions and levees were held; and there that the emperor had his concerts, evening parties, and private theatricals, when, it is said, he mixed on more familiar terms with those invited than we imagined could exist in the ceremonious court of Pekin, an obeisance to the emperor on his entering and leaving the hall of reception being the only ceremony performed.

"From the place that was seized by the French on the 6th of October it was at least six or seven miles before the last building of Yuen-Ming-Yuen was reached. This was at the foot of the first range of hills that bound the plain to the north of Pekin. Over this large extent of ground were gardens, palaces, temples, and pagodas, on artificial hills, some of them 300 and 400 feet in height, with forest trees of all kinds covering their sides, through the green foliage of which were seen the yellow-tiled roofs of the various imperial residences. A large lake lay buried in the midst of these wooded hills, with two or three islands on it, with picturesque buildings, joined to the mainland by quaint but beautiful stone bridges. On one side of the lake, extending upwards of two miles, winding in and out among grottos and through flower-gardens, roofed in by flowering creepers, was the favourite walk of the emperor and his court. In some places, where the palaces came to the water's edge, the walk was carried past them on a light and beautiful stone terrace overhanging the lake. The high mountains of Tartary forming the background, made it, while it certainly was one of the most curious, also one of the most beautiful of scenes."*

It was in these gardens that some of the captives, having had their hands and feet tied together behind, and water having been thrown on their bonds to tighten them, were lifted up, and carried into a court-yard, where for three days they remained in the open air, exposed to the sun and cold. Food and water were withheld from them. Hundreds came to stare upon them in the daytime, many of them men of rank, but they were more pitiless and unfeeling than the criminals in the jail at Pekin. If the poor sufferers spoke, or asked for water, they were beaten and stamped upon; if they begged some food, dirt was crammed down their throats; and there, amidst intolerable sufferings, several died. The Yuen-Ming-Yuen, the *chef-d'œuvre* of China, was not spared. On the 16th October 1860, black masses of smoke rose continually from the gardens, giving the appearance of a fearful thunderstorm impending. Every place was set on fire, and the whole was wrapped in one prodigious conflagration. We regard it as the funeral pile of the Tartar dynasty. Its power of obstruction is at an end, not merely because of a treaty of peace, securing freedom of access into the interior, and liberty to preach and profess Christianity, but be-

cause, like the blackened and mouldering ruins of the summer palace, it is tottering to its fall.

Similar instances of rapid action and decisive overthrow of political hindrances may be traced in various directions, and thus access has been afforded to places which, some few years since, were impenetrably closed against us.

But there is another difficulty which meets us in the prosecution of our work, that when entrance has been obtained, and the Gospel message is addressed to men, they will not hear. It is true, that wherever the Gospel has been preached with fidelity, there has been enough to show that it has lost nothing of its power. Sinners have been converted, and churches and congregations have been raised up. But the great body of the people remain estranged, and are either indifferent or opposed. What is to be done under such circumstances? The Gospel has hitherto advanced at a slow rate of progress, and perhaps it was preferable that it should be thus while the foundations were being laid. But now that so much of preliminary work has been accomplished, it may be the Lord's pleasure to accelerate its progress; for while the Gospel is slowly advancing, souls are perishing. To accomplish this, providential interferences of another kind appear to be in operation—afflictive dispensations are permitted to fall upon the masses of population, in order to break up their fallow-ground and prepare them to receive the seed. This process also can be traced in various quarters. In the Yoruba country the Gospel has been introduced, and some have responded. Congregations have been gathered, and, according to the ratio of increase which has hitherto marked the progress of the Missionary work, they have healthfully augmented. But the nation stands aloof. The kings, magistrates, and bulk of the people, adhere to their old superstitions, and the oppressive formalities of Oro are paraded through the streets of Abeokuta. Civil war has been permitted to break out, and the land is afflicted. The prosecution of industrial employments and commercial intercourse, for which the people of that country display such an aptness, is interfered with, and distress and trouble are abroad. But in the midst of national calamities they are learning the vanity of idols. The king and people of Abeokuta in particular went forth to the war, trusting in their gods to help them. They consulted the priests; they followed their directions with the most scrupulous fidelity; they offered sacrifices, loaded themselves with charms,

* "Times" Newspaper, Dec. 28, 1860.

and went forth, elated with the priestly blessing, as to assured victory. Instead of this, defeat awaited them, and they returned home full of indignation at the deceit to which they had been subjected. "These priests," they said, "are impostors; these idols nothing; these charms a vain deceit." Thus, amidst these calamities of war, which at first appeared to be so prejudicial to our work, there may be springing up a distaste to the old superstitions, and a conviction of their inutility. The shadows may deepen, and, between Dahomey on the one side and the Ibadans on the other, Abbeokuta may become increasingly imperilled, and yet the national distress may prove the downfall of the national idolatry. We have observed the progress of this people. It would seem as though for them was intended the high privilege of becoming the first of West-African countries in the recognition and profession of Christianity. But the progress of the work has not been so rapid as its first commencement promised; and, as in the case of individuals, so with respect to this people, afflictive dispensations may have been permitted to facilitate its action. One tribe professing Christianity as the national religion, and prospering in that profession, would be a beacon light on the west coast of Africa.

Let us look in another direction. India needs a change of faith. The atrocities of the late mutiny are demonstrative of this. And hopes were entertained, when the excitement had subsided and the natives had time to reflect, that they would be themselves shocked at the enormities which had been perpetrated, and have awakened to the conviction, that religions which prompted and sanctioned, or at least did not condemn, deeds so pitiless, must be evil in their nature, and ought to be abhorred and renounced. We cannot say that this expectation has been verified, or that any large movement in the direction of Christianity has been apparent amidst the populations of the North-west Provinces. On the contrary, they seemed to be rapidly subsiding into the old monotony of heathen life, contented if only they might be permitted to be as their fathers had been before them; and, provided that the old routine remained undisturbed, and they might continue to buy and sell, to build and plant, to marry and give in marriage, and the seasons, following in their usual succession, afforded them the time to sow and the time to reap, prepared to worship at the same shrines, and serve the same idols which their forefathers had served. But He who reigns on high appears resolved that it shall

not be so. Three years He waited, but there was no sign of national repentance. At length He has smitten, and with a stroke to be remembered. The usual rains, of vital necessity to India, came not. Some three weeks there were during which early droppings invited the sower to go forth, but when the blade sprung up there was no moisture. On these our western lands the rain descended in unusual quantities, but the North-west Provinces of India, as well as some other districts, were left parched and dry. In vain the husbandman watched for the cloud in the far horizon not bigger than a man's hand, the harbinger of the welcome rain, but it came not. There are columns of heated air that, rising from the expanse of the Sahara, dispel the clouds, and keep that great African desert a rainless region. But in India there were reminiscences of crimes for which no remorse had been felt, no regret expressed; and all these rose on high and drove away the blessing. And now, over the very same districts where the mutiny raged, the famine rages, and they who once saw the anguish of their brother and would not hear, are themselves suppliants for mercy. Not less than two millions of people find themselves reduced to utter want. The fields that used to bear their harvests remain bare even of a blade of grass, and for eight months from the commencement of the dearth, this population remains to be fed, as children are fed who have no power of procuring for themselves the food they need, or else they must perish from off the face of the earth.

And now, like Joseph's brethren when they found themselves in unexpected trouble, and with difficulties thickening around them; when the old sin, long put aside, rose up from the grave where it had been buried, to haunt them as with spectral apparition, and they cried, "We are verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul when he besought us, and we would not hear; therefore is this distress come upon us,"—sensations, to which these people have hitherto been strangers, are beginning to be felt; and as the famine, followed by pestilence and death, lays waste the land, they make known to one another the deep-seated conviction of their hearts, that the souls of the innocents who were murdered at Cawnpore, Delhi, Shahjehanpore, and other places, have been crying out for vengeance on their murderers, and that their cries have at length been heard before the judgment-seat of God.

How changed is Delhi now! It had its time of ease and prosperity under English

rule. When, for instance, in 1820, the Company, having restored the canal and aqueduct, which, during the decline of the Mogul empire, had become neglected and choked up, the waters, as they approached the city, were greeted by the inhabitants, who threw garlands and sweetmeats into the stream, in token of welcome. Those were palmy days, when the Chandnee Chouk, with its fine canal of clear water, shaded by an avenue of trees running down the centre, was thronged by a busy crowd of all nations, some intent on business, and frequenters of the hardware, cloth, and pawn-shops, which lined on either hand the street; others, lazy and loitering, not knowing how to bestow their leisure; while ever and anon rushed by the suwarree of some nobleman, or the closely-curtained car containing some lady of the harem. Somewhat better than four years ago, a different scene was enacted there. Mutinous troops from Meerut had borne thither the torch of insurrection. The train had long been laid, and it only needed that it should be fired. The explosion was instant and terrific. An infuriated mob rushed through the streets, intent on the murder of all Feringhees. Some fell, ruthlessly butchered; others fled whither they could, without the walls and amidst the jungles, there to hide themselves from those whom they feared more than the beast of prey or venomous serpent. Some ladies fled to the imperial palace, and sought protection from the old Mogul. He might have put them into his zenana and saved them, but he did not do so; and there are to be seen the court-yard and the well, sheltered by a large tree, where they were murdered.

Lo! the scene again changes, and we have Delhi under the stroke of retribution. The horrors of the siege, and the storming of the strong high walls of masonry, defended by most formidable bastions and crenelated curtains, with a glacis covering three-fourths or more of their height, the fierce onslaught and the vain defence, these sufficed not. They were from man, the expressions of his anger. Something else was needed more solemn, because direct from God; and, lo, his dread judgments sit enthroned in the midst of Delhi! It is described with powerful and affecting reality in the following extract from the "Mofussilite" of February 26th—

"Sir Robert Montgomery visited the Relief Asylums at Delhi on Friday, the 22d, at mid-day, accompanied by the members of his staff, all the civil officers, and nearly all the members of the General Relief Committee. The Lieut.-Governor proceeded to visit the

asylums, and learn with his own eyes the confirmation of the reports he had received of the deep distress abroad. There are three great asylums at Delhi, outside the city; one at the Khoodsea Bagh, the original relief house, which admits only the most aged, infirm, and feeblest objects of compassion, as well as the latest arrivals, who are committed to the civil surgeon for treatment. In this there were some 800. The second place is the great enclosure of the Eedgah, in which from 6000 to 8000 receive a meal a-day. The third refuge is outside the Delhi gate, where from 3000 to 4000 assemble daily. This was visited first. Almost, if not entirely, middle-aged women, with sickly young children, formed the assemblage, of whom half were widows. The last pinches of want were not discernible here, as timely relief had been afforded, and had begun to tell. Brigadier Brown had formed the groups into regimental dispositions with great precision: no hurry, or noise, or confusion. All received their tickets, presented them at the door, obtained their meal-flour and salt, and went on their way, poor things, into their lonely, unfriended homes, to eke out their scanty day's meal, the next morning again to congregate at the same poor-house.

"After minutely inquiring into all details connected with the first section, so excellently organized and superintended by the Brigadier, the Lieut.-Governor proceeded to the Eedgah. As he came to the gates, a crowd of miserable objects yelled outside for admittance within the precincts. These had been excluded as being fit for work. The yells outside subsided as the gates were closed; and a melancholy scene presented itself. One-half of the enormous area was completely covered by wasted files of human beings. In every direction and in every posture of apathy, disease, despair, and prostration, were lying about the hollow-eyed wretched victims of the dreadful visitation, almost too far gone even to care to creep among the long rows of rags, squalor, and half-nakedness.

"Sir Robert paced slowly down the lines in amid almost unbroken and painful silence, pausing now and then before some gaunt and wan figure, to ask whence he came, to be answered only by mute gesture, or exhausted effort at articulation. Out of more than 6000, not one could be pointed out as fit for a quarter of an hour's ordinary work. It was painful enough to reflect, after viewing the remnants of human beings whom charity had reached, upon the thousands who must have been, and must be, perishing in the

highways and byways daily. The distribution of chupatties and dall to this gathering, takes four hours a-day. Lalla Mahesh Das aids largely out of his own purse in the support of these people; and Mr. O. Wood, Assistant-Commissioner, aids zealously in the charitable, but painful business of superintending the alleviation of so much human suffering. Each of the homeless beings, as they receive into their tattered shreds of garments their food, pass out through the wicket, to lie about and nestle among the rocks and stones until the next morning; not a few perhaps to die in the interim. Each has a wooden ticket bound round his right wrist, which he is not to remove. The men's tickets are oblong, the women's square, and the children's hexagon. Thus no one can present a stolen ticket, and get double food; nor can he possess more than one, as it is tied to his wrist; and by no other way of presentation, and at no other than at the appointed time, will the bearer be entitled to food that day. They enter until twelve A.M.; doors are then shut; they are mustered and inspected at one P.M., and food is distributed until all have received. Those fit for work are daily eliminated, and sent off to work, with passes. His Honour expressed himself completely satisfied with the arrangements; and after desiring that the rule should be relaxed this once, on the occasion of his visit, in favour of the vociferous crowd outside, passed on to the third and last central asylum. This is enlarged from the original poor-house which has always been in existence in Delhi. The peculiarity of the last-mentioned asylum at the Eedgah is, that hope is afforded that many will recover after a week or a fortnight, and pass out again fit to earn sustenance by daily labour. But at the Khoodsea Bagh it is almost past hope. Here death steps in, and relieves daily from eight to nine of their sufferings. The spectacle of human woe here exhibited surpassed all that can be written about it, and adequately justified the earnest appeals for aid, as well as the munificent responses to those appeals. With their skeleton shapes just covered by skin hanging in thick wrinkles, the famished are brought in, some to struggle into life, most to die from the mere effort at eating. The hideous and repulsive aspect of these cases is utterly lost in the unbounded sympathy felt, as well as the regret that more cannot be done to arrest the scythe of the destroyer. All the arrangements are admirably conducted by the respected Assistant of the Treasury, Mr. De Gruythers."

It is an opportune moment to render good

for evil, and thus avenge ourselves for the wrongs we have received. This is the revenge that is sweet, and it is the only revenge which a Christian knows—"if thine enemy hunger, feed him, if he thirst, give him drink, for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head." Our enemy does hunger. In the providence of God he is cast on our mercy: let us feed him. In so doing we shall best commend our Christianity, and bring it out in striking contrast with the bloodthirsty and grovelling superstitions of the people. We would have befriended them, and they hated us; they cruelly wronged us, and now we befriend them. In the season of our distress, Hinduism gave us treachery, and Mohammedanism, in its fierce bigotry and relentless hate, tore us in sunder. In the season of their distress, Christianity yields them pity and active help. This is being done largely and munificently. "Many hundred imploring beings in Delhi owe their lives to the humane and disinterested exertions of one who had to flee from the infuriated mob at the first mutiny, and for weeks suffered every privation and misery, with his family, in the jungle." Nor is this an isolated case. "In most of the places in the north-west, where, three years ago, English blood was treacherously and mercilessly shed, the poor of the land are fed and supported in thousands, at the expenditure of lacs of rupees, by the survivors of the very race whose extermination was attempted by treachery and assassination so short a time ago."

Who can estimate the importance of a crisis such as this, or the stupendous results of which it may be productive? "When Thy judgments are in the earth, the inhabitants of the world shall learn righteousness." His judgments are in the earth confessedly, unmistakeably, and why should not the people, in the school of tribulation, learn God's lesson? True, the dispensation is one of extreme severity, but it is because nothing less deeply afflictive would suffice. "I spake unto thee in thy prosperity, but thou saidst I will not hear;" and then, "How gracious shalt thou be when pangs come upon thee, the pain as of a woman in travail!" Men might bear the message of God's mercy, as brought to the nations, and they will not hear. What then remains? Shall they be let alone? This would be a decision of still greater severity. Nothing can be conceived so tremendous as when God resolves to leave a man to himself, and let him take his own way. To smite, to afflict, is with a view to initiate a process of recovery; to let a sinner alone is to abandon him to his fate, and withdraw

the restraining hand that would prevent him from casting himself over the precipice into the abyss beneath. An exceedingly dangerous case comes under the attention of a physician : he sees there is but one way of saving life ; it is by an operation of extreme severity. The patient must suffer keenly, but it is in this way only that life can be saved. Shall the physician forbear, and talk of mercy, and say, "I did not wish to inflict so great pain?" No ; that would be cruelty. He who would so act, at a crisis when not a moment is to be lost, would be regarded not as a merciful, but a cruel man ; while, on the other hand, the practitioner whose sense of duty and feelings of humanity combine to render him unflinching and determined in the fulfilment of his duty, is regarded as having saved life : his severity at such a time is concluded to be mercy, and his skill and compassion elicit the gratitude of the individual whom he has benefited.

So, then, it is with Him who, on the throne of his majesty in the heavens, administers the affairs of the church and of the world : it is in mercy that He does "his work, his strange work," and brings to "pass his act, his strange act," judgment.

We may refer again to China, as exemplifying, in its present condition, the same divine procedure. The Chinese, as a people, have met the Gospel message with profound indifference and contempt. Self-satisfied and supercilious, placed, as they consider themselves, on the apex of civilization, they have looked down on European modes of life, on our science and Christianity, and they have despised them. They are a peaceful and industrious, but an atheistic and conceited people. There is amongst them no realization of an eternal God, nor are they at all affected by considerations derivable from a future state. Their feeble perceptions in the direction of unseen things extend no further than the worship of their deceased ancestors, and even in this they have no other object in view than their prosperity on earth. As for religion, they have had that strange combination which their ancestors used, and which have been handed down to them. The speculative element, should they wish to indulge in this, is presented to them in the doctrines of Confucius, and the ceremonial of the state religion ; the marvellous and subtle abounds in the tenets of Laotze, and the sorcery and invocations of his followers ; while the sensual and hypocritical element flourishes under the patronage of Buddhism. But especially the worship of their ancestors prevails with them, and how could they think of departing from

the venerated exemplars whom they have deified, and under whose daily protection they consider themselves as placed? The worship of their ancestors is, after all, with the Chinese, a very business-like arrangement. They support the ghosts, and duly feed them, and, while this is done, the ghosts protect them ; else, if neglected, they become vindictive and troublesome.

Thus their superstitions suit the Chinese, and they want nothing more. If they are multiplied and expensive, yet they break the monotony of life ; if puerile, yet they do not interfere with them in their course of self-indulgence. A Chinese, in his prosperity and time of ease, has all the wants that he is sensible of, gratified, and looks upon a new religion, when presented to him, as an intrusion ; nay, more, when its spiritual character and its vivid realization of man's responsibility becomes apparent to him, he resents and dislikes it. Many proofs of this indisposition, on the part of the Chinese, as a people, to the truths and requirements of the Gospel, lie dispersed throughout the records of Missionaries. Medhurst embodies the self-complacent feelings of a Chinese, in the time of ease, in the following soliloquy—"I felicitate myself that I was born in China ; and constantly think how very different it would have been with me if born beyond the seas, in some remote part of the earth, where the people, deprived of the converting maxims of the ancient kings, and ignorant of the domestic relations, are clothed with the leaves of plants, eat wood, dwell in the wilderness, and live in holes in the earth. Though living in the world, in such a condition I should not have been different from the beasts of the field. But now, happily, I have been born in the middle kingdom ; I have a house to live in ; have food, drink, and elegant furniture ; clothing, caps, and infinite blessings : truly the highest of felicity is mine." "We have seen your books," said one of them to a Missionary, "and neither want nor approve of them, having abundance of instruction handed down from our great sages, which are far superior to any foreign doctrines you can bring." "Your sage," was the reply, "taught you the duties of human relations, while he said nothing about the Supreme Being or the life to come ; but Jesus, having descended from above, and risen from the dead, was able to give us every information about eternal and invisible things." "Nevertheless," said he, "we want not your books : there is the road : go." "You speak of Jesus as a Saviour," exclaimed another ;

"pray whom does He save?" "All who believe." "You talk of forgiveness of sins : shall I obtain the forgiveness of sins by reading this book?" "If you follow its directions, and believe in the holy Saviour, you will." "What will this Saviour bestow on those who trust in Him?" "He will take them to heaven." "Have you believed?" "I hope I have." "Has He taken you to heaven?" "I trust He will when I die." "Die! oh, you have to wait till death for all this. Give me present enjoyment : who cares what will happen after death, when consciousness ceases?" Thus, as will be seen in the above extracts, the self-complacent, sceptical, and sensual elements unite in the mind of the Chinese to indispose him to Christianity. "Pray allow me," said an illiterate Chinese labourer, "to ask you where is the seat of man's soul, and whether it be larger in an infant or a grown person?" And when the answer given him did not meet his sceptical views, he propounded another. "You see this table on which I am resting my arm? Pray tell me whether the wood of which it is composed is dead or alive?" And then, from this point he proceeded to open out his sceptical views. "In a short time this table will crumble into dust, and go again towards the formation of another tree, or something else in the vegetable world ; and so it is with all things, man not excepted. Man, the world, and all things, are unceasingly undergoing changes of a variety of kinds, yet never ceasing to exist, only assuming different forms : such as I am in substance now, such was I a thousand years ago, and such shall I be a thousand years hence. Hitherto I may have been a beast, a reptile, or a bird ; and hereafter I may exist in one or other of those species. But whatever I may have been, or may yet become, in substance I shall always continue the same. I shall never die. There is no such thing as death." With this materialistic immortality he was contented. There was no responsibility in it, and as it involved no personal identity, each succeeding phase of life being completely isolated from all reminiscences of the one which preceded it, it was a matter of indifference to him whether he became a beast, a bird, or a reptile. One more recent instance may be introduced as throwing light upon the aspect of the Chinese mind towards Christianity. Our native catechist, Bao, located at the city of Yü-yau, about forty or fifty miles from Ningpo, had sought out one of a rich family, who had retired from business, in which he had greatly prospered, and, in a neighbouring monastery, had given himself up to the work of chanting

prayers, and preparing for a future life. He addressed him on the great subject of the true religion of God, to which he desired him to direct his attention, instead of expending his time on that which could not profit. The man's reply was prompt. "It is unnecessary for you to say more on the subject : you have your doctrines, I have mine. Our religions differ." Thus saying, he resumed his chanting. Bao ventured again to solicit his attention. "The true religion, honoured Sir, is but one : the way of reaching heaven is only by believing in Jesus." Again he replied, "Please say no more on this subject : the religion that has been handed down to us for a long series of years must be true. It is unnecessary to continue our conversation. Good morning." Bao then pleaded an acquaintance with his brother, by whom he had been asked to call upon him. "If," said the impenetrable idolater, "you wish to say any thing more on the subject of religion, I must decidedly refuse to hear you ; but if you have any thing else to say, I have abundance of time to devote to you." A small book was then offered him. "I'll have none of it, I'll have none of it," was his only answer.

We are quite aware that in every quarter difficulties present themselves, and that in no one instance is the human mind naturally disposed to the reception of the Gospel. We are aware, also, that there is no form of difficulty with which the Gospel of Christ is not able to contend, and thus to prove that it is "the power of God to salvation to every one that believeth." On the coast of China this has been done, although on a limited scale ; and at Ningpo a band of native converts reverences the name of Jesus, and seeks to do Him service. But the field of operation is vast, time is rapidly passing, and souls are perishing. The Chinese, at his ease and in prosperity, is less accessible than in the season of trouble, when his earthly heaven is broken up, and he is drifting along on the turbid ocean of despair, not knowing whither. Then he looks for help, and knows not where to find it.

Trouble is come upon the land of Sinim ! It is confounded and broken down : judgment is come upon the plain country. The Taepings first excited the solicitude of the Imperial Government in 1850. Gathering strength in Kwan-se, they burst into Hoonan, and from thence advancing, city after city falling before them, they appeared before Nankin March 8, 1853. Effecting a breach by springing a mine, they stormed the walls, and, penetrating into the inner, or imperial

city, occupied by the hereditary garrison of Tartar bannermen and their families, put them to the sword, not more than a hundred escaping out of a population of 20,000. At the end of 1853, Lord Elgin's mission found the Taepings in possession of every place of importance along the Yang-tse-kiang, from Nankin, the capital of Ngan-hwui, down to Nankin, the capital of Kiang-su. Nankin is the great centre, the heavenly capital, and the residence of the heavenly prince and his court. On this they fall back to recruit and gather force, and from this burst forth in floods of invasion on the surrounding countries. If, having once overrun a province, they permanized their conquest, and brought the population under a settled system of government, the evils of this remarkable era in the history of China would be less overwhelming. But this is not so. In the spring of 1853 they occupied Woo-chang, the capital of Hoo-peh, with the contiguous cities Han-yang and Han-kow, lying opposite it on the great river, and, after holding them for three months, retired to Nankin. About the end of 1854, the imperialist generals were enabled to announce the clearance of the two provinces, Hoo-peh and Hoo nan. Yet scarcely had the Emperor time to congratulate himself on this satisfactory intelligence, when, in February 1855, the Taepings again flooded out from Nankin, and, re-occupying Han-kow, stormed Woo-chang, the imperial governor-general falling in the conflict. These fluctuations increase immeasurably the disasters of the period. The imperialists, coming in so soon as the Taepings retire, punish the inhabitants of the districts for permitting them to be there, plundering them of every thing which the Taepings had not carried away with them, and slaughtering the unfortunate neutrals as rebels.

At length a strong imperial force was moved in the direction of Nankin, and in December 1858 the investment of that city was said to be complete, and the overthrow of the Taeping usurpation pronounced to be at hand. Imperial junks occupied the river, and a many-bannered host spread over the hills. But a year and a half passed over and no decisive blow was struck. The Taepings, although they had lost Chin-kiang, remained masters of Pu-k'au, on the north bank of the great river opposite Nankin, and their communications with their brethren in Ngan-hwui remained open. Gradually reinforced by them, in the beginning of last year they made an effectual sortie, undoing the work of several months' blockade, and inflicting fearful punishment on the people of Kù-yung

and Lih-shwui, two district towns on the sources of the Tain-hwai, for their share in the work of circumvallation. Overthrowing the imperialist generals, who in vain endeavoured to stem the torrent, they flooded over the districts of Lih-shwui, Kintan, Tanyang, and I-hing, on the east of the Tai-hu lake. Soo-chow, on the west side, now trembled. In size and riches Soo-chow surpassed Nankin. The city proper occupying an area of ten miles within the walls, with its four immense suburbs, contained a population of two millions. Situated on the islands of the great lake, it was intersected by so many canals and streams that it was difficult to say whether land or water abounded most. The environs were highly cultivated, producing cotton, silk, rice, wheat, fruits, and vegetables. In the estimation of the Chinese it was one of their most beautiful and richest cities, so that, according to the national proverb, "To be happy on earth one must be born in Soo-chow, live in Canton, and die in Liau-chau;" for in the first are the handsomest people, in the second the richest luxuries, and in the third the best coffins. The reputation was high for "the splendour of its buildings, the elegance of its tombs, the picturesque scenery of its waters and gardens, the politeness and intelligence of its inhabitants, and the beauty of its women." Its manufactures of silk and cotton fabrics, and works in iron, ivory, wood, horn, glass, lackered-ware, paper, and other articles, were the chief sources of its wealth and prosperity.

Soo-chow being threatened, defensive measures were adopted. The suburbs were ordered to be destroyed, three days being allowed to the inhabitants to remove their property: at the expiration of that time the whole of the suburban buildings were committed to the flames. But Hang-chow was to be the first smitten. This city, the capital of Che-keang, rivalled Soo-chow in public estimation, and both were extolled in the Chinese proverb, *Shang yu tien tang*: "*Hia yu su Hang*," the purport of which is, Hang-chow and Soo-chow are fully equal to paradise.* It was visited in 1858 by the Bishop of Victoria. "We were borne nearly two miles through some very fine streets, abounding with well-stored shops, into the suburb which formed the shore of the magnificent lake." On this lake, in a pleasure-barge prepared for their accommodation, the Bishop and his family passed several days. Around lay a panorama of interesting objects, "beautiful temples, dilapidated pa-

* Vide "C. M. Intell." Dec. 1860, p. 279.

godas, the country-houses of the wealthy, a few pack-houses and stores of the more opulent merchants, ancestral temples, ancient tombs and monumental arches, long rows of temporary resting-places for depositing the coffins containing the bodies of individuals who had died at a distance from their own native district, villages and gardens scattered over the undulating hill-sides." Hang-chow was then wholly at ease and quiet. "The city gentry and wealthy traders were continually meeting us on the shore, or passing us in their boats, attracted hither by the romantic beauty of the scenery, or influenced by a pious reverence for the tutelary deities of the various shrines." Yes, idolatry presided, and the idols received the homage that belonged to God alone: "they worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator, who is God over all, blessed for ever." And now "in the city is left desolation, and the gate is smitten with destruction." The Taepings burst upon it like a thunder-storm and captured the outer city, the Tartar garrison retiring within the inner city. They remained only a few days, retreating on the approach of heavy imperialist reinforcements, but, within that brief period, the loss of life and property had been immense. For miles, before reaching the walls, isolated cases of incendiarism may be observed in the northern suburb. These become more frequent and considerable as the city is approached; while in the immediate vicinity destruction has had her perfect work, and centres of trade and opulence are left desolate. As at Soo-chow, this was probably more the work of the imperialists than of the Taepings. "On entering the eastern gate facing the lake, the scene that meets the view is no less distressing: street after street may be traversed for miles with no sign of business but some vendors of eatables on a small scale. Looking down from the top of the Pa-kua hill, within the city, the debris of the recent conflagrations are observable all around, and, where such is not the case, streets are deserted by their former tenants; the wealthy have fled for the security of life and property, and the large emporiums of commerce have closed doors. The Ching hwang meau, and many other of the temples, have been especially devoted to destruction. The venerable Mohammedan mosque, with its conspicuous and stately tower, although visited by the insurgents, is left undamaged, probably because it contains no vestige of idolatry." The famous picturesque temples, on the borders of the lake, have been partially visited also, but destruction there has

been confined to the demolition of some of the idols, which, in several instances, have been reduced to the primitive elements of clay and timber." Knocking off the noses of the idols has been a favourite pastime with the Taepings, "so that, in some of the temples, every one of the figures is deficient of that organ."

The loss of life during the few days of conflict has been from 50,000 to 70,000. The swords of the Taepings and imperialists have, no doubt, helped to cut down this harvest of death, but a large measure of it has been suicidal. No people become more reckless and desperate, under the pressure of sudden calamity, than the Chinese. They have nothing to sustain them: life becomes intolerable, and they rush to self-destruction as an escape and refuge.

The Taepings, compelled to abandon Hang-chow, next directed their steps towards Soo-chow. Already had that city grievously suffered. The defeated imperialists, flying thither before the Taepings, committed great atrocities. The committee of gentry, men of official rank, &c., attempting to protect the population, were set upon by the imperialist general, Chang-yuh-hang, and some of them put to death. Oppressed to death by these calamities, Su, the governor, destroyed himself. The panic-struck population, seeing the storm about to break upon them, hastened to escape, flying to the country districts in great numbers. From this and other threatened points an exodus commenced, the inhabitants removing, with all possible expedition, their families and furniture. About this time, when Soo-chow and the surrounding districts were in a panic at the near approach of the Taepings, H.M.S. "Nimrod," and H.I.M. gun-boat "Mitraille," visited Sung-hiang-fu, about thirty miles from Shanghai. The greater part of the shops were closed, and even the presence of foreigners was insufficient to bring together a crowd. The dejected appearance of the elder members of families, as they sat in open boats, exposed to the rain which was falling, was most painful to witness.

The Taepings, on reaching Soo-chow, met no resistance; the imperialist soldiers either joined them or fled. Ho-chun, the imperialist general, who had already been defeated before the walls of Nankin, with the loss of all his guns and stores, was at Hu-shu, an important custom-house barrier, a short distance to the north of Soo-chow, but seeing that every one was disheartened, and the situation desperate, he put an end to himself before the crisis came.

Since its occupation by the Taepings, Soochow has been frequently visited by Missionaries from Shanghai. One journal of such an expedition, and of an interview with the Kan-wang, drawn up by our Missionary, the Rev. J. S. Burdon, and dated September last, was published in our Number for December. The affliction of the population as they passed along is vividly described in that document. "It was heartrending to see the misery of the people. They spoke very earnestly against being thus treated. They said it did not matter to them who held the empire, but the struggle for it should surely be confined to the contending parties, and not be made the means of bringing such miseries on the people."

Soo-chow presented the appearance of an humbled and wasted city, on which the stroke of calamity had fallen heavily, the streets being deserted, many of the houses ruined, and broken household furniture lying about in all directions. Dead bodies offended the eye, or, if hidden under the ruined vestiges of domestic life, tainted the air.

We are glad to find that the foreign merchants at Shanghai have subscribed about ten thousand dollars for the purpose of relieving the wretched families who have been driven from their homes : a considerable number of them had reached Shanghai. People are afraid of receiving them into their houses, lest they should be suspected of harbouring suspicious characters, and thus these poor wanderers suffer much because the little sheds where they put up are not weather-proof.

Truly heavy tribulations have inundated China. The judgment stroke has fallen upon its idolatry. The Taepings desecrate the temples and break the idols, who can neither defend themselves nor those who trust in them. The judgment-stroke has fallen on the self-complacency of China. The ease and luxuriousness of the Chinese gentry are at an end : their pleasant homes are broken up, and numbers of them are wanderers, they know not whither. They find no ease, neither has the sole of their foot rest, but there has come upon them a trembling of heart, and failing of eyes, and sorrow of mind, and their life hangs in doubt before them, and they have fear day and night, and have none assurance of their life ; and the judgment-stroke has

fallen upon the atheism of China, for its hideous results are seen in the oft-perpetrated crime of suicide. When the troubles of life invade us, those sudden inundations to which we are all liable, sceptical opinions afford no support in the midst of such deep waters.

It is the time of China's sorrow, but it is a time in which she may be found willing, as she never was before, to give heed to the Christian evangelist. It is the opportune moment for effort. We should be found upon the spot, and that in sufficient numbers to take advantage of this crisis. Who are they that are willing to be found co-operators with God in the mighty work of China's regeneration ? "If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto death, and those that are ready to be slain ; if thou sayest, Behold, we knew it not, doth not He that pondereth the heart consider it ? and He that keepeth thy soul, doth not He know it ? and shall not He render to every man according to his works ?" The Lord wants labourers for China, and that instantly. Are there none amongst us under such obligations to Him as to induce them to say, "Here am I, send me ?" Are there none whose souls He has redeemed from evil, and whom He is daily keeping from the evil, and shall they hesitate to respond to the Lord's demand, that China may have succour ?

We have not exhausted our subject, but we have not space. In other directions the same specialities of God's providence may be traced. Over other lands, where the testimony of the Gospel has been made known, but not honoured as it should be, dark clouds have gathered ; the horizon is obscured ; the thunder peal, with a crash, breaks the ominous pause, and the vivid lightning gleams forth. But we forbear. We should be led beyond the precincts of the Mission fields. But God's judgments are in the earth. A cyclone of tribulation seems to be going forth on its solemn mission among the nations. Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, "Behold, evil shall go forth from nation to nation, and a great whirlwind shall be raised up from the coasts of the earth." Shall Europe be passed over ? And if America and Europe are in trouble, shall England be spared ? Let us be found doing the Lord's work, and, whatever betides, He will not fail us.

MISSIONARY WORK IN THE ASSINIBOINE AND SASKATCHEWAN DISTRICTS, RED RIVER.

IN our last Number we placed before our readers a sketch of the physical features of the Red-River colony. Before we travel westward, and, in the light of the new information which has reached us, traverse the prairies and the region of the Saskatchewan, we shall dwell for a brief period on the state of religion at the Red River, and the general condition of its population. We wish to ascertain how far it is fitted to sustain without injury the altered circumstances into which it is about to be introduced, and, amidst the inrush of an emigrant population, to act as a centre of Christian light and truth. The past history is familiar to our readers, and it is not necessary we should dwell upon it.

There are three distinct elements of population—Europeans or Canadians, half-breeds, and natives. The mixed-blood element is the increasing one; the others, the two extremes of pure native or pure European blood, appear rather to decrease. That the natives have done so to a great extent is a notorious fact, although we believe that Christianity, wherever the Indian race is brought under its power, arrests the depopulating tendency, and gradually restores the original law, "increase and multiply." But the statistics of 1849 and 1856, when compared, exhibit a decrease in the European element also. The importance of the half-breed element of population, its valuable qualities, and peculiar dangers, are brought out very tangibly in the following extract from Professor Hind's narrative—

"The half-breeds of the north-west are a race endowed with some remarkable qualities, which they derive in great part from their Indian descent, but softened and improved by the admixture of the European element. It is, however, much to be regretted, that, from the singular necessities of their position, many of them are fast subsiding into the primitive Indian state: naturally improvident, and perhaps indolent, they prefer the wild life of the prairies to the tamer duties of a settled home: this is the character of many, but it belongs more to those of French descent than of Scotch or English origin.

"About the 15th of June they start for their summer hunt of the buffalo. There are now two distinct bands of buffalo-hunters, one being those of Red River, the other of the White Horse Plain, on the Assiniboine. Formerly these bands were united, but,

owing to a difference which sprung up between them, they now maintain a separate organization, and proceed to different hunting-grounds. The Red-River hunters go to the Coteau de Missouri, and even as far as the Yellow Stone River; the White-Horse-Plain settlers generally hunt west of the Souris River, and between the branches of the Saskatchewan, but also over the same grounds as their Red-River brethren.

"The improvidence of many of the half-breeds is remarkable. During the winter before the last, those of the White Horse Plain camped out on the distant prairies, and killed many thousand buffalo in wanton revelry, taking only their skins and tongues, little caring that the reckless destruction of these animals must exercise a very important change for the worse in their own condition. As the buffalo diminish and go farther away towards the Rocky Mountains, the half-breeds are compelled to travel much greater distances in search of them, and consume more time in the hunt: it necessarily follows that they have less time to devote to farming, and many of them can be regarded in no other light than men slowly subjecting themselves to a process of degradation, by which they approach nearer and nearer to Indian habits and character, refusing to adopt or relinquishing the tame pursuit of agriculture, for the wild excitement and precarious independence of a hunter's life. The fascination of a camp in the high prairies, compared with the hitherto almost hopeless monotony of the farms of Red River, can easily be understood by those who have tasted the careless freedom of prairie life. I was often told that the half-breeds generally sigh for the hunting season when in the settlements, and form but a feeble attachment to a permanent home, which cannot offer to the majority a comfortable maintenance under present circumstances, or secure the consciousness of possessing a free and manly spirit, with rational aspirations and hopes.

"But few simple aids are required at Red River to ameliorate and vastly improve the condition of the more improvident and careless half-breeds. They frequently bring in a large quantity of buffalo meat or robes to the trading posts, and receive a considerable sum of money in exchange, or, if they insist upon it, a certain quantity of rum. The money is spent at once in simple necessities, dress, and ornaments. The establishment of a savings'

bank would have an excellent effect, and doubtless become the source of much permanent good.

"There are several hundred half-breeds who, like their ancestors, pass their lives in the prairies, visiting the settlements occasionally, according as they may be in want of ammunition or clothing. It is impossible to arrive at an accurate estimate of their numbers, but there is no doubt that, collectively, they form a numerous and influential body.

"The half-breed hunters, with their splendid organization when on the prairies; their matchless power of providing themselves with all necessary wants for many months together, and now, since a trade with the Americans has sprung up, if they should choose, for years; their perfect knowledge of the country, and their full appreciation and enjoyment of a home in the prairie wilds during winter or summer, would render them a very formidable enemy in case of disturbance or open rebellion against constituted authorities. The half-breed hunters of Red River could pass into the open prairies at a day's notice, and find themselves perfectly at home and secure, where men, not accustomed to such a life, would soon become powerless against them, and exposed to continual peril.

"The causes which have led to the present condition and prospects of this people are truly a painful subject. It is one which cannot escape the attention and care of philanthropists. Men will inquire how it is that a race, giving evidence of admirable discipline, self-government, and courage, when in the open prairies, should subside into indifferent and indolent husbandmen when in the settlements. Considered as the native population of Red River, how is it, it will be asked, that so few among the many have succeeded, in the course of years, in acquiring comfortable homesteads, and well-stocked granaries and farm-yards? and why has the European and Canadian element disappeared? The chances of nearly all have been equal; land of admirable fertility everywhere surrounds them, with unsurpassed advantages for rearing horses, cattle, and sheep, yet little or no progress has been made; and in respect of sheep, which might soon, in a measure, supply the place of the buffalo, a serious diminution in numbers has taken place. It is true that, within the last few years, many hundred head of cattle have been driven across the prairies of Minnesota to St. Paul, and sold well there. But this new export trade should have given encouragement to raising stock; yet stock, with unlimited pasture, is dimi-

nishing. The distant hunt consumes the time which might be given to far more profitable home industry, and those who really enjoy a settled life, and know the advantages which industry confers, from experience gained in Canada or Europe, leave the country and seek their fortunes elsewhere."*

The medium position which this race occupies, of itself invests them with great importance. The affinity of the half-breeds with the native races fits them for special usefulness, provided that they retain the energy of their European parentage, and, under the controlling influence of Christian principle, know how to use it for good; otherwise, they will sink into the habits of the native races, and prove an hindrance and obstruction, rather than an advantage. They require, therefore, special attention. And the Church Missionary Society, in the occupation of St. Andrew's, is favourably situated for such an enterprise. St. Andrew's church, the largest Protestant church in the Red-River Settlement, is a substantial stone structure, capable of accommodating 1200 persons. The parish minister is a Missionary of the Church Missionary Society, and has under his charge a Protestant population superior to that of any of the other districts, there being 206 Protestant and only eight Romanist families. From this, then, as a centre, well-organized efforts may be put forth for the amelioration of the half-breed race.

It is singular, that in a religious point of view, as well as ethnologically, the population of the Red-River district admits of a triple classification, viz. Scriptural Christianity, Heathenism, and the hybrid Romanism. Of the latter it may with truth be said that its main element is heathenism; the apparent and surface-element, Christianity. Its converts, therefore, are only nominally Christian, the old heathen principle of an erroneous and divided religious dependence, under new forms, retaining its ascendancy over them, and excluding simplicity of faith in "one God, and one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus." But under the influence of Romish teaching there is a new direction given it. It is rendered more decidedly hostile to pure Christianity; and thus the real conversion to God of these Romanized Indians is more difficult than in the case of the heathen.

The centre of Romish action in these regions is the cathedral of St. Boniface, near Fort Garry, a pretentious structure, glorying

* Hind's Narrative, &c., vol. i. pp. 179—182.

in two tin spires 100 feet high, and capable of containing 1500 persons. From this point Missions are put forth, not in the immediate vicinity of the settlement—the Indians in the neighbourhood of the white man being considered as too degraded to be benefited by Romish Missions—but in the interior. There are five points indicated—the Lake St. Anne Mission, fifty miles west of Fort Edmonton, the headquarters of the Saskatchewan district; the Mission of Notre Dame des Victoires, at the Red-Deer Lake; the St. John Baptist Mission at the Ile-à-la-Crosse, in the English-River district; the Mission of the Nativity, at Lake Athabasca; and that of St. Joseph, on the Great Slave Lake. The number of Missionary priests is stated to be sixteen or seventeen.

The Church Missionary Society, operating from its centre at the Red River, has, exclusive of St. Andrew's, twelve stations throughout the vast regions of Rupert's Land, occupied by fifteen Missionaries, two of whom are native, and one country-born, besides two European schoolmasters, and twenty-one native and country-born teachers. We shall introduce some notices of these as sketched by Professor Hind. And, first, the Indian Settlement between the Red River colony and Lake Winnipeg—

"The church at the Indian Settlement is a new and spacious building of stone, with a wall of the same material enclosing the churchyard, in which is a wooden schoolhouse, where I saw about fifty Ojibway Indian young men, young women, and children receiving instruction from the Rev. A. Cowley, Mrs. Cowley, and a native schoolmaster. The young Indian women read the Testament in soft, low voices, but with ease and intelligence. During service (Sunday, October 4th, 1857) the church was about three-fourths full. The congregation appeared to be exclusively Indian: in their behaviour they were most decorous and attentive. The singing was very sweet, and all the forms of the service appeared to be understood, and practised quietly and in order by the dusky worshippers. A seraphine was played by Mrs. Cowley to accompany the singers: the responses were well and exactly made, and the utmost attention was given to the sermon. The prayers were read in English, the lessons in Ojibway, and the sermon was delivered in Cree. After service, an Indian child, neatly dressed in white, was baptized. A few of the women and girls wore bonnets, but the greater number drew their shawls over their head.

"The minister and part of the congregation suffer under the mutual disadvantage of

being separated by the river. The settlement is chiefly on the left, the church, school, and parsonage on the right bank of the river. A good ferry, which will probably soon be procured, would enable the congregation to cross with ease. The Rev. Mr. Cowley enjoys no sinecure; he is not only Missionary, but the doctor, magistrate, and arbitrator of the settlement. During my short visit of a day and a half he was sent for three times to visit sick children; and he says, that when the Indians require his services during the night, they come into the parsonage, the door of which is never locked, and tap gently at the stove-pipe which passes from the sitting-room into his bed-room above, to arouse him. They agreed among themselves that they would adopt this novel kind of night bell, and he has never known them endeavour to call him, after retiring to rest, in any other way: they open the outer door, and steal, without the slightest noise, in the darkest night, to the well-known stove-pipe, give two or three low Indian taps, and quietly await the result. . . .

"Next to the Indian Settlement, Prairie Portage is the most interesting illustration of a Christian settlement, in a wilderness still inhabited by roving bands of Indians, who, as of old, occupy themselves in barbarous warfare, hunt for daily food, or submit, with abject humility, to the conjuror's malignant influence. Prairie Portage owes its existence to the untiring energy and undaunted zeal of Archdeacon Cockran. The church, at this most westerly limit of civilization in the Far West, is constructed of wood, and contains twenty-five or thirty very substantial family seats, but is capable of holding three times that number: each seat is manufactured by the owner, according to a pattern supplied by the archdeacon. The congregation was composed of Plain and Swampy Cree Indians and half-breeds: one Plain Cree woman's home was three hundred miles to the west: she was a fine specimen of the race, and neatly habited in the dress of the half-breeds. Near the door of the church, inside the building, a number of heathen Indians from the prairies stationed themselves to indulge their curiosity: they squatted on the floor, remaining quiet and grave, and conducted themselves with the utmost propriety during the service. They were Plain Crees, followers of the buffalo-hunters, with whom they had lately arrived from the high prairies: some were clothed in dressed skins, others robed in blankets, with head and neck decorations, and one young heathen girl, wild, and almost beauti-

ful, triumphed in a robe of scarlet military cloth. Who can say what benign influence the sight of Christian worshippers may have upon many of these savage children of the prairies, who saunter in during the services of the church, and, with characteristic decorum, always maintain a respectful demeanour, and a grave and earnest look ?*

"Fairford is very prettily situated on the banks of Partridge-Crop River (a continuation of the Little Saskatchewan), about two miles from Lake Manitoba. The banks are here about twenty feet high, and show alluvial clay with boulders ; but a short distance in the rear of the river the limestone approaches the surface, and is covered with eight or ten inches of vegetable mould. Although the appearance of the country is attractive, the shallowness of the soil will not permit of extensive agricultural operations. The dip of the rock is towards the south-west, but at so small an angle as to be almost imperceptible, except when a surface of several square yards is exposed. Fossils are few in number and obscure : the limestone breaks up into thin slabs, being very compact and hard.

"We attended evening prayers in an excellent schoolhouse, which serves the purpose of a chapel. There were forty persons present, consisting of Indians and half-breeds. The service comprised a hymn and a chapter from the New Testament, respectively sung and read in the Ojibway language, an exposition of the chapter by means of an interpreter, and a concluding prayer. The Lord's Prayer was repeated aloud, in Ojibway, by the whole congregation.

"There are one hundred and twenty Christians, adults and children, at this Mission. The houses, fifteen in number, are neat, comfortable, and in excellent order, and several new dwellings are in process of erection. The appearance of this Mission is very promising, and in every way most creditable to the unceasing labours of the zealous Missionary, the Rev. Mr. Stagg. . . . The farm at the Mission is in capital order ; and although the area adapted for cultivation is not likely to induce the establishment of a large settlement, yet Fairford will become an important centre. We were supplied with potatoes, onions, turnips, fresh bread, and butter, and otherwise most hospitably entertained, by Mr. and Mrs. Stagg.†

"The Pas, or Cumberland Station, is situated at the confluence of the Saskatche-

wan and the Basquia River, a tributary about three chains wide at its mouth.

"Christ Church is a neat and rather imposing edifice, and it seemed like getting back to civilization again, after all our wayfaring, when, on rounding one of the majestic sweeps of the river, the pretty white church, surrounded by farmhouses and fields of waving grain, burst unexpectedly upon our view. It was on a calm summer's evening, and the spire was mirrored in the gliding river, and gilt by the last rays of the setting sun.

"The church is situated on the right or south bank of the river : near it is the parsonage, a large and commodious building, occupied by the Rev. E. A. Watkins.*

"The Nepowewin Mission is situated on the north bank of the Saskatchewan, opposite to Fort à la Corne.

"The Rev. Henry Budd, the native resident Missionary, was ordained priest in 1853, at Cumberland Station, near the mouth of the Basquia River. He had long laboured at this Missionary outpost as a catechist. So early as 1840 he set out for Red-River Settlement, to make preparations for erecting a church and establishing a station at the mouth of the Basquia. In 1852, Mr. Budd started from Christ Church, Cumberland Station, for the Nepowewin, where he commenced to clear a small piece of ground on the river bank, opposite to Fort à la Corne, for the erection of Missionary buildings. The name Nepowewin is derived from an Indian expression signifying 'the standing-place,' where the natives are accustomed to await the arrival of the Hudson's-Bay Company's boats, as they are tracked up the north side of the river. Mr. Budd's house, garden, and little farm is a pattern of neatness, order, and comfort."†

A new Mission has been formed at the Qu'appelle Valley, west of the Assiniboine, with more immediate reference to the evangelization of the Plain Crees, a race in rapid diminution, and which, unless Christianity interposes to save them, must, before another generation, disappear. On the high banks of the Qu'appelle Valley, "the remains of ancient encampments, in the form of rings of stones to hold down the skin tents, are everywhere visible, and testify to the former numbers of the Plain Crees, affording a sad evidence of the ancient power of the people who once held undisputed sway from the Missouri to the Saskatchewan."

The Plain Crees vary the monotony of

* Hind's Narrative, vol. i. pp. 200—205.

† Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 32—38.

* Hind's Narrative, vol. i. p. 453.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 399.

their heathen life by hunting the buffalo and in war-trails against the Sioux and Blackfeet.

A pound for entrapping buffalos is a circular fence about 120 feet broad, "constructed of the trunks of trees, laced together with withes, and braced by outside supports." From this, bushes are arranged in two diverging rows, extending some four miles into the prairie. These bushes are called "dead men," and serve to guide the buffalos in their mad career towards the fatal ring. These rows, from an intervening distance of from one to two miles, narrow to fifty paces at the entrance into the pound.

"When the skilled hunters are about to bring in a herd of buffalo from the prairie, they direct the course of the gallop of the alarmed animals by confederates stationed in hollows or small depressions, who, when the buffalo appear inclined to take a direction leading from the space marked out by the 'dead men,' show themselves for a moment and wave their robes, immediately hiding again. This serves to turn the buffalo slightly in another direction, and when the animals, having arrived between the rows of 'dead men,' endeavour to pass through them, Indians, here and there stationed behind a 'dead man,' go through the same operation, and thus keep the animals within the narrowing limits of the converging lines. At the entrance to the pound there is a strong trunk of a tree placed about one foot from the ground, and on the inner side an excavation is made sufficiently deep to prevent the buffalo from leaping back when once in the pound. As soon as the animals have taken the fatal spring they begin to gallop round and round the ring-fence, looking for a chance of escape, but, with the utmost silence, women and children on the outside hold their robes before every orifice until the whole herd is brought in: they then climb to the top of the fence, and, with the hunters who have followed closely in the rear of the buffalo, spear or shoot, with bows and arrows or fire-arms, at the bewildered animals, rapidly becoming frantic with rage and terror, within the narrow limits of the pound. A dreadful scene of confusion and slaughter then begins: the oldest and strongest animals crush and toes the weaker; the shouts and screams of the excited Indians rise above the roaring of the bulls, the bellowing of the cows, and the piteous moaning of the calves. The dying struggles of so many huge and powerful animals crowded together create a revolting and terrible scene, dreadful from the excess of its cruelty and waste of life, but with occasional displays of wonderful brute strength

and rage; while man, in his savage, untutored, and heathen state, shows, both in deed and expression, how little he is superior to the noble beasts he so wantonly and cruelly destroys."*

Of the bloody strifes between Crees and Sioux, sad memorials abound throughout these regions. They may be seen in the Sioux scalps, ornamented with beads, bits of cloth, coloured ribbons, and strips of leather, which are planted beside the secluded Ojibway graves on the banks of the Red River.

"The great chief of the Plain Crees is styled 'the Fox:' he is held in high estimation by all the Plain Indians with whom he comes in contact, either in peace or war. He is dreaded by the Sioux, the Blackfeet, the Bloodies, the Fall Indians, the Assiniboines, and the tribes who occasionally hunt on the Grand Coteau de Missouri and the south branch of the Saskatchewan.*

"The barbarous and cruel treatment of prisoners, so often described in narratives of Indian warfare, is common even now in the prairies south of the Qu'appelle and the Assiniboine. On that part of the Red River which lies in the State of Minnesota, Indian warfare, with all its horrors, is constantly carried on between the Ojibways and Sioux.

"Not a year passes without the loss of several Red-River half-breeds by the scalping-knife of the Sioux; and, as was the case in the autumn of 1858, quite close to the settlement of St. Joseph, near the boundary line, about thirty miles west of Red River. When a prisoner is taken, the Sioux sometimes adopt a terrible mode of death during the summer season. They have been known to strip a half-breed, tie him to a stake on the borders of a marsh in the prairie, and leave him exposed to the attacks of millions of mosquitoes, without being able to move any part of the body. When the agony of fever and the torment of thirst come upon him, they leave him to die a dreadful, lingering death with water at his feet, and buzzards hovering and circling around him in greedy expectation."†

These dark heathen are the prey of gloomy superstitions, and live in constant dread of evil spirits. Offerings to manito, or fairies, are frequently to be met, suspended on branches of trees, consisting of "cloth, strings

* Hind's Narrative, vol. i. p. 358.

† *Vide* Frontispiece.

‡ Hind's Narrative, vol. i. p. 126.

of beads, shreds of painted buffalo-hide, bears' teeth and claws," &c.

"There are many places on Lake Winnipeg and Manitoba which the Indians who hunt and live on the shores of those inland seas dare not visit. There is scarcely a cave or headland which has not some legend attached to it, familiar to all the wanderers on these coasts.

"On the west side of Lake Winnipeg, in the long, dark, and gloomy chambers formed by fissures in the limestone, bad spirits are supposed to dwell, according to the belief of the Indians who hunt on the coast, and he would be a powerful charmer who could induce a heathen Indian to approach, much less enter, the abodes of these imaginary manitos. . . .

"The able and zealous Missionary at the Indian Settlement, Red River, the Rev. A. Cowley, has had sad experience of the gross superstitions which darken the intellect of the Ojibways of Lake Manitoba. In 1842 he proceeded to what appeared to be a promising station on the shores of this lake, where he had an opportunity of observing some remarkable instances of heathen faith in dreams and charms. Mr. Cowley writes—'One day I saw something hanging on a tree, and went to look at it. It consisted of twenty small rods, peeled, and painted red and black, and fastened together on a plane, with cords of bark. A piece of tobacco was placed between the tenth and eleventh rods, and the whole was suspended perpendicularly from a branch of the tree. It belonged to the old chief, who told me that when he was a young man he lay down to dream, and that in his dream the moon spoke to him, and told him to make this charm, and to renew it every new moon, that he might have a long life. He had regularly done so ever since, till the preceding summer, when he almost forgot it, and was taken so ill as to be near dying; but he remembered it, his friends did it for him, and he recovered.'

"Sacrifices and offerings are of a very frequent occurrence among the Indians of the Saskatchewan Valley. The customary offering consists of two, three, and sometimes five dogs. At the mouth of Qu'appelle River, an Indian, in June 1858, set his net and caught a large fish of a kind different to any with which he was familiar: he immediately pronounced it to be a manito, and, carefully restoring it to the water again, at once sacrificed five valuable dogs to appease the anger of the supposed fairy. On approaching Long Lake, an arm of the Qu'appelle River Valley,

the Crees warned us not to visit the lake by night, as it was full of devils. They told me very extraordinary tales, which are too absurd to be worth relating, of the dimensions and power of these devils, and they appeared to live in awe and terror of them."*

It is on behalf of these unhappy and perishing tribes that Missionary efforts have been put forth by the Church Missionary Society, as well as, although on a lesser scale, by the Wesleyan Missionary Society; this latter Society having three stations in these regions, at Norway House, Oxford House, and Edmonton. But increased efforts are requisite, as the process of depopulation is advancing with great rapidity. From whence is this increased effort to come? There are some observations of the Professor's bearing on this point, which we introduce just as we find them.

"A very short stay in Red River is sufficient to create both admiration and surprise at what may not be inaptly termed, the condition of religion in Assiniboia. Admiration is aroused by the extent and design of the charities of the different Societies in England, who sustain such a large ecclesiastical corps in connexion with the Church of England as resident Missionaries in the settlement, and who have contributed very munificently to the erection of the excellent churches which are now constructed. In addition to these demands upon their liberality, the home Societies give large sums towards the maintenance of Missions in different parts of Rupert's Land, so that, at the present time, there are scattered over this immense country nineteen clergymen of the Church of England, costing between 6000*l.* and 7000*l.* sterling annually. The Church Missionary Society have expended, up to the date of their last Report, very nearly the sum of 60,000*l.* sterling upon Missionary operations in Rupert's Land.† While, however, so much is done by those in England for charity's sake, it is much to be wondered that so little is contributed by the wealthy residents of Red River, such as the retired factors of the Hudson's-Bay Company, the merchants, traders, and better class of farmers, towards the maintenance of the clergy, the support and extension of schools, and to the Christianizing of the heathen Indians, whose medicine-drum, accompanying the monotonous song of the conjuror, can almost always be heard in summer during the hours of service.

"The outward appearance of many among

* Hind's Narrative, vol. i. pp. 133—135.

† In 1859-60 it was 8137*l.*

the congregation of the episcopal churches, as they come and go in neat little carriages, or on horseback, from comfortable well-furnished homes, enforces the expectation, that, in proportion to their means, they would at least endeavour to prepare the way for the

spread of Christianity among the thousands of heathen who frequent the settlement: that such is not the case there is too strong ground for belief."*

* Hind's Narrative, vol. i. p. 209.

CUSTOMS OF THE MUSSULMANS OF INDIA.

IN previous Numbers we have introduced notices of the customs of the Hindus. The same friend to whom we were indebted for those papers, has forwarded to us similar information respecting the Mussulmans of India. Our readers will mark to what a heavy yoke of ritualism those people are subjected, and what an emancipation the Gospel affords, not only from the burden of guilt and of depraved passions, but from a heavy and expensive formalism. It will be borne in mind that these notices have reference to the Hindus and Mussulmans of the North Presidency.

The customs of the Mussulmans in India are, notwithstanding their hatred of the Hindu sect, very much influenced by their residence in Hindustan, and the original rites and ceremonies very much mutilated from the same cause. I have put down what I saw and could learn of them so far as they are independent of their Hindu fellow-countrymen.

Births—The customs which are generally used at the birth of a male child are, that when the female is delivered, they send a person to the mosque for a moolla, who reads the Korán over some water to consecrate it, and they make the woman drink it. And when the infant is born, they, like the Hindus, bathe it in water, and give it the birth draught. Then the most respectable and the eldest amongst the women prepares the food, which is always of fruits and vegetables for the lady. This mode of feeding takes place till the sixth day, when the women send for the doomnees, or singing girls, or begin singing and playing themselves on various instruments. At night all the women go to the top of the house, or into the court-yard, and the woman who has just been confined is desired by the eldest amongst them to count the stars; and they throw into her lap fruits and sweetmeats, and touch her feet as a mark of respect. Then the eldest woman says, "May your child for ever live in peace; and may you always have your husband alive with you!" She then says, or as they express it, reads the Kulmu, which is *La illah il lillah Mohammed rusool illah*, "There is no God but God, and Mohammed

is the prophet of God." After forty days are expired the women come again, dressed in their holiday apparel, and they sing and play. Some time before this period the father or protector of the child has its name given to it. This name is from that time never changed. The names of the Mussulmans are usually those of their prophet, or of his family, ended with some title of honour, as *peer*, "a saint;" *buksh*, "a benefactor;" *shah*, "a king;" *khan*, "a chief;" and so forth. The most common I have met with are *Khoda Buksh*, *Shaik Khan*, *Hossein Peer*, *Meer Buksh*, *Mohammed Shah*. Very often they are high-flown and poetical, agreeable to the genius of the Persian language, as *Noor Mohammed*, "the light of Mohammed;" *Roshun-ood-dowlah*, "the light of prosperity." For females the name is generally a compliment, as *Muhboob jan*, "the darling of existence;" *Ahoo-churm*, "the deer eyed;" *Hydusree khamum*, "the lady of rank." The birth of a female is not celebrated with such ceremony as that of a male.

The ceremony of circumcision, which takes place when the boy is eight years old, is performed by a barber, the child being first made intoxicated, or nearly so, with bhang or opium. The boy is then sent to school, or, if he be of rank, is put under tutors, and is never again allowed to enter the zenana, or Mussulman seraglio.

Marriages—The ceremonies, processions and observances which occur at the weddings of Mussulmans I have also had opportunities of witnessing. They generally take place when the boy is about thirteen and the girl about ten. The couple commence living and keeping house together about three years after these have been performed. Choice is generally made from among their relatives, and this choice is made by the parents, nor have the young people the least option in the matter. When there is a desirable alliance amongst relatives, the boy's father chooses a bride from among the best families. Upon some day which is considered propitious, the father of the boy sends to the girl's father's house a sort of mash composed of perfumes for rubbing over the body, which is called *ooptun*. Again, on the next

propitious day the girl's father sends to the other party's house a present of mayndic clothes and money, according to their means, from one to a hundred rupees in price. On the day which follows this there is a large assembly convened in the boy's father's house, and the women of his family also send an invitation to great numbers of their friends, all females of course. The men invest the boy with the wedding turban, which is much larger than the usual one, and, making him mount a horse they lead him in procession and in great state, with fireworks, music, &c. to the girl's house. When he has arrived there, the mother of the bride throws flowers at her door. She then makes a religious offering by circling round the boy's head barley and silver. When these fall to the ground they become the property of the washerman or the sweeper, or else are given to beggars. Then the kazeer, or judge, is called into the assembly, and there are three men appointed to conduct the ceremony, one vakeel, or deputy, and two servants. These people go to the door of the bride's chamber, and ask her if she is willing to be married to such a person. She always assents, though she has never seen the youth, and consequently one person is the same to her as another, she being always led to suppose that she must marry. The question, however, although it be but a matter of form, is asked her three times, and always answered in the affirmative. Then the vakeel goes to the kazeer, and informs him thereof. The kazeer goes through the form of questioning again the bridegroom and the bride, and in the presence of the bridegroom's father and his marriage father, who is a person appointed for the time being, he desires the bridegroom to make out his agreement. The boy then agrees "that if he divorce his wife he will pay a lac of rupees either here or in the next world." This sum is much beyond his means. After this the kazeer reads a passage from the Korán, and gives an order for the bridegroom's people to make the *sherbet*. Of this beverage the bridegroom having drank, he sends it to his bride. The kazeer then gets paid for his trouble, and the whole of the night is dedicated to pleasure, dancing, laughing, music, &c. The next day all his friends give presents according to their means. The bride's mother, as well as others of her relatives, give him different presents, consisting of servants, horses, jewels, slaves, money, &c. After these have been distributed they mount the girl in a litter, and send her away to her new lord's mansion with all the conveyable goods. This day of her being first seen by the lover

is called the *jhillwa*, it being a Persian word which means "appearance."

The immense sums which are expended by both Mussulmans and Hindus at their marriages are astonishing. They are also considered as one of the chief sources of the misery and crime prevalent in the country. The unprovided and hapless state in which a widow, on the death of her husband, is left, is another. Of the very great sumptuousness and splendour of the Mussulman marriages I was myself a witness. It was a marriage between a grandson of the ex-vizier of Oude and the daughter of an ameer. The place which was appropriated for the processions, the dances, the fireworks, the crowds of spectators, and the private tents belonging to the parties principally concerned, was divided into walks and plains, which were defined by rows of bamboos in rails, and covered the circumference of about a mile and a half. When the night came on, every square of the latticed bamboo contained a lamp, and the illumination consequent upon such a number was such as to render it nearly as light as day. The walks were crowded with processions, which kept moving during the whole of the night, being composed of people carrying native toys, torch-bearers, friends, men of rank mounted on elephants, in dresses and armour of the richest and most dazzling description. The large beasts themselves had housings, caparisoned most magnificently, some with bells jingling as they moved along. Some of them had howdahs, or lofty seats, on their backs, in which the men of rank sat. There were countless musicians, whose noise and shouting deafened the air, garland bearers and buffoons, jugglers and dancing girls. All these formed crowds of innumerable thousands. Then there was a very long array of foot soldiers, and these were followed by squadrons of horse, with their loose dresses, long matchlock guns, slovenly saddles, and capering horses. Then, on the plains, were numbers of immense tents, with nautches of the first description going on in them. The business of the wedding ceremony was in progress during all this tumult, but half of the immense mass congregated did not, or indeed could not, see any of it. The processions and the dances were carried on during the night: by day there was a sort of holiday for the principal part of the actors, and, with the exception of the increasing discord of the hoarse drummers, there was not much clamour. The tumult and the assemblage lasted seven days, and on the eighth, at night, the bridegroom distributed amongst the English and people of rank the bars or necklaces of silver, which, from the immense num-

ber that he gave, must have cost an enormous sum. These are generally given at the large assemblies of the Mussulmans, and are a proof of the ridiculous practice prevalent amongst them of spending immense sums of money for no object. This marriage cost the bridegroom about 800,000 rupees (30,000*l.*).

Deaths—The practices which are observed by Mussulmans previous to the death of any relative are—When the party becomes very ill the rest of his relatives who are present assemble round his bed, and commence saying the Kulma. They believe that if he himself repeat, at the time of the breath leaving his body, “*La illah il lillah—Mohammed Russool illah!*” then at once his soul will go straight to paradise, and his name will always be called great by his family. Then when he dies, all his family, both men and women, begin weeping, and making a great clamour, dashing their heads against stones. This continues about two hours, at the expiration of which they send for hot water, and, after having let it stand till it becomes lukewarm, wash the body with the same. They then put on a small white vest, and the body is bound round with a very white sheet, and then all, even the most distant relatives, assemble and send for a Mussulman’s coffin, which is a machine like a lengthened barrow without a wheel, and with bamboos both before and behind, projecting so as to allow of its being carried upon men’s shoulders. Over this they place a white sheet, and on that the body is laid. Then there is another white sheet laid over it, and the two cloths are well bound both at the head and the feet. They then send for a moollah, as they call the doctors of divinity in Moslem creeds, and place over the upper cloth, itur, flowers, and a perfume called chooa. The family of the deceased then take up the taboot, and, repeating the word *bismillah* as they walk, they take it to the masjid (mosque). When they arrive there, the moollah says two or three sentences out of the Korán, and they take up the taboot again, and go to the burial-place. On their way thither the moollah does not permit them to say any thing or to weep, nor does he allow a female to accompany the procession to the burying-ground. There are some labourers employed to dig the grave. This is made very wide at the top, so that two men can stand in it, but it is dug narrow below, so as merely to enclose the taboot. Then the moollah and the family put the taboot therein, repeating *bismillah*. Then the moollah stretches his hand over the grave, and repeats another sentence of the Korán, and all the followers retreat ten or twelve paces to give leave to the two angels Moonker and Nykeer to ask the deceased the three questions. This they allow a quarter of

an hour for, and at the end of that time they come to the grave, and deposit a lump of earth. Those who place it there are four or five of his nearest relatives, who also throw a little clay over the coffin, and the labourers cover up the grave. If the person be rich or noble, or extremely pious, they conceive it necessary to build a very large tomb over his remains, which the mausoleums and large burying-grounds, so numerous in the vicinity of all Asiatic cities, abundantly testify; and the moollah remains at the place reading the Korán. On the teeja, or third day, his friends come and throw flowers over his grave, and repeat the Koranic sentences. Some have the Korán read by the moollah for forty days’ and some have it read only for three. On the fortieth day they bring sweetmeats, and say some words from the Korán over them, and give the sweetmeats either to syuds or the moollah, and this last functionary gets from five to twenty rupees for his trouble; and if the person be a holy man, on every Thursday night his tomb is covered with a white cloth, and lit up, and there are flowers thrown over it, and sweetmeats, upon which the mooraya has been read, are given to the moollah. These are called the *fatiha* sweetmeats. There are some of the Mussulmans that believe that the two angels who question the dead, Moonker and Nykeer are always, though invisible, present with the living, one standing on the right and the other on the left hand.

Periodical festivals—With respect to the most remarkable customs which are observed by the Mussulmans in India, the first which may be noticed takes place in the first Arabic month, and it is called, after the name of that month, the *Mohurram*. This is apparently not observed by the Soonnee sect of Mussulmans, except by such of them as by a long residence in Hindustan have come into the ways of the Sheeas. The former sect of Mussulmans respect the four successors of Mohammed, who are called the Characree, under whose government the youths Hoseyn and Hosain were murdered. The latter respect the two youths as the grandchildren of the prophet, and they keep this time as appropriated for mourning over their death, and the murder also of the daughter of Mohammed, called Fatima, and her betrothed husband called Abbas Ali. The creeds of the two sects will show how materially they differ. The Sheeas’ is as follows—“There is no God but God: Mohammed is the prophet of God. Cursed be all that worship any but the prophet and the one God.” The Soonnees’ is the following—“There is no God but the

one God : He is the God : Mohammed is the prophet of God. God is the overseer of all things. Praised be the name of Mohammed, and peace at the last will be to all true believers. God is one : Mohammed is for the truth : the four eyars are certain : there is no God but God."

But to proceed with the account of the Mohurram. The whole of the story of the procession or march of Ali, Fatima, and the two sons, and the murder of their followers, even to the circumstance of the water-carrier's bag being pierced with arrows, and the horse of Hoseyn, are represented in every town of Hindustan where there are Mussulmans enough to enact the characters. The performance is like that of most of the other traditional customs observed in the country, partly religious and partly theatrical.

The commencement of the ceremony is when the moon of the first month is first seen. Then such of the Mussulmans as wish to observe it evince their pious remembrance of the course of mourning, as it is called in their language, by sounding drums and all manner of instruments, and shortly afterwards they construct the subbeel. This is a platform generally formed at the corner of each cross-road in a city or town. It is constructed by simply joining some planks together to the height of six or seven feet. These are laid across one another at right angles, at every angle of which they place a red flag, and at each of the internal squares, which are formed by the planks of wood, they place a very large pitcher filled either with water or sherbet. Some persons are left there who remain at their posts all day, and keep calling out at the highest pitch of their voices to the people as they pass, *Nuzzur Hoseyn peasa ne jaeo*—"Pass not thirsty the free gift of Hoseyn." They are provided with small leathern cups, out of which they give all the Mussulmans who pass and ask for it as much as they wish to drink, and they never receive any thing for it. This must contribute very forcibly to keep alive the remembrance of the martyrs who, situated as they were in the plains of Kurbala, were nearly at death's door from the effects of parching thirst in the sandy deserts of Arabia. After these subbeels are completed, they commence making what is called the tazia, and they light up their houses with the different sorts of lamps which are so common in the country. They also line the walls of their houses with cloth, and the tazias are placed in the most respectable room or recess in the house. They are usually formed of a sort of tale, which, having been dissolved, is flattened out and

adapted for forming fragile structures or for ornaments. It is called in Hindustan ubruk. These are festooned with artificial leaves, coloured paper, and all sorts of paltry bedizening, and they are large or small according to the means of the parties who make them. The poorer classes have them made of clay and wood, but I have seen them ten yards square, and very lofty. They have a beautiful effect when illuminated by night. Near the tazia is placed the figure of a hand, made of brass, silver, or iron. This symbol, at the time of the Mohurram, is also carried by every orthodox Sheea. It is called the "Allum of Hoozrut Abbas Ali." It is held as a memorial of Abbas Ali, or, as he is sometimes called, Assan. He was married, say the Sheeas, to the granddaughter of Mohammed, Fatima. At the marriage, when, as is usual, the mayndie was put on his hands and those of his beautiful bride, before the mixture was well dried the murderers came in, and, having cut off his right hand first, cruelly killed him along with her. In the room near the tazia there is then a pulpit, or meembur, constructed, upon which the mursyakwan, or chanter of the Mohurram verses, stands. It is fixed near the threshold. Both it and the hand, or allum, are covered with the finest cloth. The room is kept constantly lighted, and is adorned with numbers of pictures and looking-glasses. On the third day the mursyakwans arrive, and begin chanting at the highest pitch of their voices, in the most melancholy tone, the verses relative to the martyrdom, which have been previously written by poets.

On every road, and at almost all the hours of the day, during the nine days of the Mohurram, processions are to be met with, generally groups of about forty men, nearly all of them carrying green flags, and accompanied by all sorts of musicians. Those who do not carry the flags are incessant in calling out Hossain, Hoseyn, and beating their breasts. On the eighth day, in commemoration of the prince's marriage, they take out the allums and cover them with mayndie, and go out of their houses with much noise and music, the mursyakwans singing and reading from their bards. On the ninth day they send for a horse, which ought to be of the purest Arab blood, and put on it all the necessary harness, and, over all, a cloth stained with red earth, so as to look like blood, which horse is walked several hundred yards distance from their doors, all the people following, beating their breasts, and calling out the usual words. Next they return, and sit in concourse, hearing the chanting of the mursyakwans. On the night of the

ninth day they take the tazias out into some plain in the vicinity of the town or city in which they reside. The allums are placed upon the tazias. In a large Mussulman city these would be made by nearly every householder, and the effect of bringing them out, illuminated as they are, is very fine. They look like castles in miniature. The groups near them, some fencing, some dancing, in their partially-coloured dresses, the crowds of spectators, the number of grandees moving about on elephants, the wild cry of innumerable troops of weepers, the shouts of the rabble, and the fireworks, make a most varied spectacle, and the scene is continued during the whole of the night. The next day at sunrise, the people having tazias get a board, and spread a cloth over it; over this they lay a bound turban and a vest, which they colour, so as to make them appear like clothes stained with blood. All the men who form the procession, having taken their shoes off, lift up the tazia, and having laden it on the shoulders of a chosen party, they proceed along with them in the direction of Kurballa. When they have gone far enough, if the tazia be a small one, they bury it, but if not, they put part of it in the earth, and take the rest back with them. This portion is laid by for celebrating the next Mohurram. Some of the Mussulman families, ten days after the burial of the tazia, assemble at its place of burial, and laugh and jump (strange to say) over the place where it was buried, and their old men recite stories of the death of the two brothers. Also, on the fortieth day after the first of the Mohurram, it is customary for some of the Mussulmans to proceed on a sort of pilgrimage to the place where the tazia was buried, with musicians, the mursyakwans singing and chanting; and in a very large house, occupied by wealthy ameers, who are Mussulmans, there is a building, constructed with great magnificence, set apart solely for the Mohurram ceremonies. This is called an eemdumbarah. The finest one which I have seen in the country is at Lucknow. The next remarkable ceremony which the Mussulmans observe is called the *Bukra Eed*, a festival, or observance, very similar to our one of Easter as to its time, or the Jewish one of the pass-over, as to its character. It does not occur every year at the same time, but is sure to happen upon some day either in March or April. On the morning of the day fixed by the moollas, the Mussulmans all put on their best clothes, and repair at about ten o'clock to the musjids. On their way thither, and during the day, they are in the habit of giving largely, according to their means, to the beggars who, on this day, throng the streets and

bazaars in expectation of such donations. When they return to their houses, they commence the sacrifice of the sheep, which is called in this country a doomba. The Arabic name for the feast is *Eed ool quorban*, which means the holiday of sacrifice. They continue repeating the *allah ho ukbur*, which they say at their prayers, and, whilst saying so, they slay the animal, cut it into pieces, and send the different divisions to their friends and relatives.

The following is the story which they cite as the origin of this practice. In the first place they insist that Ishmael is the true son of Abraham—that Isaac was the son of the bondwoman. As Ishmael, according to our Scripture, was the founder of the nation of Arabs, we may cease to be surprised at their repudiating the idea of being descended from a collateral branch. However, the Korán version of the story which gives rise to the observance is evidently copied from the account of Abraham's sacrifice in the Pentateuch. They state then that Ibraheem received an order from the angel, Gabriel, that he should sacrifice his son; that on hearing this his grief was intense, but, nevertheless, he hastened to obey the mandate which came from God by the mouth of his angel; that his wife, Ishmael's mother, begged that he might be at least spared the pain of seeing his own son while he killed him, and asked him to let her put a bandage to his eyes; that he permitted her; that she then quickly embraced the son, and, letting him escape, tied up a doomba in his place. That the father then, being guided by her to the place where the doomba was bound, cut its throat. They assert, also, that all this took place at the Caaba, near Mecca. There is another Eed, which takes place at the close of the Ramazan, or thirty days' fast. The Eed day is the 27th of the month, and the most joyful day in the year to the Mussulmans. The fast preceding it, the Ramazan, is peculiarly mournful. It is celebrated throughout the East—

“Just at the season, Ramazani's fast,

Through the long day its penance doth maintain;
But when the lingering twilight hour has past,

Revel and feast assume the rule again.”

and so it is also in India, for the days are set apart wholly for prayer and fasting, and at night they may eat and drink. But the reason that they look upon the second Eed, or, as it is called properly by the books, the *Eed ool fitur*, as peculiarly a happy day, is, that they suppose that on this day the Korán came down from heaven. They believe that all prayers offered up on this day will be heard in heaven.

THE FAMINE AT DELHI.

THE following article, from the "Overland Friend of India" contains the most recent intelligence as to the state of Delhi—

"Every circumstance has tended to aggravate the present visitation. The city and district can hardly be said to have recovered in any fair degree from the effects of the insurrection in the retributive measures of pillage, fine, and confiscation, which awaited the inhabitants at the end of 1857. Besides retail trade to the amount of perhaps fifty lacs per annum having been extinguished with the Mogul emperor and his family, as week after week of the last autumn passed by with less and less hope of rain, and prices fell at last to eight seers of wheat per rupee, actual disease and emaciation from poor living began to spread with terrible rapidity. The people generally seemed to cherish no hope that a large measure of relief could proceed from the representatives of the nation towards whom they had been so immediately and so lately antagonistic. Hence many laid themselves down literally to die in the apathy of want and despair. The city streets and suburban roads became more and more crowded with ragged vagrants, and the swelling numbers of those prostrate and half-dead on the sides of the ways betokened that the worst was coming. Much indirect relief was daily afforded by benevolent natives and society generally. Finally, when the original poor-house of Delhi was found to be stocked to overflowing, and when it was known that all ordinary resources would be soon expended, successful measures were speedily organized for obtaining and applying general and extensive relief. In Togluckabad, the Commissioner fed some 4000 famished human beings, who tore at their food with a fierceness, and an abandonment of all distinction of age, sex, or caste, which belied imposture. We could record the morning walks through the city of the Rev. James Smith, and, subsequently, of the Rev. Thomas Evans, filling cart-loads of exhausted creatures, and conveying them to the asylums. Many respectable people have got rid of their wretched lives by flinging themselves down wells. The depopulation of the district proceeds apace, and exceeds that of the city and suburbs. The peasant clings as long as he can to his home. Mr. Brunton, late chief engineer of the Punjab railway, who has been appointed to superintend relief works on a large and remunerative scale, proceeded to Togluckabad in February last. In December, there were 300 able-bodied men and women: on the 6th of February 150 had decamped, forty

had perished of hunger, and forty only could lift a basket of earth from the ground. The rest were too weak to move. At a village called Arungpore, in former times overlooking a fine lake, and the scene of thriving plenty, of 200 inhabitants, eighty only could lift hand and foot to work. When told there was work for the able and food for the weak, they looked upon it as a release of their community from gradual but certain extinction. The neighbouring country is a vast desert, the vivid patches of green near the scattered wells serving to show more sadly the barrenness around. In the district of Bullubgurh, no less than 2800 men, women, and children have died of sheer want. In the Southern Pergunnah, where the distress is quite as bad, the same number at least must have perished. Close upon 5000 have emigrated from Bullubgurh, and certainly that number must have left other parts in search of labour and food. All this bespeaks a fearful extent of human suffering. Where there is no irrigation, numbers of wayfarers and travellers must have perished uncared for. A marked contrast is presented by the Northern Pergunnah, through the length of which runs the Jumna canal. Here but two deaths occurred, and these possibly in isolated villages. The Zemindars, at present prices, are amassing fortunes. The high rate of food has resulted from the want of the full complement of rain for two consecutive seasons. At this moment we ought to see the reapers in the fields, all chance of rain absent, and the garners replenishing; whereas, there are clouds overhead, and every appearance of inclement rain, which, if mingled—as is not uncommon at this season—with wind and hail, will do damage to the little there is to reap.

"Messrs. Brandreth and F. Cooper, the Commissioner and Deputy-commissioner of the district, have been equal to the crisis. They have endeavoured to convey assistance into the most retired places, associating in the good work all classes and grades of society. The native community, besides donations, subscribe nearly 1200 Rs. per month. Near the tomb of Nizamodeen, a famous resort of saintly pilgrimage, is the residence of Mirza Elihu Buksh, the last representative of the house of Timur. The Mirza, who himself contributed a donation of 560 Rs. per month, superintends personally the distribution of 20 Rs. worth of food a-day to the descendants of families dependent for centuries on the fortunes of his house. The members of the Baptist Mission

Society also each personally superintend, in various out-places, crowds fed with sums varying from 10 Rs. to 20 Rs. a-day. So, at Merowlie, famous for the Kootub Minar, a distribution of 30 Rs. has to be made to some 1500. Nor are forgotten the numbers of decent people who suffer and make no sign; who prefer and will meet death rather than exposure; who have known comfort and affluence in former days. These are supplied with one meal a-day at their homes, and receive it with grateful hearts. There was no point on which the native gentry of influence were more anxious than the preservation of the purdanushinee. The principle laid down and strictly followed is, that no one shall go away even half fed. Half-starved people die as surely, though at slightly prolonged periods, as those wholly starved. Hundreds of people who have gone in famished, have, after two or three days' feeding, been drafted thankfully to work. The appearance of the poor children is most deplorable. It was at one time considered possible to secure a number of deserted children and orphans, and transport them to various foundling asylums under the superintendence of the clergy of various Christian persuasions. But the idea was, upon consideration, abandoned. It was felt to be impolitic to link any measure—and especially one which, however charitable in itself, might be open to misconstruction by the designing or suspicious native—to the general scheme of relief, and so mar the moral effect of the large-minded charity of the Christian public, and alienate what little there is of the scarcely-awakened sympathy of the people.

"Foreseeing the difficulty that may hereafter ensue from demoralizing a people, by indiscriminate feeding in total idleness what may turn out to be a sturdy beggar population, every rupee of the local funds has been expended on all varieties of works that can feed those fit to labour, and conduce to the healthiness and welfare of the community at large. Wells are being sunk or repaired in every village in which they are required, care being taken that no village shall be without one well at least. Old bunds and tanks are being built up and excavated. The zeal and will with which all the neighbourhood turn out to the works is remarkable, and, it is to be hoped, will be well repaid by the benefit which they have learnt, by tradition, these structures conferred on their ancestors, and which they confidently anticipate are to gladden them once more. And it will be satisfactory for the benevolent public to have testimony to the fact, that when some hope has been expressed by occasional visitors to

distant places, where the humane work is going on, that no cheating or embezzlement was taking place, one and all have met with an energetic denial of the possibility of such an outrage in such a duty. The supervision exercised is the best available. Asiatic officials, who think ordinary peculation, and worse, fair pickings of the office to which they are attached, will hardly embezzle part of remittances for an object which they themselves have been the first to commiserate and subscribe for. Meanwhile, aid on a gigantic scale is afforded. Some nineteen thousand, who must have died, are being fed at the rate of nearly twelve hundred rupees per day. As much as thirty-six thousand rupees a month have been, and will have to be, distributed for the next six months, and yet such confidence is there in public liberality, that no fears are entertained, that, even if more is wanted, it will not be forthcoming. Should the drought last one year more, as Colonel Baird Smith considers more than problematical, and should all local funds have been exhausted, there is still the earth-work of the Punjab railway, in the event of the line being sanctioned, which will afford relief to thousands. The works of the East-Indian railway, immediately opposite the Palace, employ, and will employ for years, a mass of labourers. The propinquity of engineering constructions of such magnitude affords the best solace for the future, even under the melancholy anticipation of continued drought.

"But there is a scheme on foot for reviving the once imperial system of bund irrigation in large undulating tracts of country around old Delhi, which will, if carried out in its integrity, effectually remove the jeopardy into which a drought of a couple of years can fling the lives and property of hundreds of thousands. 'Has India,' writes Mr. Brunton, 'been always in such a position that a year's scanty crop could produce such terrible results? Certainly not. It is undeniable that irrigation was the foundation of the vast riches of India in ancient times. The mineral resources could not have produced it. To the fruits of the soil alone must be attributed its former splendour. To prove this, we need only to examine the vicinity of Delhi. The capacious intelligence of former rulers appreciated the uncertainty of the periodical supply of rain, and devised methods of distributing and husbanding, by canals and bunds, the rain that did fall. That these devices answered, the most casual observer cannot fail to detect, as he sees the proofs of former prosperity, and listens to the traditions of the village people.'"

THE SLAVE-TRADE DURING THE LAST TWO YEARS.

It is now nearly forty years since the European Powers pledged themselves by solemn covenant to labour for the suppression of the slave-trade. The battle of Waterloo had wrested from the hand of the first Napoleon the bloody scourge of aggressive war, and given peace to the long-troubled nations. To England they were under unspeakable obligations. When other kingdoms—their power broken upon the field of battle—had succumbed, and humiliated monarchs crouched before the throne of the new dynasty, which had so ominously risen out of the deep pit of the French revolution, England, providentially endued with unconquerable resolution, refused to yield, and afforded time to the prostrate nations to rally their energies, and recover their independence. In the settlement of European affairs which ensued on the chaining of the imperial eagle to the rock of St. Helena, her influence was great, and she used it for no selfish purpose. Detestation of the slave-trade and its enormities had been gaining strength in the national mind. Eight years before the conclusion of the long-protracted warfare with the French emperor, the royal assent had been given to the Bill, which, having passed both Houses of Parliament, had decreed—so far as England was concerned—the abolition of the slave-trade; and in the important conferences which followed the restoration of peace, the efforts of her representatives were zealously used to induce the other European nations to come to a similar determination, and unite with her in efforts for the extinction of the slave-trade. At the conference held in London, attended by the plenipotentiaries of Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia (Dec. 1817), stringent laws against the trade were decided upon, and the expediency of a mutual right of search admitted; and eventually, at the congress of Verona, held Nov. 1822, the plenipotentiaries of Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, pledged their respective cabinets to every thing which might secure and accelerate the complete and final abolition of the slave-traffic.

From that great compact England has never swerved. Others have acted disloyally, and in bad faith; but with her there has been no tergiversation. With unalterable perseverance and with large expenditure of treasure and of life, she has continued to befrend the African. Her cruisers on the coast, and her expostulations

with other Powers, when they have endeavoured to evade the obligations of a just policy, have so far coerced the slave-trade as to keep it within certain limits, and afford to Christian Missionaries the opportunity of penetrating among the coast natives, and introducing amongst them that wholesome leaven of Christian truth which will eventually destroy the slave-trade, by teaching the African to hate it, and assimilating his mind on this point with the national mind of England.

There is no doubt that in these efforts great progress has been made. The number of slaves exported from Africa has fallen from 135,000, the average number exported annually from 1835 to 1840, to 25,000 or 30,000, the number estimated to have been exported during the past year.* In proportion as this virulent traffic, which perverts to evil purposes the energies of man, and indisposes him to peaceful and industrious pursuits, has diminished, there has been a corresponding increase of "lawful commerce, until the value of the exports from the west coast of Africa now amounts to nearly three millions sterling annually. From the Bight of Benin alone, where, twenty years ago, not a single puncheon of palm-oil was exported, during the past year the exportation of oil was estimated at nearly 17,000 tons, and the value at between 700,000*l.* and 800,000*l.*"† "From Lagos, which, until its slave-trading operations were broken up by the British squadron, had been one of the greatest slave-markets on the west coast of Africa, the exportation during last year of palm-oil, ivory, and cotton, amounted in value to about 220,000*l.*" Nor is this the only valuable produce that Africa is yielding for our use: "Cotton from Abbeokuta has been an article of export to British markets for about eight years. In the first year only 235 pounds could be procured; but since then the export has more than doubled every year, until, in 1859, the quantity reached about 6000 bales, or 720,000 pounds."

As time advances, and African improvement advances also, it will become more and more clearly seen, that in the injuries which they have inflicted upon Africa, the nations have grievously injured themselves. Had that great and rich continent been humanely

* Lord John Russell to Earl Cowley, July 11, 1860.

† Ibid.

dealt with, she would have enriched the world. Her sons, violently transported to other lands, have been constrained by coercive labour to the cultivation of plants which they would have grown in far greater abundance on their own land. "One of the first things that attracts the attention of a new comer to Africa is the greenness and density of the vegetation. A person who has never been in the tropics can form no just conception of its luxuriance. The hill sides and the banks of streams often present the appearance of solid walls of leaves and flowers." Cotton, indigo, tobacco, sugarcane, ginger, oils of various kinds, are indigenous products of the Yoruba territory. Barth, in his explorations southward of Bornu, traces the same capabilities. These regions, to which access will eventually be had by the river Benue, are rich in cotton, indigo, vegetable butter, ground nuts, ivory, rhinoceros horns, wax, hides, and many other articles. Well-cultivated tracts presented themselves, and densely-inhabited, village succeeding village, large trees, mostly of the ngabbore and karage kind, enveloping the whole in the finest vegetation. Wherever tropical heat and facilities for irrigation, in the presence of large rivers and accumulations of fresh water, unite, *there* there will be exuberance; and such is the condition of large portions of the African continent. Well, then, might Lord Palmerston state (Feb. 26), that if the slave-trade could be extinguished, "the coast of Africa would be the source of such wealth to its inhabitants, and to the rest of the world, as the imagination of man can hardly compass. The amount of valuable productions which might be drawn from that country, as well as the amount of consumption which might be found there for the productions of other regions, would give a scope to industry and civilization which would reflect the highest credit upon all the nations engaged in so glorious an achievement."

We have stated that there has been, during the last twenty years, a decided decrease in the action of the slave-trade, and an increase of those improving influences in which consists the true hope of Africa's regeneration. The results which we should have been enabled to present would have been still more satisfactory, but for the experience of the last two years. During this period the progress of improvement has not been sustained, the slave-trade having decidedly increased, and lawful trade having proportionately suffered. In the year 1857 it was estimated that not quite 8000 slaves had been landed in

Cuba;* during the year 1859, upwards of 30,000 were introduced; and in 1860 the total was still larger, amounting to between 40,000 and 50,000, besides Chinese.

The prime movers in this great increase of criminality are the Cuban planters, who, increasing, as they are, to a very great extent, their sugar plantations, require a proportionate supply of slaves to do the work. In 1817 there were 780 sugar plantations in Cuba; in 1850 they exceeded 1750. How much they have increased during the last ten years we are not prepared to state; but the last crop of sugar is estimated at more than half a million tons. The annual production of the island now reaches about 20,000,000*l*, and requires a proportionate supply of labour. The coloured population of the island is estimated at about 550,000, of whom 400,000 are slaves." Now ten per cent., less two per cent for reproduction, is considered to be a moderate estimate of the mortality that exists amongst the slave population. When it is remembered how the slave population is dealt with, the above estimate of mortality will be regarded as moderate.

"During the manufacturing season, a large, well-managed sugar plantation exhibits a scene of the utmost activity and unremitting labour. The planter must 'make hay while the sun shines;' and when the cane is ripe, no time must be lost in expressing the juice. Where oxen are employed, they often die of over-work before the close of the season, and the slaves are allowed but five hours for sleep, though, during the rest of the year, the task of the negroes is comparatively light, and they may sleep ten hours if they choose."†

With such facts before us, eight per cent. must be regarded as a moderate estimate of the rate of mortality amongst the slave population of Cuba. It requires, therefore, "32,000 labouring hands to make up the annual deficiency, without taking into consideration the useless from age and from infirmity, or the requirements for extended cultivation. It is very evident, that unless this deficiency was made up by fresh supplies from Africa, slavery in Cuba would die out of itself in a very few years."

But how is it that the planters of Cuba have been so successful in the trans-shipment of so large a proportion of slaves, and that despite the efforts of the British cruisers? We regret to say that the calamitous result must be attributed, first, to the bad faith of Spain, and, secondly, to the fact that the

* Blue Book, 1858. Class A., p. 43.

† Ballou's "History of Cuba," p. 146.

American flag has been used to an immense extent to protect slave ships from the inspection of the British cruisers. And, first, the bad faith of Spain, a subject on which it will not be necessary to dwell at any length, for it is notorious, and patent to the world. In 1817 Spain covenanted to co-operate with us in the suppression of the slave-trade. Mixed courts of justice were appointed, one at Sierra Leone, the other at the Havana, and a mutual right of visit conceded, the Spanish Government accepting from England 400,000*l.* as compensation to those who might be sufferers by this change of policy. The original compact was confirmed by the Clarendon treaty concluded at Madrid in 1835, the provisions of which were framed with a special view to the personal good treatment of the liberated negroes, and their full and complete emancipation. Yet from that moment to the present, Spain has had but one object in view—to evade her just engagements, and permit, year by year, the importation of African slaves into Cuba. Her disloyal proceedings in this respect have continued to be the subject of repeated expostulations on the part of Her Britannic Majesty's Government. So late as September of last year, we find a note addressed by the Foreign Office to the Spanish Minister, in which the continued prosecution of the slave-trade between Africa and Cuba is complained of, and the conduct of Spain in this respect is pointedly contrasted with that of Brazil, which has faithfully, honourably, and completely effected her treaty-engagements with Great Britain. The blue-books, however, exhibit no answer to these remonstrances; nor has the "Government of Her Catholic Majesty displayed any anxiety to relieve Spain from a heavy reproach, and to render an honourable service to the cause of humanity, by adopting efficient measures for the suppression of the Cuban slave-trade."

Let us next point out the extent to which the American flag has been used to cover this traffic. A list, acknowledged to be incomplete, has been forwarded by the British officials at the Havana, of seventy-three vessels reported to have sailed from that port, or to be fitting out, for the coast of Africa, during the year ending September 30, 1860; of these, thirty-four are American, twenty-eight Spanish, five Mexican, four Chilian, one French, and one under Uruguay colours. It appears that, in 1838, nineteen American vessels engaged in the Cuban slave-trade, and protected by the American flag, had entered, in that one year, the same port which is alone considered in these estimates, the other parts of the

island being left out of the account. In twelve years, therefore, the vessels prosecuting the slave-trade from that port, under American colours, have nearly doubled. By the treaty of Ghent, the United States and Great Britain are mutually engaged to each other, that they would use their utmost endeavours to promote the entire abolition of the slave-trade; and yet the action of the American Government has unhappily been far otherwise than promotive of that end. If British commanders board a ship sailing under American colours, and that ship is found to have American papers, they are then considered as having infringed on the dignity and independence of the national flag, and the transaction is complained of, and becomes a matter of correspondence between the two Governments. Even although it be that the suspicions of the British officer are well-founded, and the ship be a slaver, still it is insisted upon that the American flag ought to have protected her from British interference. The difficulty, however, of convicting such a vessel is very great, when it is remembered that the exhibition of American papers precludes all right of search, and the hatches remain unclosed, although the mere opening of them would suffice to show in what traffic the vessel was engaged.

Thus our officers are grievously obstructed in the discharge of their duty, and are mocked by the slavers, who, hoisting the American flag, and exhibiting American papers which cannot be disproved on the spot, however strong the suspicions may be which are entertained of them, set our cruisers at defiance. An officer of the British squadron, from a variety of circumstances, may have the strongest conviction of the true character of a craft; but she is sailing under American colours, and even to visit her is to expose himself to unpleasantness and recrimination, as his doing so will be resented and reported to the United-States' Government, who have hitherto been too ready to accept as trustworthy the evidence of such interested parties as the master and crew of the suspected vessel. But when the vessel has been boarded, and American papers are exhibited, the British officer is debarred from all right of search: he may not ascertain by personal observation the nature of her fittings, whether she be designed for legitimate traffic or otherwise: all that he can do is to keep by the vessel until he may chance to meet a stray ship of the American squadron, whose commander can institute a search, and examine the papers as to their accuracy. It may be observed, that it is only as regards vessels sailing under

the American flag that the American squadron has power to act, the laws of the United States not affording any means of bringing to justice a foreigner carrying on the slave-trade in a foreign vessel, even when he is taken *in flagrante delicto*.* And even with respect to vessels claiming to be American, American officers are greatly embarrassed as to their action; for should they send a vessel home under the impression that its papers are not authentic, and they are found on examination and proof to be genuine papers, the officer who adopted such a step in the discharge of, as he believed it to be, his duty, has to defray all expenses. Sometimes it happens that the master of the suspected vessel, finding it to be the determination of the British cruiser to stay by him until he be remanded to the scrutiny of an American cruiser, and knowing his papers to be forgeries, takes the first opportunity of destroying them; and having thus, by his own act, denationalized himself, becomes the prize of the British vessel. Yet in such cases British officers have been subjected to very unjust accusations by the United States authorities, as though, from interested motives, they had compelled the master against his will to destroy his papers, so that, in doing so, he had only yielded to threats and to superior force.

The difficulties in which our officers have found themselves involved, by complications such as we have sketched, come out very clearly in the case of the "Rufus Soulé," captured and destroyed by Her Majesty's ship "Viper," off the African coast, in October 1858. Lieutenant Hodgkinson fell in with this vessel off the Killoo river on the 19th September. His suspicions being excited, he visited her, and required to see her papers, which, after some demur, the captain produced. She was then allowed to proceed. Some three weeks subsequently, the "Viper" again fell in with the "Rufus Soulé," and Lieutenant Hodgkinson having in the interim obtained additional information as to her true character, again boarded her, and came to the determination to remain by her until he had the opportunity of transferring her to the scrutiny of an American cruiser, when, search being instituted, it might be ascertained whether the "Rufus Soulé" was guilty or otherwise of slave-trading transactions. On hearing this determination, the master threw overboard his American colours and papers. His

doing so was evidently an acknowledgment of their falsity. Had they been correct, he would have carefully retained them as the means of his being set free from the interference of the British. But he destroyed them because he knew them to be forged; and in doing so he chose the lesser of two evils. On the American side, he and his crew were obnoxious to the penalties of piracy; but by falling into the hands of the British as a slave-prize, the vessel indeed would be destroyed, but himself and his crew would be landed on the coast and set at liberty. Nothing could be more clear and easy to be understood than this case, yet the American statesmen made it the subject of a lengthened and almost angry remonstrance. Some paragraphs from this document will render intelligible to our readers the peculiar rights claimed by the American Government, and the increased facilities which are thus afforded to the slave-dealer in the prosecution of his villany. General Cass, writing to Mr. Dallas (March 31, 1860), thus forcibly expresses himself—

"With regard to the 'Rufus Soulé.' Lord John Russell has incorporated into his communication a narrative of the cruise and capture of that vessel, almost exclusively compiled from the report of Lieutenant Hodgkinson, of the British navy, who boarded and burnt her. And his lordship subjoins to this summary the expression of his conviction, that the statements thus made will satisfy the Government of the United States that the information on which the commander of Her Majesty's ship 'Viper' acted was well-founded, and that the 'Rufus Soulé' was, at the time of her capture, engaged in the slave-trade, and that she was not entitled to the protection of the United-States' flag. Whether this vessel was then engaged in the slave-trade is one thing, but whether she was entitled to the protection of the flag of the United States is another and quite a different thing, and depends not upon the nature of her employment, legal or illegal, but upon her national character. Certainly there are strong grounds of suspicion that she was engaged in that nefarious traffic; and were the question of her condemnation, or of the guilt of her crew, depending before a judicial tribunal possessing the necessary jurisdiction, the object of the voyage would be a paramount subject of inquiry. But that consideration does not touch the question now at issue between the Government of this country and that of Great Britain. That question, I repeat, is, not what the vessel was doing, but whether she belonged to the

* Lord Lyons to Lord John Russell, May 26, 1860.

United States. Neither her national character, nor the immunity it brings with it, could be affected by the purposes to which she was destined. The police over their own vessels upon the ocean is an attribute of sovereignty which belongs to all independent States, and is not now questioned by any of them. Many severe lessons in their own history have taught the United States the value of this principle, and have brought with them the determination to maintain their right to it under all circumstances. While the Government of Great Britain has avowed its adhesion to this doctrine, the British naval officers appear too often to be ignorant of its existence, or indifferent to its obligations. Repeated occurrences upon the coast of Africa, both formerly, and quite recently, as well as the objectionable proceedings in this case of the 'Soulé,' too clearly indicate with what facility an unlawful jurisdiction is assumed, and abused, and defended. The United States have a right to expect that the British Government will make known to its officers that no such pretension is advanced by Great Britain, and that it will take efficient measures to put a stop to a practice which is equally irritating and unjustifiable. This country is desirous of the extinction of the slave-trade, and is employing a larger force for that purpose in proportion to its naval means than any other Power whatever. But it has other great interests upon the ocean—the immunity of its flag, the protection of its citizens, and the security of its commerce, which it does not intend to put to hazard by permitting the exercise of any foreign jurisdiction over its merchant vessels."*

The American statesman refuses to believe it possible that "United-States' capital has been more and more employed in this traffic," and refers to the assertion of the American Consul-General at the Havana, "that within the past year no American capital has been invested in this trade, either in the purchase or fitting-out of vessels from Cuba; and that, with one exception, there had been no fraudulent sale, or transfer of American vessels, and their masters and crews, for slave-trading purposes, since the year 1858.

The reply of Lord John Russell is brief and dignified. "The reports which have reached Her Majesty's Government subsequently to the capture and destruction of the 'Rufus Soulé,' strongly confirm the information which had reached them in the first instance with regard to this vessel, and which was to the effect, that, previously to

the voyage on which she was engaged when captured, the 'Rufus Soulé' had been sold to a Spanish slave-trader, and was not entitled to American protection; and this information is confirmed by the report of the United-States' Consul-General at the Havana. It would answer no practical purpose, therefore, to continue a controversial correspondence with regard to this case; and the more so, because Her Majesty's Government are ready to do full justice to the sincere desire of the United-States' Government to employ officially all the means at its disposal to put a stop to that prostitution of the United-States' flag by slave-traders, which has of late been so notorious and extensive, and which is calculated to transfer unjustly, to citizens of the United States, the discredit which more properly attaches to persons belonging to other States."*

The great increase of slavers under the American flag is in truth a matter of public notoriety. It is not only British officials who announce these unpleasant truths, but the newspaper press of the United States. The Boston papers published a list of vessels sailing under the American flag, which, during the eighteen months preceding July 1860, had landed their cargoes on the island of Cuba. There are twenty-six vessels specified by name, with the American ports whence they were fitted out—the greatest number from New York and New Orleans—together with the names of fourteen others captured by British and American cruisers.

We may feel well assured that these vessels were not transferred, nor these ventures made, without adequate payment; and it may be well, in the next place, to consider how the pecuniary means were obtained which set all this machinery in motion.

A company has been formed in Cuba for the more active and extended prosecution of the slave-trade, having its members in America and Europe. The formidable character of this company and the magnitude of its resources may be estimated from the statements contained in the following despatch from Consul-General Crawford, at the Havana, to Lord John Russell, dated May 14, 1860—

"The company, which was originated in this city, has interested agents in most of the ports on the north side of Cuba, for the introduction of slaves.

"They are owners at present of thirty-seven vessels, which number is to be increased to eighty.

"The business is to be conducted on a

* Blue Book, p. 159.

* Blue Book, Class B., 1860, p. 168.

grand scale, and it is calculated that it will succeed, some of the conditions being as follows—

“The masters, officers, and crews are to be engaged (as it were) on shares of the adventure; and their remuneration is guaranteed to be paid to them previous to the landing of a single negro from any of the expeditions that arrive in safety.

“The captains are to receive 10,000 dollars, the chief mates 2000 dollars, other mates and carpenters 1500 dollars, and to each of the crew 1000 dollars.

“The vessels are to be despatched from this harbour and the outposts in regular succession, one to sail every fifteen days or oftener, and to be capable of carrying 400 or 450 or more slaves.

“I understand they fully expect that many of their fleet will be captured; but they reckon on being able to introduce 150,000 to 160,000 bozals before the association is broken up, which, unless something unforeseen occurs, they will easily do.

“It will be obvious to your lordship, that, to purchase and equip eighty vessels, the capital subscribed must be large. I had heard previously that it was 600,000 dollars, and probably this was correct, giving 16,000 dollars for each of the thirty-seven vessels: but as it is proposed to increase the fleet to eighty, the subscribed capital must exceed 1,250,000 dollars, which amount, large as it is, would, for such a purpose, be easily obtained here, especially as it is said, and I have no doubt truly, that a great number of the wealthiest Spaniards are subscribers. They have doubtless been allured by the prospect of enormous gains, and the almost certainty of success, knowing, as they do, that all will be safe if they can only elude the vigilance of our cruisers on the coast of Africa; that money will buy their successful disembarkation; and that we have for some time past withdrawn our cruisers from these waters.

“Every Spaniard being imbued with the idea that the prosperity of Cuba depends on the slave-trade being continued, the pressure on the Government at Madrid, as well as here, is such, that they are apprehensive that disorder would ensue did they not tolerate its being carried on, and they dare not make any efforts for its suppression. It is hopeless, therefore, to expect any thing from them.”*

If the slave-ships succeeded in eluding the vigilance of the cruisers on the African shore, they had little to fear in the Cuban waters.

There were no British ships there—why, we shall state by-and-by; only a weak American squadron, totally insufficient to guard the extended shores; and therefore cargoes of negroes arrived thick and fast. Mr. Crawford, in a dispatch to Lord John Russell, dated September 30, 1860, presents the following summary of information—

“I have the honour of laying before your lordship a statement of the number of slaves landed in Cuba during the first nine months of the present year, amounting to 12,060, of whom 771 have been seized by the Spanish authorities.

	Negroes.
“If to this number	12,060,
Are added, the usual third, . .	4,020,
The three cargoes which were captured by the United-States’ cruisers,	1,433,
And the cargo of the schooner which was taken to Nassau, .	364,

We have a total of 17,877.

“This statement, however, only includes the cargoes of which we have any positive knowledge, and must not be considered as showing any thing like the exact number of slaves which has been actually imported, for it is calculated that at least 30,000 have been landed since the 1st of January last.

“The system which has been adopted of late, of transferring cargoes to coasting craft at Anguilla and other places of rendezvous, from whence the negroes are taken direct to the wharves of the sugar plantations, and to different parts of the island, renders it extremely difficult to obtain any information whatever. For instance, the Vice-Consul at Nuevitas reports that over 2000 slaves have been landed there, in small lots, from coasting-schooners, but no trace can be found of the vessels which brought them from Africa. Even here, at Havana, the same thing is constantly occurring; but as the slaves are invariably furnished with passes, the local authorities cannot meddle with them.

“It will be sufficiently evident, however, that the slave-trade is again in the ascendency. There never was a time, since the celebration of the treaty with Spain, when the preparations for the continuance of that hateful traffic were more formidable. There exist throughout the island numerous joint-stock companies, with immense capital, and with extensive ramifications in the United States and in Europe, whose plans are so judiciously arranged that they cannot fail to be successful. Out of the large number of vessels they despatch from hence, from the

* Blue Book, pp. 107, 108.

United States, and from Europe, they can safely count upon running at least three in every twelve, or twenty-five per cent., the proceeds of which will cover the loss of all the rest and leave a handsome profit besides. These transactions, however, are kept very private. There is no such thing as quoting the shares on the Exchange; no documents are passed which can in any way compromise the partners: and although it is generally pretty well known what persons are engaged in the slave-trade, it would be quite impossible to establish any proof against them in law. Thus it is that the slavers which are taken by our cruisers on the coast of Africa throw their papers and colours overboard, and it is only occasionally that the vessels can be identified.

"Most of the numerous contrivances which are made use of by the slave-traders to deceive Her Majesty's officers, and even to cheat each other (for there may be honour among thieves, but there appears to be none amongst these men-stealers), are now very generally known.

"The substitution of closely-fitting iron water-tanks instead of casks is now quite common. Several of the vessels which have lately sailed hence have cleared out openly for Ambriz, St. Thomas, Loanda, or the river Zaire, as if they were bound on a legal voyage. They are provided with a charter-party, and have all their papers apparently in order; but these documents are feigned; and if any boarding-officer was to insist upon opening the hatches, and comparing the cargo with the clearance, the villany would be at once discovered; in fact, both flag and papers would immediately disappear.

"It is greatly to be regretted that the Government of the United States will not come to some understanding with that of Great Britain for the better prevention of the abuse of the American flag.

"It is true that the United States' gunboats stationed in these waters have rendered good service, as will be seen by the return of the slave-vessels they have captured; but could a systematic plan of cruising be arranged, combining the services of our ships with theirs, the slave-trade would be very soon put down. Nor is it alone the flag of the United States which is thus prostituted. I have been informed that the slave-traders now appear to think that there is more safety in that of France, and that it is likely to be most extensively used."*

To meet the increased stimulus thus given to the slave-trade, increased efforts on the part of those who have engaged in its suppression had become necessary.

It had indeed become evident, that unless the efforts so long, and, on the whole, so successfully pursued, were to be altogether abandoned, some new measures, adapted to the new complications which had arisen, required to be originated. The Government, therefore, of Her Britannic Majesty proposed to the United-States' Government an arrangement comprehensive of three distinct provisions: 1st, A systematic plan of cruising on the coast of Cuba by the vessels of Great Britain, Spain, and the United States; 2dly, Laws of registration and inspection on the island of Cuba, by which the employment of slaves imported contrary to law might be detected by the Spanish authorities; and, 3dly, a plan of emigration from China, regulated by the agents of European nations, in conjunction with the Chinese authorities.

Three years previously, British cruisers had been stationed in the Cuban waters, under the conviction, that not only "ought there be an intercepting force on the coast of Africa, but that a similar one on the coast of Cuba would be useful." "Difficulties immediately arose. American citizens engaged in the slave-trade got up a great clamour against our cruisers, asserting that they were intercepting the legitimate commerce of the United States. The United-States' Government took the matter up; and, owing to the complication of circumstances, the British Government were obliged to withdraw their cruisers from that station."* It was thought, perhaps, that the proposal of joint cruising would be more acceptable to them, and our ambassador, Lord Lyons, was authorized to place this new proposal before the American Government. The President, however, declined to give his assent to any of the three propositions, for the following reasons—

"1st, A systematic plan of cruising on the coast of Cuba by the vessels of Great Britain, Spain, and the United States. To accede to this proposition would involve the necessity of a treaty with Spain, to enable the cruisers of the United States to enter the waters of Cuba within a marine league from shore. The Spanish Government, so far from having given any intimation that a violation of its sovereignty to this extent would

* Blue Book, Class A., p. 19.

* Lord Palmerston, February 26.

be acceptable, has only recently made the strongest complaints to this Government against the cruisers of the United States, upon the alleged ground that they had captured slavers within Cuban waters. While, therefore, Great Britain has already acquired this right by treaty, the United States does not possess it, and their cruisers would consequently be arrested in the pursuit of slavers as soon as they entered Spanish jurisdiction, whilst the cruisers of Great Britain and Spain could not only continue the pursuit until the slavers had landed, but could follow the slaves into the interior of the island. It is but proper, however, to say, that while the President does not suppose that the Government of Spain would enter into an arrangement with the United States similar to its treaty with Great Britain, he could not consent to any such arrangement, for it would violate the well-established policy of this country, not to interfere in the domestic concerns of foreign nations, nor to enter into alliances with foreign Governments. This Government has maintained, and will continue to maintain, a naval force in the neighbourhood of Cuba for the execution of its own laws. It will, to the utmost extent of its power, put down this abominable traffic, and capture all American vessels, and punish all American citizens engaged in it. The success which has already attended our efforts near the coasts of Cuba prove that we have done our duty in this respect, and this at an enormous expense, for the support of the captured Africans, for their transportation back to Africa, and for their liberal maintenance there during the period of a year after their return.

"2ndly, Laws of registration and inspection in the island of Cuba, by which the employment of slaves imported contrary to law might be detected by Spanish authorities. After what has just been said, it is necessary to state that the Government of the United States could not ask Spain to pass such laws of registration. But if this were otherwise, it is quite certain that such laws would have no practical effect; for if Her Majesty's Government are well aware that the price of sugar and the demand for labour afford the slave-trader profits which enable him to corrupt the authorities, whose duty it is to thwart and defeat his criminal enterprises; and if joint-stock companies are established at the Havana for the purpose of prosecuting the African slave-trade, under the eye of the highest officials of the island, and with perfect impunity, it would be vain to

expect that registrars throughout the country would counteract the policy of their superiors by faithfully performing their duty.

"3rdly, A plan of emigration from China, regulated by the agents of European nations, in conjunction with the Chinese authorities. It is not probable that Lord John Russell expected this Government to unite in forming such a plan of emigration from China; for if he had entertained this idea, he would scarcely have omitted the agents of the United States from any participation in its regulation. Nor can the President share in the anticipation of Her Britannic Majesty's Government, that the coolie-trade can be put on any such footing as will relieve it of those features of fraud and violence which render the details of its prosecution scarcely less horrible than those of the middle passage. And he is of opinion that it would exert a most deleterious influence upon every portion of this country, to import into it Chinese coolies as labourers. In the States where the institution of domestic slavery exists, these heathen coolies would demoralize the peaceful, contented, and orderly slaves, very many of whom are sincere Christians. And in the Free States they would be brought into competition with our respectable and industrious labourers, whether of native or foreign birth, who constitute so large a portion of our best citizens."

It is impossible to read this extract without feeling surprised at the description given of the "domestic institution," and the condition of slaves under its yoke, as peaceful, contented, and orderly. The justice of such a description, on a future opportunity, we may consider, and take our readers on an investigatory tour through the Southern States, in order that they may form a judgment for themselves.

Lord John Russell, while expressing his regret that the proposals made by him had not met with the assent of the President, still expresses the hope that some measures would be adopted by the United-States' Government to prevent the slave-trade being carried on in United-States' vessels, and under the United-States' flag. Having referred to lists recently published in the United-States' newspapers—one containing the names of eighty-five vessels fitted out, and sailing from American ports, for slave-trading purposes, within the previous eighteen months, and the other the names of twenty-six vessels which had landed their cargoes in Cuba, he proceeds to say—

* Blue Book, Class B., p. 170.

"Her Majesty's Government have every reason to believe, that so far from the above lists being exaggerated, the number of vessels actually engaged in the slave-trade under the American flag considerably exceeds that given in the lists in question, and a large proportion of the vessels named have been actually met with by British cruisers on the African coast, under circumstances that left no doubt as to the illegal traffic in which they were about to be engaged.

"Her Majesty's Government do not press the proposition, that cruisers of Great Britain and the United States should cruise in couples, or indeed any special mode of cruising; but it appears to them that two such powers as Great Britain and the United States ought to be able to prevent the landing of two-thirds or three-fourths of the slaves that are imported into Cuba, and thus cause the slave-dealers to abandon the traffic. The want of a slave-trade suppression treaty between the United States and Spain no doubt weakens the action of United-States' cruisers; while, on the other hand, though Great Britain has a slave-trade suppression treaty with Spain, yet the free use of the American flag by the slavers equally paralyzes the action of British cruisers; and on this point Her Majesty's Government wish to submit to the enlightened judgment of the President and General Cass, that if the national regard of the United States for the honour of their flag is so great as to prevent an effectual destruction of the slave-trade by British cruisers, it is incumbent on the United States to take measures of their own which, if vigorously pursued, may extirpate a traffic condemned many years ago by the legislation of the Republic, and repugnant to every feeling of humanity.*"

This honest language did not please. The American statesmen appeared to think, that in thus frankly avowing his convictions, the British minister was not altogether unlike the captain of a British cruiser who should unceremoniously intrude himself on the deck of a suspected vessel, instead of recognising the protection of the stars and stripes, and permitting her in dignified isolation to pursue her own way. The difficulty with the British sailor is to believe that so noble a flag can be justly used to cover so base a traffic. He cannot, in his own mind, identify the flag of liberty with a slaver; and, in his honest refusal to acknowledge, if he can by possibility avoid it, the American "stars and stripes," when unhappily placed in so anomalous a position, instead of showing any slight, he is doing

honour to the flag of the United States. For the same reasons it was exceedingly difficult for British statesmen to persuade themselves that the high American officials of 1859 and 1860 could have any intention of evading the plain duty of putting forth efforts for the suppression of so barbarous a traffic, and therefore, by remonstrances and new proposals of every possible variety, they endeavoured to overcome the reluctance of the American Government; until at length unmistakable symptoms of impatience manifested themselves, and a peremptory letter from General Cass (Oct. 27th, 1860) summoned the British minister to withdraw his foot from the protected deck of American affairs.

"Mr. Irvine, the *Chargé d'Affaires* of Her Britannic Majesty, has read to me, agreeably to the instructions of Lord John Russell, a despatch from his lordship to Lord Lyons, dated September 10, 1860, and has left a copy of it at this department.

"This despatch relates to the African slave-trade, and presents to this government some general considerations connected with it, which more than once have been brought to its attention. I do not propose to renew a discussion which it is not probable would change the views of either of the parties. But there are some statements and remarks which I am unwilling to pass by without observation, and to which I shall briefly refer.

"I request you would remind Lord John Russell of what indeed has been heretofore made known to the British Government, that while the United States are anxious for the suppression of the slave-trade, and are taking efficient measures to prevent their citizens from engaging in it, they have great national rights, essential attributes of their independence, in the exercise of which they will not suffer any other power to participate, and among these is the jurisdiction over their own vessels upon the ocean. A divided sovereignty, territorial or maritime, in its use or abuse, may be fraught with consequences which their history teaches them to avoid.

"The right of Great Britain to make representations to the Government of the United States at any time it may be believed that the American squadron is not kept up, or employed agreeably to the requisitions of the treaty, is fully conceded; but, with our conventional duties, the right of interference ceases. What our moral duties demand of us is a subject for our own exclusive consideration. Very different opinions will often be formed by different nations of the policy they ought to adopt under given circumstances. But if each of them should assume the right

* Blue Book, Class B, p. 171.

to pass judgment upon the proceedings of the other, and to make its own views the subject of diplomatic representations, it is not difficult to foresee the unfortunate consequences which would result from such intervention.

"I beg you would call the special attention of Lord John Russell to this matter, and to assure him, as the Foreign Office has been assured more than once before, that these diplomatic suggestions are as unnecessary as they are unacceptable, and to express the hope this Government entertains that similar appeals will not again be repeated. And, in connection with this topic, you will please also reiterate to his lordship the assurance heretofore given that, while the United States are at all times ready to receive and consider any proper suggestions connected with this traffic, not already sufficiently discussed, yet it is felt that the subject, with its extensive ramifications, is pressed too often upon the attention of the Government, as though it needed these repeated representations to stimulate its action, or to teach it its duty."*

Lord John Russell's reply (December 15th, 1860) to this unceremonious mandate to hold his tongue, is pointed and dignified.

"Mr. Dallas has read to me a despatch from General Cass, dated the 27th of October last, taking exception to the communications which Her Majesty's Government have felt it their duty lately to address to the Cabinet of Washington on the subject of the abuse of the American flag for slave-trade purposes.

"I confess that I heard this despatch with some surprise.

"Mr. Dallas is requested to remind me, 'that while the United States are anxious for the suppression of the slave-trade, and are taking efficient measures to prevent their citizens from engaging in it, they have great national rights, essential attributes of their independence, in the exercise of which they will not suffer any other power to participate, and among these is the jurisdiction over their own vessels upon the ocean.'

"Now, as Great Britain has never pretended to deny this right, or to set up a jurisdiction over the vessels of the United States, which the Government of the United States were not willing to concede, this assertion seems to Her Majesty's Government unnecessary.

"But when General Cass seems desirous, as he appears to be in the latter part of this despatch, to impose silence on the British Government upon a subject in which the cause

of humanity is closely interested, he proposes a state of relations which Great Britain cannot sanction by her consent.

"In 1806 Great Britain abolished her own slave-trade.

"In 1814, and at subsequent periods, she has urged the consideration of this subject upon the Powers of Europe collectively and separately. They have all admitted, both in word and deed, that it is a fair subject for international representation and international treaty.

"Her Majesty's cruisers on the coast of Africa observe vessels sailing under the American flag, fitted up for the conveyance of slaves from Africa to Cuba. Our Consuls in the United States report on the sailing of vessels intended for slave-trade for Africa and the Havana, and Her Majesty's Consul-General at Havana reports the arrival at the island of Cuba of numerous vessels, under the American flag, laden with slaves.

"In these circumstances Her Majesty's Government cannot consent to the condition of perpetual silence which General Cass wishes to impose upon them. They hold it to be a duty to speak the truth to the United States, even though it prove unpalatable. Whenever, therefore, they think it necessary to make representations, they will do so, but they will do so in that tone of respect for a great, free, and friendly nation, which they sincerely feel.

"You will read this despatch to General Cass, and give him a copy of it."*

At the close, then, of last year, our prospects, with respect to the slave-trade and its suppression, were of a dark and lowering character. Cuban gold, American private enterprise, and the impracticability of American statesmen, threatened us with an alarming extension of that old evil. The minds of our own statesmen seemed to incline to what is called the free emigration of Chinese coolies into Cuba. That is a wide subject on which we cannot now write. This only we would say, that, except carried out under the stringent regulations of the British Government itself, this free emigration will only be another form of the slave-trade. As prosecuted by other Governments, or in the hands of private enterprise, we should have no confidence in it.

This aspect of affairs, however, has been marvellously altered since the beginning of 1861. The great Cuban conspiracy cannot now be persevered in: the American disruption has paralyzed its action and sealed

* Blue Book, Class B, pp. 177, 179.

* Blue Book, Class B, pp. 176, 177.

the doom of the slave-trade. These state papers and state reluctance, to which we referred, were the exponents, not of the free North, but they were in sympathy with the slaveholding predilections of the South. We cannot be surprised at the disruption which has taken place. Men holding opinions the most diametrically opposed to each other on a question of intense vitality, the practical bearings and difficulties of which were to be met with in the transactions of every-day life, were placed under the headship of a Government which, from its very position, was necessarily weak and uncertain in its action. The free convictions of the North were continually compromised, and violence done to the national conscience, in order to conciliate the South; and, as might be expected, the more this principle of conciliation was acted upon, the more exorbitant and grasping the South became. Free States, which abhorred slavery, were compelled by law to assist the slaveholder in the recovery of his fugitive slave, who, by flight, was using the only means in his power to recover that which his master unjustly withheld from him—his liberty. The flag of America was compelled to the anomalous position of protecting

slavery. With such extremes of opinion on so vital a question we do not see how the Union could be perpetuated without a continued sacrifice of principle. The South has separated, and now the North is free. The Palmetto flag has been hoisted, and the stars and stripes need no longer be dishonoured to the protection of the slave-trade, either by sea or land. The North can do without the South: better, indeed, it is to be without the South than to purchase its adherence by a degrading compromise with slavery and its institutions. But the South cannot be without the North. There is a heavy weight appended to the Southern States which must have sunk them long ago, but that they have been upheld by the strong arm of the North; and so long as the powerful North was contented to be used as a prop to sustain the slave system of the South, and thus to be so compromised with slavery as to be incapable of acting vigorously against it in other parts of the world, we saw no solution to the difficulty. But now that the North, having shaken off the trammels of expediency, stands forth free, slavery is doomed, and its extinction is not distant.

JAPAN.

JAPAN has re-opened to intercourse with foreign nations, and has resumed the policy which once prevailed in this island-kingdom: for be it remembered "that the seclusion of Japan is a comparatively modern policy, and that there was a time when that country was fully accessible to Europeans." Not only so, but the Japanese themselves, in large numbers, visited foreign countries, Japan being then a sea-faring and even piratical nation. "Throughout the Indian archipelago, Japanese adventurers were wont to hire their services as armed mercenaries to the petty native sovereigns, or to the governors of the rival European settlements. Siam, Gambodia, Amboyna, Java, and even the shores of India, witnessed the presence of her fleets and the indomitable enterprise of her mariners."*

The first Europeans who reached these islands were the Portuguese, in 1542 or 1543. They soon introduced their priests. Xavier himself led on the mission. No system of exclusion then existed, and such was the

spirit of toleration, that the Government made no objection to the teaching of the corrupted Christianity which was introduced. The work of proselytism advanced, and converts multiplied to such an extent, that if the *Epistolæ Japonicæ* are to be credited, there were, in 1587, 200 churches, and converts to the number of 200,000, including some of the great princes.

But the "prosperity of fools shall destroy them." If a work, nominally a Christian one, be unsound, nothing so powerfully brings its defects to the surface as a season of prosperity, and simply because it calls for the exercise of tempers and qualifications which are foreign to the fallen nature of man, and which nothing but genuine Christianity can supply. The Romish Missionaries and their proselytes soon made it manifest that they had not these qualifications. The former, in particular, became inflated and arrogant. "They treated with open contempt the institutions and customs of the country, and insulted the highest officials of the Government by studied indignities."* "A circumstance is related to have

* "Ten Weeks in Japan," by the Bishop of Victoria, p. 5.

* United-States' Japan Expedition.

occurred in 1596, which is said to have been the immediate cause of the great persecution. A Portuguese bishop was met on the high road by one of the highest officers of state on his way to court. Each was in his sedan. The usage of the country required that in such case the conveyance of the bishop should be stopped, and that he should alight and pay his respects to the nobleman. Instead of conforming to this established act of courtesy, the ecclesiastic took not the least notice of the Japanese dignitary, but, turning his head away from him, ordered his bearers to carry him on." Hence there was mortal offence, and implacable resentment. It was believed, with what foundation of truth we know not, that the Romish ecclesiastics were intriguing to establish on the islands the supremacy of the Portuguese, and that the native Christians were implicated in the plot. War broke out, and, as the arms of the heathen authorities became successful, issued in an embittered persecution; the foreign ecclesiastics were banished; the native converts put to death; and over the vast common place of sepulture in which the slain were buried, the following inscription was placed—"So long as the sun shall warm the earth, let no Christian be so bold as to come to Japan; and let all know that the king of Spain himself, or the Christian's God, or the great God of all, if He violate this command, shall pay for it with his head."* From that time the exclusive policy was adopted, and Japan shut up. Severe proclamations prohibited any Japanese ship, or any native of Japan, visiting foreign lands, under penalty of death. Any Japanese returning home from a foreign country; any person presuming to bring a letter home from abroad; any nobleman or soldier purchasing any thing from a foreigner; any person bearing the name of Christian, or propagating Christian doctrines, were to suffer death.

In this transaction Romanism has had much to answer for. What her sin has been is soon made intelligible. A physician of great eminence devises a medicine calculated to arrest the ravages of a prevailing epidemic. It is found to be so efficacious as in every instance, where it is faithfully used, to effect a cure. Another individual, jealous of its influence, concocts some deleterious mixture, and labels it with the name of the genuine medicine. Many persons receive it and make use of it as such. But so far from arresting the malady, it is found to exasperate its symptoms. Men know not they have been

using a counterfeit; but supposing that it has been the genuine medicine which has so grievously failed on trial, they transfer to this all their indignation, and repudiate it. The result is that the epidemic has uncontrolled sway, and multitudes perish. Who must be held responsible for those deaths! The malignant person who, by the substitution of a counterfeit, misrepresented the genuine medicine, and excited against it so groundless a prejudice. In consequence of the criminal action of the Romish Church, Japan, for upwards of 200 years, has denounced Christianity as a hateful and pernicious system, and forbidden it all access to her shores; a long period of time, during which many generations have lived and died in utter darkness and ignorance of God. But for the church of Rome, it might have been otherwise. Nor is this aversion yet removed; for although Japan has opened to intercourse with foreigners, no open action on the part of a Christian Missionary, with a view to sowing the seed of the Gospel, would for an instant be permitted.

During this long period various attempts were made by the English to participate in the advantages of a trade which was now exclusively in the hands of the Dutch at Nagasaki and the governor of the Philippine islands. The Russians, in 1792, commenced a series of similar attempts, and the Americans appeared at the barrier in 1837. On March 31, 1854, a treaty was signed between Japan and the United States. It opened the port of Simoda, in the principality of Iida, and the port of Hakodadi, in the principality of Matsumai, for the reception of American ships, and purposes of commerce. But this was all which could be obtained from them. The Japanese would not consent to the residence of American families on shore. The only permanent residence permitted, and that reluctantly, was that of a consul. Temporary residence was allowed to those who went on commercial business to Simoda or Hakodadi. On landing, they might visit, without restriction, shops and temples, make purchases, walk about within the limits of seven miles into the interior, resort to a temple assigned to them as a resting-place, but were not permitted to enter military establishments or private houses without leave.

This first treaty was followed by a convention (Oct. 1855) effected by Sir James Sterling, between the British Sovereign and the Emperor of Japan, which opened the ports of Nagasaki and Hakodadi to British ships, for the purposes of repair, or obtaining water and provisions. The right of British ships

* Bishop of Victoria's "Ten Weeks in Japan," p. 206.

of war to enter the ports of Japan, in the discharge of public duties, was also recognised.

The way was thus prepared for a more full and satisfactory arrangement, effected through the ability of Lord Elgin, and signed Aug. 26, 1858. It purports to be a treaty of peace, friendship, and commerce, between Her Britannic Majesty and the Tycoon of Japan, and their respective dominions and subjects. A diplomatic agent might reside at the city of Yeddo, and consular agents at any or all the ports of Japan opened for British commerce by this treaty, the Consul-General having the special privilege of travelling freely to any part of the empire. The ports and towns of Hakodadi, Kanagawa, and Nagasaki are open to British subjects; also Nee-e-gata, or some other suitable harbour on the west coast of Nippon and Hiogo, the latter being deferred to the 1st of January 1863. In these towns and ports British subjects have the right of permanent residence; they may lease grounds and purchase buildings thereon, and may erect dwellings and warehouses. Certain limits also are defined in the vicinity of the open ports, where British subjects are free to go where they please.

These privileges have been largely taken advantage of, and our knowledge of this populous and semi-civilized insular empire is rapidly increasing. Its physical aspect is beautiful. Mr. Lawrence Oliphant, in his narrative of Lord Elgin's visit, sketches with a descriptive pencil the Bay of Nagasaki, in the island of Kewsew, about 450 miles north-west from Shanghai—"The high green islands of Iwosima conceal from view the entrance to the bay until you round the westernmost point: even then, other islands and projecting promontories make it somewhat uncertain. Fortunately the ship's pilotage does not rest with us, and we can bestow our attention unreservedly on the scenery, which is indeed of a character to rivet it, whether we will or no. The islands on our right rise abruptly out of the water. The overhanging promontory above us is crowned by a battery of guns, round which a few soldiers are grouped, gazing curiously; beyond it, more batteries appear on sundry other projections of the shore, which is here and there indented with bays, from which deep-wooded valleys run up into the island. They seem thickly populated, for the cottages, with their high thatched roofs, cluster up the hill-side, and peep out from under the dark foliage. In places the islands are precipitous, and masses

of towering rock deny, even to the hardiest shrubs, holding ground.

"The scenery on the opposite shore is of the same character, but on a grander scale. It trends away in a series of deep bays and beetling cliffs, upon the rugged base of which the waves wage an incessant war, and surge and moan fretfully in deep caves and fissures, as though lamenting their fruitless efforts to undermine them. In charming contrast with these sterner features are grassy slopes and rice-fields rising in terraces on the green hill-sides, and shady groves, with blue smoke curling above them, denoting the existence of snug hamlets. Securely moored in secluded creeks, or hauled up on little patches of sandy beach, are quaint-shaped native craft; others are glancing about these calm inland waters, ferrying across, from islands to the main, passengers and cargo, or lying motionless, as though asleep, on the water, their sails 'folded like thoughts in a dream,' while the occupants are fishing. These sails are composed either of strips of matting or of cloth. These are generally black and white alternately, each strip not being above two feet wide, and hoisted perpendicularly."

The Bishop of Victoria's description of the city of Nagasaki, where he spent a portion of his six weeks' residence in the islands, may not be omitted—

"The first feelings excited by a visit to a Japanese city are a sense of bewilderment and awe, caused by the very novelty of the situation, and the remembrance that the scenes, habits, and customs, so new, are but the reflection of above two thousand years of continuous national life, without any great change in the physical or moral aspect of the country. Those overhanging hills, covered with the rich foliage of perennial green, among whose shadows the city of Nagasaki lies embosomed in the sheltered valley 2000 feet below, looked down, in ages long lost in the deep oblivion of the past, on scenes and occurrences in no important particular differing from those of the present hour. The ordinary appearances and incidents which we witnessed in the city of Nagasaki were probably also a correct picture of similar scenes in every part of Japan. The busy crowd of population was borne onward through the city thoroughfares, each individual intent on his own object, and every man pursuing his separate vocation. In one part a confectioner's shop attracted its eager company of old and young engaged in the purchase of sweetmeats, or endeavouring to appease hunger by the more homely fare of rice-dum-

plings and rye-cakes. In another part a fish-monger's stall, covered with conger-eels, mackerel, soles, lobsters, and cray-fish, or with sliced cutlets of star-fish and cuttle-fish, invited the more affluent to purchase the materials of a feast. Occasionally a butcher's shambles were the scene of attraction, where a whale, lately stranded on a neighbouring beach, or harpooned by an adventurous fleet of fishing-boats, furnished an over-abundant and cheap supply of coarse red meat, resembling raw beef, and gave for some days an impulse to the carnivorous tastes of the lower classes. Next we come to fruiterers' shops, well supplied with the fruits of the season; greengrocers' stalls, decked out with bunches of turnips, carrots, sweet potatoes, egg-plants, and the usual horticultural produce of a semi-tropical vegetation. We pass next in succession numerous flower-shops, exhibiting their tastefully-arranged garlands, miniature shrubs, and dwarfed trees, resembling, in all the fantastic imitation of an artificially-stunted growth of a few inches high, the spreading boughs and gnarled trunks of the giants of the forest. Sellers of dried fruits and candied preserves, grain-dealers, poulterers, egg-merchants, weavers, cotton-cleaners, tailors, and umbrella-makers, now in their turn fill up either side of the way. Soon again we pass the spacious warehouses of the dealers in sauces, condiments, and soys, where large jars lie filled with decoctions of pulse and rice, and are left to ferment and become mellow with exposure and age. Wine-taverns and spirit-shops occupy no inconsiderable space, displaying their numerous rows of sake-jars, and plying a successful trade among the alcohol-loving natives. In another part, silk-mercers display their glossy wares and gorgeous folds hanging from the ceiling, and forming a little labyrinth of bright-flowered festoons and embroidered drapery. Further on, book-stalls and picture-shops, exhibiting every variety of native costume, and exposing for sale some grotesque caricatures of European visitors, foreign vessels, and Dutch uniforms, attracted the more idle class of gazers. Again we pass the usual assemblage of money-changers, glass-blowers, incense-stick manufacturers, idol-makers, shoe-makers, lantern-makers, braziers, old-clothes dealers, needle-makers, tobacco-leaf cutters, druggists and herb-sellers, doctors' shops and vendors of quack-medicines, stationers and pen-and-ink manufacturers, opticians and spectacle-makers. In another quarter, pipes, toys, spinning-tops, knives, swords, scissors, metal head-pins and

female ornaments, Chinese mariners' compasses and clumsy imitations of Dutch telescopes, are exposed to view. Soon again we reach shops of a higher class, where porcelain ware of exquisite quality, and surpassing in delicate transparency and thin substance the egg-shell, from which it sometimes derives its name; lacquered cabinets and household furniture, richly inlaid with mother-of-pearl figures; tortoiseshell ornaments worked into every conceivable device and pattern; and antique vases of bronze metal, boasting an almost mythological period of origin, and bearing a proportionably fabulous price; invite the more wealthy class of native purchasers, or (as is now becoming more generally the case) command increasingly high prices from the European frequenters of Japanese curiosity-shops. And I may here state, that after visiting this medley throng of Japanese traders, shopkeepers, and artisans, the first impression generally borne away is a sense of tawdriness and want of finish in the products of native industry and skill; a feeling, that if here there are no commonly-observable signs of extreme destitution and want, there are also, on the other hand, no generally-prevailing indications of great wealth or luxurious and expensive tastes. The forms of misery, too, are not wholly absent from the scene, and the newly-arrived European stranger has to banish from his mind some of the more highly-coloured views and over-drawn pictures which have enlisted his prepossessions in favour of the Japanese race. Cutaneous eruptions, loathsome sores, and a multitude of bodily ailments, disfiguring the personal appearance and bearing the hereditary taint of parental disease, are frequently observable in the streets; and yet there is something peculiarly striking in the universal neatness of their private dwellings, and the graceful appearance of their dress. The fine loose flowing robe and capacious dependent sleeves which form their ordinary outer dress, each individual bearing on his breast and shoulders the neatly emblazoned figures of his family armorial bearings, give a semblance of dignity to their exterior bearing and address, as they pass onward and exchange the frequent salutation of a low formal bow and mutual greeting. A person unfamiliar with this striking oriental garb might picture to himself a whole nation clad in the every-day costume of the Roman toga, or attired in the academic gown of an English graduate in Arts. The large number of public bathing-rooms, and the frequency of their bodily ablutions, have also earned for the

Japanese the character of personal cleanliness as a nation. Few wants, simple habits, prescriptive usage, settled forms, and a rigid subdivision and mutual separation of classes, all combine in withdrawing many of the usual incentives to exertion, and imparting a dull unvarying uniformity to their pursuits. Order, tranquillity, subjection to rule, and obedience to authority, are the natural results of a widely-diffused system of police-agents and Government spies, and are deeply-seated principles of conduct in the national character.*

Some excursions to the surrounding districts introduce us to the interior of this island home. One was in the direction of Tokitz, a large village ten miles from Nagasaki, and facing southward to the sea.

"We rode through the central parts of the city (which is entirely destitute of fortified walls or a fosse) into the suburbs, and thence, turning a little to the left, skirted for some time the northern part of the harbour, until we met a stream of water flowing into it. For three or four miles our way lay along the banks or in the stony bed of this rivulet, leading through a series of villages, and crossing flights of steps, which, in any other country, would be deemed impassable on horseback. As we proceeded further into the country, the view changed from the bold scenery of mountain and sea landscape to a rich and verdant panorama of fertile valleys, teeming with agricultural produce, and covered with growing crops of rice, wheat, rye, and rape-seed, extending from the low level over the gradually rising acclivities to the summits of hills of moderate height. Coppices of cedar and fir were interspersed like emeralds of fairest setting amid the smiling beauty of Nature's golden aspect. Camellias, roses, and evergreens, of every variety, hung in drooping festoons over our pathway, which widened, in this more frequented part, into the broad dimensions of a well-paved road. The villagers welcomed us in every direction, interchanging signs of goodwill and offering us sweetmeats, hot tea, or cold water. On our return, many of the women and boys were standing outside their cottages, offering flowers to ourselves, and holding out bunches of green fodder for our horses. Some asked us if it were our Zondag (Sunday); others proffered their importunate request for the much-prized ornament of a gilt button. In the narrower parts of the road the females whom we met sometimes hastily leaped aside out of our way, apparently through fear of

our restive horses more than of the riders, and giving way to loud laughter amid their manifestations of alarm. Sometimes we met the family retinue of a two-sworded gentleman on his travel, and our little cavalcade mingled with his carriers of luggage and chair-bearers. Interspersed throughout these lovely sequestered valleys there was the usual assemblage of village homesteads, temples, shrines, wells, and a few shops. We passed under one well-wooded hill, on the summit of which a remarkable boulder-stone of immense size looked like an ancient tower built by giant hands, quivering on its narrow base, and threatening every moment to slide from its delicately-poised foundations, and to carry crushing desolation and destruction into the valley below. We entered the populous village or small town of Tokitz, and were an object of some exciting attraction to its crowds of idle gazers. On some former occasions the townspeople had shown their dislike of foreigners breaking bounds, and extending their rambles so far, by throwing a few missiles, and otherwise marking their displeasure at foreign audacity. At this time we were fortunate in meeting with nothing calculated to mingle any unpleasant associations with the reminiscences of the trip. Two of our party remained to bathe in the sea-water at a jetty which stretched out into the bay, amid a little fleet of native trading-boats and fishing-vessels, the stench from which was the least agreeable sensation of our visit. The people took care of their horses while they bathed, and half an hour afterwards our companions rejoined us at a small village two miles nearer Nagasaki, where we halted on our return, and made preparations for our dinner. The proprietor of a house on the wayside lent us his principal room, and assisted our Japanese coolies in cooking our meal. He readily furnished us with whatever we wanted, without pecuniary reward, receiving two empty bottles as his chief perquisite. A native doctor, and one or two other neighbours, joined our party, and the gift of a cigar from an Englishman present soon brought them to terms of friendly companionship. The wife also made her appearance and superintended the boiling of the kettle, which was suspended, by a neat and clever contrivance of sliding rods, in any position and at any distance over the charcoal fire, from one of the rafters in the roof, regularly-built flues and chimney-stacks being as yet a luxurious invention unknown in Japan. The scenery through which we passed would be considered

* Bishop of Victoria's "Japan," pp. 26—30.

* Bishop of Victoria's "Japan," pp. 180—184.

landscape of the highest order in any part of the world, and exceeds any thing ordinarily accessible in the British islands, in the rich abundance of evergreen trees and the products of a semi-tropical vegetation, intermingled with many of the more prominent beauties of a temperate region. The people seemed everywhere to possess a fair amount of material comfort, and the signs of prosperity and contentment generally prevailed. Stout limbs and moderate strength of physical frame were the preponderating characteristics in their appearance, and told no tale of want of food in sufficient quantity to preserve health and sustain bodily labour."

We shall now pass on to Yeddo and its bay, on the east side of Nippon, "the largest and principal island of the kingdom, which gives its name to the whole of Japan, according to the softened mode of pronunciation of this name prevailing both in the Japanese and the Chinese languages."

Near the mouth of the lower Bay of Yeddo, lat. 30° 39' 49", long. 138° 57' 50" E., the town of Simoda, occupying the southern termination of the principality of Idzu, stands on a plain at the opening of a fertile valley. "The surrounding country is picturesque and varied, undulating hills: covered with trees and verdure, rise from the water's-edge, and extend back into the lofty mountains, rock-ribbed and bare. Valleys divide the mountain-ranges, with their richly-cultivated fields and gardens stretching up to the very summits of the hill-sides. Streams of water, shaded with groves, wind through the level bottoms, and beautify and enrich the land."

"The town is compactly built, and regularly laid out. The streets intersect each other at right angles, and most of them are guarded by light wooden gates, with the names of the streets marked upon their hollow posts, within which are the stations of watchmen. Through the town a small stream passes, the sides of which are walled with stone, and across it are thrown four small wooden bridges. The streets are about twenty feet in breadth, and are partly macadamized and partly paved. The shops and dwellings are but slightly built, many of them being merely thatched huts. A few of the houses of the better class are of stone, but most constructed of a framework of bamboo or laths and then covered over with a tenacious mud. This latter, when dry, is again covered with a coat of plaster, which is either painted or becomes black by exposure. Mouldings are afterwards arranged in diagonal lines over the surface of the building, and these, being painted white, and contrasting with the dark ground behind, give

the houses a curious piebald look. The roofs are often of tiles coloured alternately black and white, and their eaves extend low down in front of the walls, and protect the inmates from the sun, and the oiled paper windows from the effects of the rain. On the tops of some of the houses wires are stretched in various directions to keep off the crows, it is said; but whether on account of their being birds of ill omen, or only in consequence of their bad habits, was not very apparent. These houses have no chimneys, and there being occasional fires for cooking and other purposes, the smoke is left to force its way through the various crannies and cracks which may chance to exist, unless, as is sometimes the case, there are certain holes in the upper part of the walls prudently left for the purpose. The buildings are generally but a single story in height, though many of the houses and shops have attics for the storage of goods and refuse articles.

"Some of the residences stand back from the front of the streets, with yards before them, although generally the latter are in the rear, and are variously appropriated, some for kitchen-gardens, and others for pleasure-gardens, with flowering shrubs, ponds for gold fish, and other ornamental appliances. There are a few buildings fronted with stone, while the main structure is of dried mud or adobe: these are used for the storage of valuable goods, as they are supposed to be better protected against fire. The fronts of the shops and houses have moveable shutters, which at night are fastened to the posts which support the projecting roofs. Behind these are sliding panels of oiled paper, which are closed when privacy is sought, and opened for the purpose of seeing in the houses what may be passing, or displaying the goods in the inside of the shops. In lieu of the paper-windows there are occasional lattices of bamboo. The title of the shop is displayed over the door or window, generally in some fanciful device significant of the kind of business carried on. There are but few signs distinctly recording the trade or occupation, although there was one shop which bore on its front, in the Dutch language, the name in full of a Dutch nostrum, which seemed to be a popular remedy in Japan, for the same was observed in Kana-gawa. The finer goods were generally kept secluded from view in boxes and drawers, and seemed to be of a kind which indicated no great affluence on the part of the community.

"The internal arrangements of the houses and shops of Simoda is simple and uniform, though somewhat modified according to the

position and business of the inmates. The door is on the left of right side, and is protected by the overhanging roof, under which the coarser goods are sheltered, and the customers when driving a bargain. From the front door a pathway leads directly to the rear, where there are various dwellings and outhouses, among which there is often the shrine for private worship. In the shops this passage-way is crowded with baskets, stands, and trays, laden with various merchandize, and the walls on either side are provided with shelves, upon which goods are also heaped. In the best establishments, articles for sale are seldom displayed beyond turning the opened ends of the boxes which contain them towards the street.

"In the interior of the houses there is a large framework, raised two feet above the ground. It is spread with stuffed mats, and is divided into several compartments by means of sliding panels. This house within a house may be applied to all the various purposes of trading, eating, sleeping, and receiving company, according to the pleasures or necessities of the proprietors. This cage, or platform, is used as the workshop by some of the various handicraftsmen, as, for example, the carpenters and lacquer-varnishers: the blacksmiths and stonecutters perform, however, their heavier work upon the ground.

"The houses intended for lodgers are generally clean and neatly spread with the usual soft and thick mats, which serve the double purpose of seats by day and beds by night. The names of the guests are recorded as with us, but somewhat more publicly, as they are affixed to the door-posts on the street. The aristocratic gentry have their coats-of-arms emblazoned in full, and displayed upon wide banners, stretched in front of their stopping-places. The interiors of these hotels are by no means very magnificent in appearance, or complete in appointment. The entire absence of tables, chairs, sofas, lamps, and other essentials to comfort, interfere very seriously with a guest taking his ease at his Japanese inn. Moreover, the want of pictures, looking-glasses, and other pleasing appeals to the eye, gives to the establishment a very naked cold look."

The entrance to the upper bay of Yeddo lies through the narrow straits of Uraga, about six miles across. At the entrance of the bay the shores are observed to rise in precipitous cliffs, which connect landward with undulating hills. Deep ravines, rich with green verdure, divide the steep slopes, and open

into small expanses of alluvial land, washed by the waters of the bay into the form of islets, about the borders of which are grouped various Japanese villages. The uplands are beautifully varied with cultivated fields and tufted woods, while far behind rise the mountains, height after height, in the inland distance. Above them all towers the lofty cone of Fusi, estimated to be 14,000 feet in height, "begirt with a white covering of snow descending half-way from the summit to the base."

On the west side of the Bay of Yeddo opens out a small armlet, about three miles across. Kanagawa, one of the consular ports opened by treaty, is a small town of about 5000 inhabitants, lying on the northern side of this little bay; Yokuhama, one of the numerous and populous villages which range along the western side of the Bay of Yeddo, and now the new settlement of the European residents, on the southern. A resident at Kanagawa thus writes of the aspect of the country in May 1860—

"Spring has opened upon us in all its bloom and beauty. Too much can hardly be said in praise of this land of evergreens, even in winter; much less, at this season of the year, is one likely to exaggerate in commendation of Japanese summer scenery. The country about this bay is charmingly diversified with hill and dale, woodland and fields, and no lover of nature can fail to be delighted with the view which presents itself, as he comes in to the anchorage. One can scarcely speak of a dead of winter in Japan, because of the great variety of evergreens that enliven the landscape at the coldest season of the year. For many miles inland the country is broken into low hills and flat lands, backed by a noble range of mountains in the distance, which are in turn overtopped by the lofty snow-capped cone of Fusi-yama, the finest mountain in the world. I do not wonder that the Japanese paint it in every picture, and emboss it upon all thin-lacquered work. It is an unrivalled beauty of its kind. The people venerate as well as admire it. They say that pilgrimages are made to a temple on its summit, in mid-summer time, but that no bad man can ascend to its top. Half-way up he stops, and begins to paw like a horse, while his wicked legs refuse to carry him any further.

"At this season the lower grounds in the neighbouring country are covered with the growing crops of wheat, barley, beans, peas, and the so-called *na*, or oil-plant, a species of *Brassica*, which is extensively cultivated here, and, though now passing out of flower,

* Perry's "United-States' Expedition," pp. 404, 405.

still here and there spreads a carpet of gold in the midst of the general green. The tinting of the scenery reminds one of the peculiar colouring given to a landscape by the Claude Lorraine mirror.

"The hills are mostly covered with trees, all of which it is said have been planted and trained by men's hands. In many instances this is evidently true, where the tall forest trees stand in rows as regular as those of an orchard. Another charm of the country is its profusion of flowers, from the meek blue-eyed violet to the garish moutan and lotus. If our paths here are not strewn with roses, we certainly have walked upon carpets of Japonica petals. Every day we find some new floral specimens, either in our rambles into the country, or by the favour of some Japanese who wishes to show his goodwill by a present. The flora of this country is superb, and the botanist and landscape-painter would here find a rare field for their pursuits.

"The farm-houses of the Japanese are mostly thatched cottages one story high, and covering a large space of ground. The occupants display much taste in the cultivation of trees and flowers. They are no Vandals, who cut down all the trees on the spot where they propose to erect a dwelling, and so let the sun stare down upon it all the day long. On the contrary, they select a place for a site, either within a clump of trees, or, if there are no shade trees, plant them. Besides, they usually plant an evergreen hedge, or screen of shrubbery, around the premises. These hedges are composed of the holly, the bamboo, or the wild orange that bristles with thorns, or, more frequently, of the *Cryptomeria Japonica*, and are kept clipped in the nicest order by a semi-annual shearing. Many pretty devices are adopted in training shrubs to grow in grotesque shapes, as in circles, cones, and hemispheres, or in the form of a chair, a turtle, or a pheasant. For the last-mentioned forms the larch, or American hackmatack, is commonly selected. That dear little epiphyte, the ivy, so suggestive of home and affection, of ruined castles, and ancient churches, grows abundantly here; and here, as everywhere else, it clasps the trunks of the great trees with an embrace that seems to give rather than to get life from that to which it clings."*

Kanagawa "has experienced its full share of the desolating ravages of earthquakes; and six or seven years ago several hundreds of the people were buried by a land-slip

from the extremity of the little hill, which, at the height of above 100 feet, hangs over one portion of the town, and was violently convulsed by an earthquake." But "if the violent convulsions of nature are sometimes fatal to the inhabitants of the country, the vast catastrophic disruptions in the outward crust of our planet have apparently tended to render the geological conformation of the soil eminently conducive to fertility and the increase of the agricultural capabilities of these parts. The whole neighbouring district is one great garden, luxuriant with vegetable produce, and teeming with verdant beauty. We occasionally rode on horseback a few miles into the country to the north and west of Kanagawa, passing through scenes unsurpassed in picturesque loveliness in any part of the world. Crops of wheat, barley, and rice occupied every rood of ground. A deep rich black loamy soil prevails throughout the neighbouring district. Not a spot is uncultivated, nor any portion left in fallow. An endless and uninterrupted succession of cereal crops seems to produce no prejudicial effects on the inexhaustible fruitfulness of the soil, favoured with a genial temperature, and watered by frequent showers of fertilizing rain. Every little knoll and eminence is covered with topes of fir or coppices of cedar, while along the borders of the villages, or the enclosures of their farm homesteads, a line of gracefully-drooping bamboos fringes with its verdant colours the variegated landscape. Trees of finest timber and richest foliage are dotted in regularly-planted rows on the hill-sides in every spot less adapted for tillage or remote from irrigation. The Japanese are among the best and most skilled arboriculturists in the world, and every rising undulation of surface bears testimony to their taste in planting trees. The cedar and cypress tribes were peculiarly beautiful, but among them all the *Cryptomeria Japonica* stood forth pre-eminently conspicuous for its stately height and wide-spreading arms. Whole avenues of these noble trees sometimes suddenly burst upon our view, lining each side of the rural pathway. Long deep lanes intersect the valleys, or run around the bases of the hills, luxuriant with foliage, and almost blocking up the way with creepers and honeysuckles. Cottages and refreshment-houses succeed each other at short intervals, indicating, by their general appearance, the prevalence of contentment and moderate plenty among the inmates. Flowers, too, lent their charm in cheering the poor man's dwelling, and diffusing abroad the poetry of nature.

* "North China Herald," June 9, 1860.

The ridges of their houses were often seen formed into a parterre on the summit of the sloping thatched roof, in which irises displayed their purple hue, and evidenced the taste of the humble owners. Rivulets and meandering streams poured along their gurgling waters, furnishing a ready supply for irrigating the level rice-grounds in the lowest

valleys, and refreshing the wearied traveller with their still and gentle murmur."*

We shall avail ourselves of an early opportunity of placing before our readers further particulars respecting Japan and its people.

* Bishop of Victoria's "Japan, pp. 264—266.

THE TUNG-HAE-PEEN, OR EASTERN SEA-SHORE PROVINCES OF RUSSIA.

THE treaty between the Emperors of China and Russia, concluded in the year 1858, and ratified by a convention made at Peking, November 14, 1860, has considerably altered the Asiatic frontier of Russia, and added to that empire new and valuable territories. The western boundary of China is to be deflected from its original course, so as to add in that direction to the Russian empire. The long-established Chinese posts, from Kiachta westwards, and the marks put down in the sixth year of Yung-Ching's reign (1728), are to be followed as far as Shapeen Ta-paha, in the vicinity of Tarbagatai, and then, at the point where these marks terminate, "the western boundaries, not yet laid down, shall commence." We shall not now, therefore, refer to Russian encroachments and Chinese retrocession in the direction of Tartary, but confine ourselves in this brief paper to the far east, and the regions of Amoor. There the direction of the frontier has completely changed, and instead of running from west to east along the course of the Amoor, so far as the sinuosities of the great river permitted it, it now dips with a sudden bend from north to south, so as to cut off almost the entire sea-board of Manchooria from the Chinese empire, and add it to that of Russia.

The territories on which we are about to touch are but little known. Their isolation has been such as to divest them in our eyes of all political importance, and thus the vast regions of Mongolia and Manchooria have attracted but little attention. Yet this ought not to be so. The Missionary command is, that the Gospel should be preached to every creature; and in order to the fulfilment of that essential law of Christianity, man must be searched out. We must investigate the various quarters of the earth, and make ourselves acquainted with all that concerns the inhabitants of these regions. The most isolated fragment of the human race is not excluded from an interest in the rich bequest of the great Testator, and, as the executors of that will and testament, Christians are bound to take all pains that all nations

may know of those great blessings which, under its comprehensive provisions, they are free to enjoy.

We propose, therefore, that our readers should accompany us on an exploratory voyage down the Amoor; and, as we pursue the course of the river, trace out with us the events of frontier history, the aggressions of Russia, the resistance and eventual submission of China, and the territorial changes which have resulted from this.

Irkutsk, on the Angara, not far from its embouchure into Lake Baikal, shall be our starting-point, in lat. 52° 40' N. and lat. 104° 20' E. It has a population of 20,000, and the tea-trade between China and Russia has enriched many. The road winding along the valley of the Angara, conducts the traveller to the Great Baikal, with its precipitous shores rising 800 or 900 feet in height, and in some places 1200 feet. Crossing the lake in a steamer, he lands at Posolsky, on the south-western shore. Advancing across the Kounderenskoï steppe, he reaches Selanginsk on the Selinga, and, surmounting the Khingan mountains, strikes the Shilka. This river is formed by the confluence of the Onon and Ingoda. In lat. 51° 58' N. and long. 116° 40' E. stands Nertchinsk, on the left bank of the Nertche, about three miles from its junction with the Shilka. "To European travellers, the view of Nertchinsk, with its churches, must have a pleasing effect, as it recalls home views, and for the moment creates a forgetfulness of the various Asiatic tribes through which he has wandered to reach this distant spot." "The churches, the hospital, and a few houses, are built of brick and stone; the others are of wood, and the population is about 5000, many of whom are engaged in trade, purchasing and bartering furs for tea, powder, lead, and other necessities required by hunters. Some of them are engaged in the Chinese trade, and convey their merchandize to the fair at Irbit, where they exchange it for European produce." The name of Nertchinsk "is known, and has been the dread of almost every peasant. It was not,

however, the peasant alone that had felt a dread of it: many a noble has shuddered when its name has reached his ear. The convicts from every part of the empire are marched towards this spot, and have ample time for reflection during their journey of eleven months."* Mines of silver and lead in the vicinity had been worked by convicts for many years; but, in 1848, when the annexation of the Amoor was decided upon, these mining operations suddenly ceased, in consequence of the greater part of the Trans-Baikal population being made Cossacks.

The Shilka below Nertchinsk increases considerably, as numerous streams pour into it from the Yablonoi mountains to the north. Amongst these is the Gorbitza, formerly the boundary between Russia and China. In lat. 53° 19' 45" N. and long. 121° 50' 7" E., the Shilka is joined by the Argoun from the south-west, and both together form the Amoor. The Argoun is the prolongation of the Keroulun, the longest affluent of the Amoor, and by some regarded as the main river, whose source lies on the eastern face of the Khingan chain. On issuing from the Koulun lake it changes its name to the Argoun. Together these streams have a course of about 1000 miles, the Onon and the Shilka not exceeding 750. At the confluence of the two great arteries, the Shilka and the Argoun, stands the town of Oust-Strelkoi Karaoul, which, from 1689 to 1854, constituted the most easterly point of the Russian empire. But the interval of 165 years was marked by continual attempts on the part of the Cossacks to break bounds, and occupy territory beyond the recognised frontier, and by efforts on the part of the Manchoes to prevent them.

One hundred and three miles down the course of the stream from Oust-Strelkoi Karaoul, is Albazin, "the first Russian fortress and settlement on the Amoor." In 1643, "a party of Cossack hunters crossed the Yablonoi, reached the Amoor, and descended to the sea. After their success, and the reported wealth of the region, it was decided that a settlement should be made on the Amoor." In the year 1650, Albazin was chosen as possessing wood, water, and good pastures, and there the Cossacks fortified themselves. They were besieged by the Chinese in 1657, and, after a defence of two years, their provisions failing, they were compelled to surrender. "They marched out, however, with their arms, and returned into Siberia, the Chinese army attending them across the frontier, and Albazin

was destroyed. All the prisoners taken during the siege were sent to Pekin, and hence, in after years, Russia stipulated to send a Mission to give spiritual instruction to the Cossacks of Albazin."*

The energetic spirit of the Cossack race was not, however, to be thus repressed. The prospect of valuable furs tempted the hunters beyond the frontier, and, in 1665, the old habitations were restored, and Albazin again fortified. The Chinese again attacked Albazin in June 1685, but it was not until the winter of 1688 that, the Cossacks having retreated, they found themselves once more in the possession of it. "On the 27th of August 1689 a treaty was concluded at Nertchinsk between the Russians and Chinese, by which Russia was compelled to surrender all her settlements in Manchouria." It was stipulated that neither power should occupy Albazin, and a boundary was defined from the Baikal to the Sea of Okhotak; and when the Siberian hunters were still found to trespass beyond the prescribed limits, "a second treaty was concluded, from Chinese dictation, in June 1728."†

Time passed on, and Russia grew stronger and China weaker. In 1848 it was decided to explore the Amoor, and an officer, with four Cossacks, duly provisioned and equipped, was sent down the river in a boat. The officer was enjoined to avoid the Chinese authorities as much as possible, examining their towns and villages, but without entering them. Nine months were assigned as the period of absence, but on its expiration they returned not. Inquiries were urged at the various Yermaks, where the Cossacks met the Orotchons, Tongous, and other wild tribes, but without result: they were never again heard of.

In 1854 the Governor-General of Oriental Siberia organized, for the accomplishment of this object, an expedition on a grand scale, so that the Chinese "could neither check his progress, nor prevent him taking possession of the whole north bank of the river. In less than six weeks the whole of this vast region, including the country between the Amoor and the Russian frontier to the north of the Yablonoi, had changed masters." The strong points were rapidly seized and strengthened, and the new possession placed beyond the power of the Chinese to recover it. But this immense addition to her territory has not been enough for Russia. She coveted more, and has accomplished a fur-

* Atkinson's "Regions of the Amoor," p. 394.

* Atkinson, p. 424.

† Ibid. p. 427.

ther annexation. This new territory will open out to us as we pursue our course down the river.

Not long after passing Albazin, at the junction of the Gerbel-yak, the river bends decidedly towards the south-west. The distance between its course and the Yablonoi is thus increased, and the portion of Manchouria transferred to Russia is proportionably enlarged. The tributaries flowing in through this expanded territory become more powerful and important. The aspect of the country changes. "The mountains are no longer covered with dense forests: here is a fertile region of vast extent, on which groups of elms, birches, maples, and acacias are dotted, giving it an appearance very pleasant to the eye." Of this country it may with truth be said, that it "has charms for every class: the agriculturist and the grazier would look upon it with delight, in anticipation of the crops and herds of fat cattle it would produce; the horticulturist would view its sloping hills, and think of the clusters hanging on its vines, and the vintage which would ensue in a country where the grape is indigenous; and the florist would be charmed with the beauty and variety of its flora: the miner would scan the mountains, and think of the mineral wealth they contain; and the sportsman could indulge in his favourite pursuit of almost every kind of feathered and large game, from a woodcock to a tiger; while the lover of nature would gaze on the great stream and its accompanying scenes with admiration." In this broad tract the Zeya has its outlet, "affording a good means of communication into a vast region in the north-east. This is by far the largest affluent that falls into the upper Amoor, and, from its course, in the Yablonoi mountains to its mouth, it has a course of more than 700 miles. A river flowing over such a distance presents varied aspects: the lower and middle regions are capable of sustaining a great population, with vast herds of horses and cattle, while the upper valleys are clothed with immense forests, abounding in wild animals, and here the hunter obtains valuable skins." On the Chinese side of the Amoor, after the junction of the Zeya, the country becomes thickly populated: villages and dwellings may be observed nestling under woods and clumps of trees as far as the eye can reach, while cattle and horses are seen grazing on the pastures. These people live in a fine climate and a fertile region." Twenty miles below the mouth of the Zeya is Saghalian-Oula-Khoton, or Ai-goön, the headquarters of the Chinese Amoor fleet, "consisting of thirty-six boats of various sizes,

some of them able to carry five tons, the others considerably smaller;" and the seat of the government for the whole of the upper Amoor, so far as these regions yet belong to China. "The town stands on a flat piece of land, which stretches along the bank of the Amoor for a considerable distance, and the buildings occupy a space of about two miles in length and 600 yards in breadth. A large space, enclosed in the centre of the town, forms the fortress: within this enclosure stands the amban, or governor's house, several government offices, the courts of justice, and numerous small temples."

Receiving on its left a large tributary, the Numan, the river enters the gorge of the Khingan mountains, in which its bed is reduced to about half a mile in width, its pent-up flood attaining a depth of seventy feet, and rushing on with great rapidity. Beyond this gorge it spreads out into a broad expanse, studded over with a vast multitude of islands. "These masses are so thickly strewn over the flood, that the water seems to be encircling them in a net-work of silver."

"On both sides of the river a vast steppe stretches out till the sky and the horizon seem blended into one. The plains commence from the south-eastern slopes of the Khingan chain, forming an immense area of country, which appears never to have been cultivated. The soil is composed of sand and clay, with a stratum of rich dark mould above, created during a succession of ages by decayed vegetable matter, that has produced a crop of the most luxuriant grass and plants, only to be cut down by the frost, and add their portion to the earth. The bend of the river on this plain is the most southern point of the Amoor; it is in lat. 47° 42' 18" N.: under this parallel it runs about sixty miles to the mouth of the Soungaria, and, beyond it, turns to the north-east. The temperature on these plains is sufficiently warm to produce almost any vegetation. On the 25th of June the thermometer stood in the tent at 31° Reau. (102° Fahr.); out in the open air, in the shade, 27° Reau. (93° Fahr.); and in the sun at 41° Reau. (125° Fahr.). On these plains many birds are found, which come from Java, Sumatra, and the neighbouring islands."*

The Soungaria has its source in the Tohauboshau, the great white mountain, the Chinese name for the southern portion of the Shih-hih-teh mountains, which extend from the boundary of Corea, lat. 40°, in a north-eastern direction along the sea coast, rising on an average 4500 feet, and covered with forests.

* Atkinson, pp. 446, 447.

The Tchou-bo-shau, called by the Manchouos, Kolmin-shanguin-alin, extend across Liautung to the north of the Liau-ho, and other rivers. On their north-western delivity the Soungaria rises. Flowing in a north-westerly direction, as far as Patoone, in lat. 45°, it receives there a large tributary, the Nouni, having its source on the south-eastern side of the Eke-gou-kooda mountains, and to the eastward of the Argoun. Strengthened by this contribution, the Soungaria runs E.N.E., receiving on its way the Hourha, a large affluent, which carries off the surplus waters of the valley of Ningouta, the original territory of the Manchouos, and pursuing the same direction until it joins the Amoor.

The Tchou-bo-shau, and contiguous portions of the Shih-hih-teh mountains appear to constitute a great water-shed. On the south-west face of the Tchou-bo-shau rises the Toumen, which, flowing in a direction north by east between the mountain ranges, bends to the west, and falls into the sea of Japan, opposite the island of Jesso, about lat. 43° N. Again, on the north-eastern side of the central group rises the Ossouri, Lake Hinkai, or Kinka, about forty miles long, being situated near its head-water; and issuing from its northern extremity, the Ossouri pursues a northerly course of 400 miles, receiving on its way many tributaries, until it falls into the Amoor near Hirma, where as the great river approaches the mountain chain which interposes between it and the sea-coast, it branches more decidedly to the north.

It is to the Ossouri our attention needs to be directed, as this constitutes the new boundary between Russia and China. The Art. 1st of the Convention of Nov. 1860, confirmatory of the treaty between Russia and China, bearing date, June 1858, runs as follows—

“ART. 1.—In accordance with the First article of the treaty concluded at Gae-hwan (Ay-Kom, on the Amoor) on the 2d of June 1858, and the ninth article of the treaty concluded at Tientsin on the 13th of June of the same year, it is agreed that the eastern boundaries, separating Russian from Chinese territory, shall be as follows:—From the junction of the rivers Shih-lih-ngih-urh (Songaria river) and Koo-na—that is to say, down the Amoor to its junction with the Usuri—the country to the north belongs to Russia, and that to the south, as far as the mouth of the Usuri, to China: from the mouth of the Usuri, southwards, to lake Hinka, the rivers Usuri and Songatchan shall be the boundaries; that is to say, the tract of country east of the said rivers belongs to Russia, and that west of the same to China: from the source of the Son-

gatchan the boundary shall traverse lake Hinka in a right line from the Songatchan to the Pih-ling; and from the mouth of the Pih-ling it shall follow the range of mountains to the Houptou's mouth, from which it shall pass to the mouth of the Toumen, running along the Houchun and the Hae-chung-heen range; that is to say, the country east of the boundary-line thus indicated (from lake Hinka to the mouth of the Toumen) belongs to Russia, and that lying to the west thereof to China. From the point at which the frontiers of the two countries meet at the Toumen to the mouth of the said river, there shall be neutral territory, separating the Russian from the Chinese possessions, 20 li in width. Further, in accordance with the ninth article of the Tientsin treaty, it is agreed that a chart shall be made in which the portion coloured red shall indicate the frontiers, and on which shall be written the Russian words—‘A-pa-wa-kih-ta-yay-jene-keae-e-yih-gih-la-na-na-wo-pa-la-sa-too-woo,’ in order to facilitate accurate reference; and the said charts shall be duly authenticated by the seals and signatures of the high ministers of the two countries.”

A new frontier line is here laid down. From the mouth of the Ossouri it advances along the course of that river until it traverses Lake Hinka in a right line, thence, crossing the mountains, it runs along the Houchun and the Hae-chung-heen range to the mouth of the Toumen. This is the new boundary: the country on the east of it belongs to Russia, and that lying to the west thereof to China.” The country to the east belongs to Russia; that is, the whole of the sea-coast districts, as far as the mouth of Toumen. The Amoor is the boundary between the two empires as far as the junction of the Amoor with the Ossouri, the territories to the north belonging to Russia, and to the south to China. But the mouth of the Ossouri being reached, the Amoor ceases to be the boundary; the Ossouri, &c., becomes the boundary, the territories to the westward remaining with China, but all the commanding maritime portions to the east of the river being transferred to Russia, to which empire belongs, at the present moment, nearly the entire sea-board of Manchouria.

Speaking of Nicholaïofsk, the great Russian fortress at the mouth of the Amoor, and its power to arrest any ships which might attempt to enter, Atkinson observes—“The long winter here is a great detriment, and the place can never become a first-rate commercial port, as the ships will always be obliged to leave early. Frost approaches at

the end of October, or the first few days in November, and seals up the river, which for six long months is one vast sheet of ice, and during a great part of the seventh it is impossible for vessels to move from their moorings on account of the floating masses; so that five months is the only period during the year when this part of the Amoor can be used for commercial purposes. Bad as it is for ships to be frozen in at Cronstadt, it would be much worse at Nicholaïofsk, and this will ever remain a serious disadvantage, and check the development of the various resources of the country." He then expresses his conviction that Castries Bay would "ultimately be the port of the Amoor. It is only for three months in the winter that vessels would be sealed up there, even if caught in the ice, a circumstance that would rarely happen, as sailing a degree or two south would take the ship into a genial climate." At least eight additional degrees of coast are now at the disposal of Russia, an extended line, amidst whose curves and indentations, with her usual enterprise, she will not fail to find valuable harbours where winter exercises a moderated influence.

Of the capabilities of this new acquisition we know nothing. "The region between the Soungaria and the sea of Japan," observes one writer, "is almost as much unknown to Europeans as the centre of Africa." In the convention between Russia and China, already referred to, it is described as "unoccupied waste land." It may be so, and yet prove most valuable; and we doubt not it will be so under Russian enterprise and management. Atkinson, in his book, gives us glimpses of the Amoor regions in the vicinity of the Ossouri, which, however they may be unoccupied, prove they are not barren lands. "Beyond the mouth of the Gai-djen, the Amoor runs at the foot of rocky cliffs, where there is no vegetation. These extend for many miles, through a branch of a small mountain-chain, and in some parts they rise into rugged summits, overhanging the water, by which deep ravines have been cut, giving them the appearance of huge forts placed to defend the river. At the eastern end of this chain a great plain stretches out to the south-east, and ends in a valley that seems to run far up into the mountains which form the water-shed between the Amoor and the Ossouri. Here is another vast space on which thousands might be settled, where, by a moderate share of industry, the soil could be made to supply not only the necessaries of life, but many of its luxuries." Advancing down the great river, the same prospects

present themselves.—"The country becomes highly interesting; on the north, several valleys run far up among wooded hills, which extend towards the Kingan mountains, whose summits are so distant that they appear almost like clouds in the horizon. To the south, the mountains of Kouk-tcher-khoorene are seen stretching far beyond the Ossouri, and into the supposed Manchoorian El Dorado. Fertile plains extend along the bank of the river, watered by numerous rivulets that descend from distant hills."

The possession of the Ossouri has long been a desideratum with the Russians. So early as 1651 they erected a fort near its mouth, and from thence proceeded on a predatory excursion up the river. Provoked at their audacity, the Chinese collected a vast armament, and attacked them in their fort, compelling such as survived to retreat to Albazin, and thus securing to themselves the undisturbed possession of the river for 200 years. The mountainous province, of which it constitutes the western boundary, has now become the property of Russia. It is said to abound in mineral wealth. Should it, like the maritime provinces on the other side of the Pacific, be found to contain gold deposits, it will soon become densely populated, and the foundation of a populous kingdom be laid.

The Pekin convention provides, that "from the time of setting up the boundary-marks there shall never be any changes made; and Russia engages not to encroach upon the Chinese territory in the vicinity of the frontier, nor will ground be seized in any other part of China." Undoubtedly Russia has grasped enough to content her for the present; but this affords no security as to the future. The sated boa is quiescent until appetite recurs: then he is in action. Just so, when the new acquisition has lost its novelty, Russian aggression will recommence, and the territory it has acquired be used as a stepping-stone to something more. The position is a commanding one: it overawes China. Moukden, Kinchau, and the gulf of Lea-tang, are not far distant; and Shingking, at some future period, will be absorbed after the fashion of Kirin. Chili, with Pekin, lies beyond. According to the foreshadowings of events, the Manchooks will come under the rule of Russia, and the Yang-tze-keang serve as the southern boundary of the Asiatic branch of that great empire.

The wandering tribes of these regions remain to be noticed, as well as the territorial alterations accomplished on the frontier of Tartary. But this must be reserved for another opportunity.

THE INDIAN UNIVERSITIES.

(From the "Friend of India.")

In their influence on education, and their popularity with the natives, the Universities of Calcutta and Madras have been as remarkable a success as that of Bombay has been an unfortunate failure. The last as yet exists but in name. The Presidency that was loudest in its boast of the superiority of the students of its colleges in a knowledge of English literature and a mastery over the English tongue, to the first-class men of Oxford and Cambridge, has failed to turn out one graduate, has been able to send up for an examination, which an English schoolboy of ten would be ashamed to undergo, not fifty youths. This state of things is inexplicable in a place which has a capital as wealthy as Calcutta, which has a community of Parsees supposed to be more industrious, more ambitious, more public-spirited, more English-like in the power of their intellect and the greatness of their energy, than any other race in the peninsula. The Director of Public Instruction should be able to afford an explanation of this. He has been eager to exclude proper school-books on the ground that their pages were polluted with the name of the one true and living God, or were poisoned by allusions to that Christianity which alone reveals his will. He has declared war against the Grant-in-Aid system, which has accomplished such great results in England and in the other Presidencies. He has joyfully given in his adhesion to the principles of a letter by Lord Ellenborough and a minute by Sir George Clerk, which were rashly written in the panic created by the mutinies, were scouted by the most secular of educationists all over India, and are a blot on the reputation of men otherwise distinguished. Is the total failure of education in Bombay the result of this? We cannot otherwise account for it.

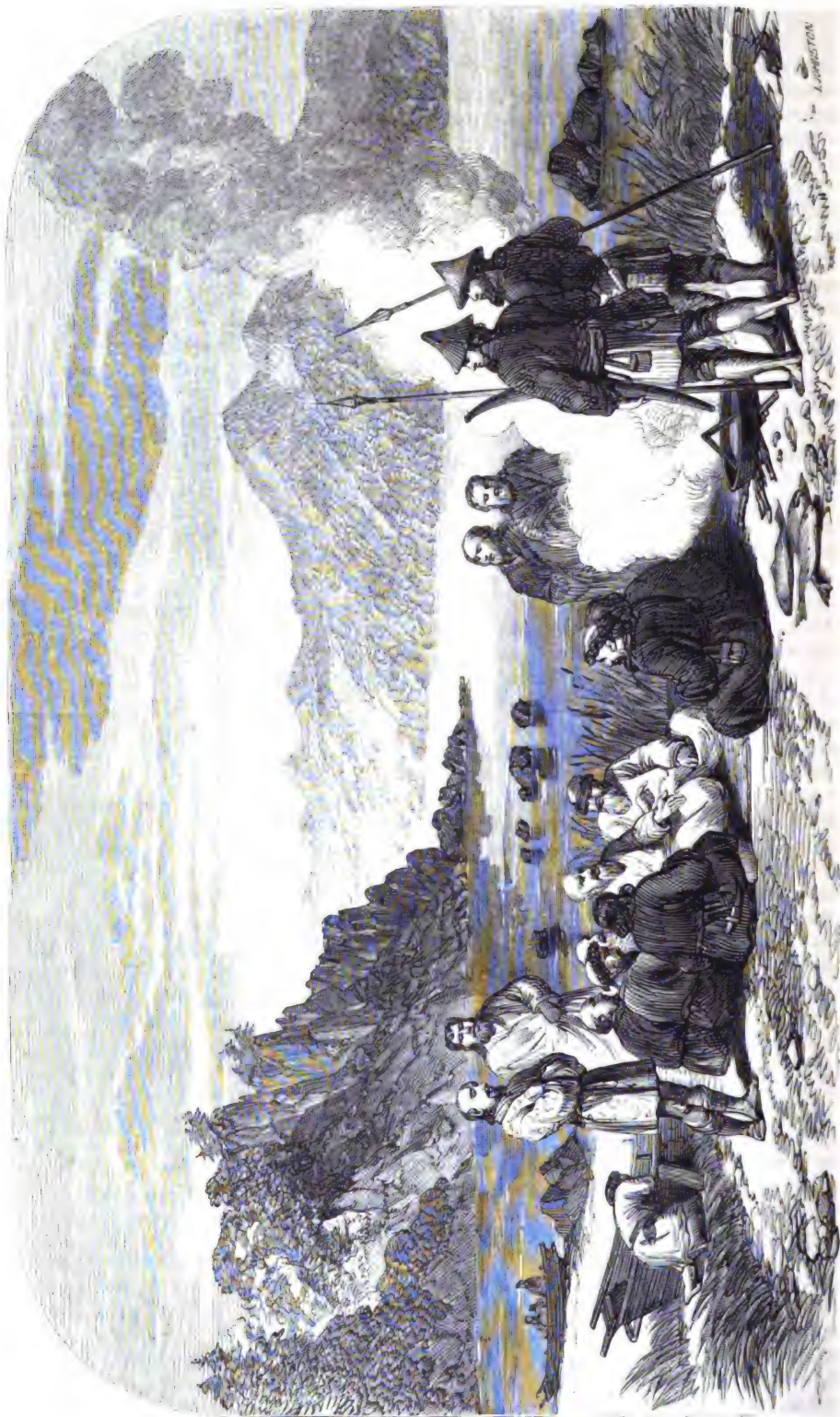
The University of Madras held its first examination of candidates for matriculation in 1857, and for graduates in 1858. It consists of sixteen affiliated schools and colleges, all of which profess to educate their pupils up to its standard for bachelor of arts. Of these sixteen, nine are unconnected with Government, being conducted by the American, Church, London, and Wesleyan Missionary Societies. Up to the end of last year the University passed ten native bachelors of arts and one East-Indian doctor of medicine, and admitted to its rolls, after a matriculation-examination twenty-eight youths in the first,

and forty-six in the second class. The examination papers published in the University calendar for 1860 show that the standard for both matriculation and degree is nearly as high as in the London University, while it is somewhat lower than that of Calcutta.

The University of Calcutta has been as unexpected a success, and has exercised as healthy an influence in Bengal as the East-Indian railway. It consists of eighteen affiliated institutions, of which eight have no connexion with Government. The first examinations were held in 1857, and, since then, 4 students have graduated as bachelors of laws, 23 have passed the law examination and await only the arts' test, 9 have passed the bachelors of arts examination in the first-class and 12 in the second. There are 61 under-graduates in medicine, 292 in the first class of arts, and 542 in the second. The examination for the under-graduate candidates this year finished a few days ago. Their number has steadily increased from 240 in 1857 to 811 on the last occasion. So large a number is worth analysis. Of the whole, 526 were from Government schools, 50 from aided schools, 182 from non-government schools, 28 were private students, and 25 schoolmasters. Their average age was 17·78, the minimum age at which candidates are allowed to come up being 16. As to creed, 716 were Hindu, 28 Mohammedan, and 67 Christians. All were examined in English. In the various languages there were—

Bengali,	682
Urdu,	48
Latin,	48
Sanscrit,	11
Oorya,	10
Persian,	7
Hindi,	3
Greek,	1

There could be no clearer proof of the extent to which the Mohammedans despise a knowledge of English, and to which the study of the learned Eastern tongues is dying out. Not one candidate in Arabic, only 7 in Persian, only 11 in Sanscrit! As boys are unfortunately allowed the option of being examined in either Greek or Latin, this is the first case in which there has been a Grecian. Instead of two Latin text-books the examiners should be allowed to appoint one Latin and one Greek. A classical scholar without Greek is a worse barbarian than Scipio, for even he learned it in his old age.



PORT SEYMOUR, RUSSIAN TARTARY. (Vide page 176.)

THE REGIONS OF MANCHOURIA.

IN our last Number we placed before our readers a sketch of those districts on the eastern shores of Asia over which Russian dominion has recently been extended. In the convention between Russia and China, they are described as "unoccupied waste land." Their capabilities are, however, considerable, neither are they wholly destitute of inhabitants. In 1787 the sea of Tartary was visited by Perouse, and the coast of the continent, as well as the opposite coast of the island of Saghalien, were carefully examined by him. The first point touched was the Bay of Ternay on the Tartarian coast, situated, as laid down by him, in 45° 13' north latitude, and 135° 9' east longitude. The season of the year was the month of May, and his description invests the country with most pleasing features. "Never did France, in the freshest spring, offer gradations of colour of so varied and strong a green. The same plants which grow in our climate, carpetted the whole soil; the greater part were in flower. Roses, red and yellow lilies, lilies of the valley, and all our meadow flowers in general, were met with at every step. Pine-trees covered the tops of the mountains; oaks began only half way down, and diminished in strength and size as they came near the sea; the banks of the river and rivulets were bordered with willow, birch, and maple-trees, and on the skirts of the forests we saw apple and medlar-trees in flower, with clumps of hazel-nut trees, the fruit of which already made its appearance. Our surprise was redoubled, when we reflected on the population which over burdens the extensive empire of China; so that the laws do not punish fathers barbarous enough to drown and destroy their children, and that this people, whose policy is so highly boasted of, dares not extend itself beyond its wall, to draw its subsistence from a land, the vegetation of which it would be necessary to check, rather than encourage." Traces of inhabitants, were, however, found. "Several trees, cut with sharp-edged instruments, the remains of ravages of fire, some sheds, small baskets made of the bark of birch-trees sewed with thread, rackets for walking on snow," and a Tartarian tomb, placed at the side of a small house in ruins, and almost buried in the grass. This was opened, and two persons were found in it, placed side by side. "Their heads were covered with an under cap of taffeta; their bodies, wrapped up in a bear's-skin, had a girdle of the same, from

which hung some small Chinese coins and different copper trinkets. Blue beads were spread, and, as it were, sown in this tomb. We found there, also, ten or twelve kinds of silver bracelets, of the weight of ten penny-weights each, which we afterwards learned were pendants for the ears, an iron hatchet, a knife of the same metal, a wooden spoon, a comb, and a small bag of blue nankeen, full of rice." On the opposite side of the narrow sea, on the Saghalien coast, occurred their first interview with the natives of these regions. Some were dressed in cloth made of the bark of trees, after the fashion of Madagascar; others had "dresses of blue nankeen quilting, and the form of their dress differed but little from that of the Chinese; others wore only a long robe, closed by a girdle. Their heads were bare, or bound round simply with a bandeau of bear's-skin. They had the crown of their head and faces shaved, the hair behind being left long. Their boots were made of seal-skin, their bows, pikes, and arrows were tipped with iron, and their pipes and steels made to strike fire, seemed to be of Chinese or Japanese manufacture. Pointing with their hand to the west, they intimated that the blue nankeen, the beads and steels came from the country of the Mauchour Tartars, on the banks of the Saghalien river, or Amoor, with which they were acquainted. Some Tartars were found amongst these islanders, having crossed over from their own homes, which they stated to be eight days' journey up the Amoor, for the purposes of trade. They were dressed in grey nankeen, the hat being made of bark, and pointed.

The houses of this people, of wood, covered with the bark of birch-trees, and surmounted by a timber-work, thatched with dry straw, were built with much skill, and with every precaution against cold. The hearth was in the middle, under an opening in the roof; little banks, or floors, eight or ten inches high, were raised round the walls, and covered with mats.

On the opposite coast, at the Bay of Castries, they found a kindred people, a wooden bench, like that in the cabins of the Saghalians, compassing the interior of the house; their tombs, of better construction than their dwellings, enclosing three, four, or five biers, of a neat workmanship, ornamented with Chinese stuffs and pieces of brocade. In the interior of these monuments were suspended bows, arrows, and other articles, which they

considered as most valuable. They called themselves Orotchys, and trafficked with the Manchours of the Amoor, receiving grain and nankeen in exchange for oil, dried fish, and bear-skins.

These seas were visited by Her Majesty's steam-sloop "Barracouta" in the years 1854-56. On May 9, 1855, just sixty-eight years after the exploration of Perouse, the prominent mountain of Spenberg, on the island of Saghalien, and the bold coast on either side of it, were visible, and on the same day, before sunset, the coast of Tartary was sighted, which, by the charts, ought to have been ninety miles distant. Suffrein Bay was their first anchorage. The tints of Mr. Tronson's descriptions are not so vivid as those of Perouse. Along a coast, rather low, although hilly in the background, ranged northward, as far as the eye could reach, an extensive forest. Many striking headlands met the view, with high mountains in the distance, covered with snow, the pine-forests stretching down to the sea-shore. At a bay, lying about 49° N. lat., natives were found. They called themselves "Ghiliacks, a nomadic race, dwelling on these coasts as far as the north-western extremity of Saghalien. They are low in stature, stout, and rather broad in proportion to their height; shape of the head round; cheek-bones prominent; eyes oblique; well-defined eyebrows, more arched than those of the Chinese; hair coarse, black, and bound into a tail; hands small and extremely delicate, with well-shaped nails; complexion fair and ruddy; with well-cut lips and even teeth; scanty moustache; and occasionally one meets with a Ghiliack having a coarse black beard. They wear very large ear-rings, each shaped as a circle, with a small circular appendage.

"The women are small; their features broad, complexion sallow, with small eyes; and there is no trace of animation in their countenances, as they sit nursing their babes or sewing on their dress some newly-acquired bauble. They are a little vain of personal appearance: necklaces and bracelets of beads are called into requisition to adorn their necks and arms; whilst nose and ear-rings of brass, silver, or copper, depend as ornaments from the respective organs. A long loose robe of blue cotton or deer-skin, overlapping the chest and confined around the waist by a girdle, reaches to the feet, on which mocassins of birch bark are worn, the hem of the long garment being studded with Manchoo coins and small white shells. The dress of the male sex is of a rough material, made from coarse cotton cloth, or, failing this, of

dog or deer-skin; a loose coat of either material reaches to the knees, fastened across the chest, and bound round the waist by a girdle, which also confines a knife, pipe, and tobacco-pouch; breeches of skin of deer, with shoes and leggings of birch bark, the latter bound round by strings of raw hide: a fur ruff around the neck, and a head-dress of the same warm substance, complete the attire.

"The diet of this people appeared to consist of fish and oil; a large quantity of flat-fish was hung up to dry on stakes without the huts, and seal-oil in the stomach of some animal was suspended from the same stakes. Some sleigh dogs tied to the young stems of trees, closely resembled those of Kam-schatka."*

On the 11th a new bay was reached, which was called Barracouta Harbour, in lat. about 49° N. There were evident traces of recent Russian occupation. Two batteries had been erected, and various huts strongly but roughly put together. "None others can exceed the Russians in their ready power of making a home for themselves upon the shortest notice: fir-trees cut down from the forest, trimmed and smoothed with the axe, and laid upon one another in horizontal rows—the side log being dove-tailed into the end one—form the four walls; moss forced in between the logs, rendering the seams air-tight and the hut comfortable." Atkinson makes the same remark on the Russian peasant, "than whom no man can better adapt himself to circumstances. He is ingenious, can turn his hand to any occupation: indeed, by the aid of his axe and saw alone he will build his dwelling, and be his own cabinet-maker. He is his own tailor and shoemaker, grows his flax, and his wife and children spin and weave their linen. In short, there are few necessities which these people cannot prepare. Generally he is a good hunter, and understands the use of his rifle: he can thus procure food wherever game is found. This gives him confidence in his new position, and makes him formidable to an enemy if molested." It is the possession of such qualifications which peculiarly fits this people to be the pioneers of the Russian empire. The frontier line in Asia is occupied with Cossack stations, and from these points, as opportunity presents itself, picquets are being thrown forward, and new spots seized upon, which, in due time, become the stepping-stones to somewhat more. The hardships which these little bodies of men endure, and the intrepidity with

* "Narrative of a Voyage to Japan," &c., by J. M. Tronson, R.N., 1859, pp. 268-270.

which they are surmounted, are almost incredible.

The planting of Kopal, the most southerly fort Russia has as yet formed in Chinese Tartary, situated about 43° N. lat. and 82° E. long., and only three days' journey from the Chinese city Kulja, exemplifies this perseverance. "The fort is in the region belonging to the great horde of the Kirghis, and is significant of the fate which awaits these warlike tribes." The spot selected was eighteen days' journey from Ayagus, the basis of the movement, and separated only by the mountains of the Alatau from legions of Chinese convicts occupying the region round about Kulja. To this wild region a little party was thrown forward, consisting of one hundred men, with six guns. Delayed on their way by the difficulties of the march, they did not reach their destination until the season was advanced and winter was fast approaching. With the rough stones strewed over the bottom of the gorge the men erected huts for their winter dwellings. "Trunks of trees and branches formed the flat roofs; over these was thrown a covering of earth about nine inches thick. Glass they had none: Chinese silk, strained on to small frames, formed the windows, and rough doors were made out of bark. Logs of wood were their seats, and dried ferns their beds." Wood had then to be gathered for winter fuel; for food they had to depend on their rifles, and both venison and wild mutton were soon in store. At the end of October winter came; their stony dwellings were covered with snow, and their usual occupations stopped. In November the bourans began to blow. These storms rage over the vast steppes and amidst the mountain ranges of Central Asia with a violence unknown in Europe. The yourts of the nomades are blown down, the voilock coverings rent asunder and carried away, and the household goods strewn over the plain. When they occur in the night, the fur-wrappers are blown from the children, and, hurled into the snow, they perish; nay, if men or women wander from the aoul they can seldom return, and thus they are often frozen to death within fifty paces of their friends." The bouran which fell on the advanced party in the gorge of the Alatau mountains raged for eleven days. "It was intermitted only to be followed by others, and their fatal effects on man and animal were soon visible, for, before the middle of February, "thirteen men had died, and fifty-seven horses had perished in the snow."

Such was the commencement of Kopal, a town containing at present "11,000 inhabi-

tants, and which will gradually increase as commerce extends into these regions." A considerable number of Tartar merchants are established there, who carry on a most profitable trade with the nomade tribes, as well as with China.

The entire Russian frontier is pervaded with a like energy. Full of enterprise, the Cossack is ever ready to push forward, and thus the frontier, with astonishing strides, is advancing southward. The life and activity which prevail on the Russian side contrast strongly with the listlessness and inability to effort which are to be found on the Chinese side of the frontier. Let us see to it, that, in a higher cause, and in advancing the frontier of a better kingdom, we imitate not the inertness of the Chinese, but the vigour of the Russian. "The children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light."

To return to the "Barracouta" and its cruise on the coast of Tartary: as they advanced south from Barracouta Bay the aspect of the country improved. On the hill sides, dwarf oak, birch, and elm were thinly scattered; the wild gooseberry, azalea, and rhododendron were in bloom, with many other flowering shrubs. Lilies and violets, and the more humble but graceful ferns, adorned many shady spots. Birds poured forth strange and pleasing sounds, round and full as the bulfinch, and the clear note of the cuckoo was for the first time heard. Tartars were found along the coast owning herds of cattle, and growing, in the gardens around their houses, rice, potatoes, and onions.

At Bullock Bay, in lat. 50° 2' N., the country was found to be rich and diversified. "We ascended a woody hill which rose from a wide plain of rich and soft young grass, above which the cotton-rush showed its white silky plume; between the trees the orange-lily bloomed; and, on the sunny side of the bank, the wild strawberry, yellow and white ranunculus, and a plant resembling the heliotrope in flower and perfume; the peony and the red dog-rose were in profusion. Here also we found the pale blue geranium, meadow-sweet, and the well-known hawthorn. Grasshoppers, blue dragon-flies, beetles, and mosquitoes, were seen in numbers."*

On July 5th Sybille Bay was reached, the country being as diversified and picturesque as can well be imagined. High-peaked mountains appeared in the distance; nearer, wooded hills and winding valleys; and, nearer still, broad park land, with gentle hillocks,

* Tronson, p. 326.

birch and oak being thinly scattered over them. Here Tartars were again met. They were true Manchours, wearing "deer-skin coats, and breeches of the same material, with short round hats; their heads were unshorn, but gathered behind into two short tails. They had mocassins of birch-bark, bound round with thongs of untanned hide. Before putting on these they envelop the feet in soft grass in lieu of stockings." "They smoked incessantly: their pipes were similar to those of China, but had valuable mouth-pieces of jade stone."

Through a pretty well cultivated garden, having a good crop of potatoes, turnips, onions, beans, and garlic, a Tartar house was approached. The owners being absent, a large round stone rolled against the door kept it shut, there being no place for lock or bolt. "The house resembled those in the north of China proper. It was built of stockades, with mud-plaster, and thatched with dry sedge. A large window, framed and papered, on either side of an ordinary door, admitted a dim light. . . . Some written inscriptions, in Chinese character, were posted on the lintels of the gateway and door of the house. . . . A fire was smouldering in the centre of a clay floor, and no exit for the smoke was perceptible. . . . Square raised bed-places occupied corners on either side of the door: they were covered with thick mats, on which were piled some skins, which answered the purpose of bedclothes. The rafters were supported by wooden pillars, around which hung bows and arrows, matchlocks, quivers, hunting-knives, and their pipes and tobacco pouches. Here were also clumsy wooden saddles covered with skins, unwieldy bridles, and rather weighty stirrup-irons. In this dark and dismal dwelling there was but one apartment, and in a retired corner was a small place set aside for the worship of their gods. A representation of one was painted on the background of a small temple, his godship being characterized by a very red face, with scanty moustaches, eyes which appeared to take opposite views at the same time. Before the picture the usual offerings of fruit lay untasted; joss-sticks and joss-papers, and a saucer of rancid oil, with rush-light, cumbered the little altar, which was otherwise filthy."* Thus religion, left in the hands and to the conceptions of man, becomes degraded, and, with its degradation, sinks the worshipper still lower. A wretched image occupies the place of Him who is glorious in holiness. The man re-

gards the God as having wants and necessities like himself, and bribes Him to be gracious by gifts and offerings of a worthless and vulgar kind. What multitudes are lying in this ignorance, dishonouring to God, and hurtful to themselves! How long shall this night continue, and when shall the feet of Him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace, be beautiful upon the mountains of Manchouria?

Port Seymour, a safe anchorage, where plenty of wood and water can be procured, lies in lat. 43° 46' N., and long. 135° 19' E. Here excursions were made into the country, and, at no great distance, were found many Tartar houses, with fields of cultivated land around them. Within a small bark hut, too small for any one to enter, even on hands and knees, were placed a bowl with chopsticks, a small fan and basket. A mound of fresh earth was piled up before the door. It was a grave, and these objects were the food and drink, placed there after the superstitious fashion of the Chinese, for the use of the souls of the departed.

The land around was well cultivated: there was barley nearly ripe, in rich crops; sweet potatoes and pumpkins, and potatoes in blossom, and plains of high grass ready for the scythe.

On August 8th the "Barracouta" sailed from Port Seymour for Victoria Bay. As they advanced southward the country became more thickly peopled; in many creeks Tartar houses could be discerned, with a few boats or canoes drawn up on shore. Approaching Termination Island, at the entrance to Victoria Bay and Napoleon Gulf, many canoes were seen under sail, the sails of some of the latter being made of blue calico.

"Victoria Bay extends 130° 28' to 132° 3' E. long., and from 42° 30' to 43° 26' N. lat. In it there are three gulfs—Napoleon, Guerin, and D'Anville. The Eugénie Archipelago is named after the Empress of the French." Some of the islands are large, hilly, and covered with verdure, affording capacious and sheltered anchorages, are partly inhabited by Manchours. Port Dundas, situated in a large island forming the southern side of Hamelin Straits, is a fine anchorage, stretching in a south-easterly direction for five miles, and terminating in a cul-de-sac. Small coves, prettily situated, with strands of granite sand, present themselves here and there. They are the terminations of wooded valleys, where grow the oak, walnut, ash, sycamore, birch, and elm, also the vine, wild raspberry, currant, and hazel, pear and apple-trees. The hills are covered with rich long

* Tronson, pp. 337, 338.

grass, peonies, orange lilies, convolvulus, vine, and orchids. Oak of a superior quality, and of fair average diameter, grows on the open hill sides.

Some large canoes were drawn up in a row in front of a Tartar house. "They were capable of carrying sails, and each was made from the stem of a large tree, rudely constructed, and fitted with rudders. Some were laden with sea-weed closely packed, others with tobacco. . . . The crews of the canoes were enjoying their supper in the open air : it consisted of fish, soup, potatoes, and rice. Perfect adepts in the use of chopsticks, they squatted around small fires, occasionally ceasing for a little to enjoy a pipe, and then attack the viands with renewed vigour. Fresh supplies were being cooked in shallow pans, suspended over fires from a tripod. They were a gipsy-looking lot, their faces swarthy from smoke and exposure to all weathers ; some hardy fellows, strongly built, broad-shouldered, and muscular ; others thin and tall. Their heads were unshorn, with the exception of one man, who was well dressed, and had his head shaved, and wore a tail. He appeared to exercise some authority over the rest, and could read and write. He was presented with a Manchoo Testament, and was greatly pleased with the gift. The heads of these Tartars were much compressed above the cheek-bones in the region of the temples, and the head receded from the brows and occipital protuberance to the vertex of the head, which was rather pointed."*

Such is a brief sketch of the coast line of that important territory which has been ceded to Russia by the Emperor of China.

Let us look a little into the interior, and more especially with reference to its inhabitants. The Ghiliacks have been already referred to, as being found on the shore, in the vicinity of Barracouta Bay and northward. They extend into the interior, on the banks of the Amoor and the Ossouri.

They are noticed by Atkinson, as a people among whom Shamanism is more strongly rooted than in any other race in Asia, their fanaticism being of the deepest cast, and the practice of sorcery prevalent amongst them. In their country is the seat of "the Arch-Shaman," whose priests delude the people by their pretended enchantments and jugglery, and exert over their minds an unlimited sway." To this is attributed the death of two Romish Missionaries, "De la Bruniere and Venault, who, after a residence of some years in different parts of China, had found

their way into Manchouria. They visited many towns in this portion of the celestial empire, and exercised their vocation wherever there was an opportunity of making converts. It is said that among the settlers in the upper part of the Ossouri they were successful, and remained with their proselytes some time. From the Manchourian merchants they acquired information about the different tribes inhabiting the banks of the Amoor, and learned that the whole population were Shaman. Intent on attacking Shamanism in its stronghold, they made their way down the Ossouri, and exercised their calling at all the towns in their route, most of the inhabitants being followers of Confucius. Having spent the winter of 1845 at a town in the lower part of the river, "so soon as the ice broke up they prepared to continue their journey, and arranged with some Manchour merchants for a passage in their boats as far as the villages of the Goldi."

The Goldi, Tongouz, and Mangoors, are semi-civilized and kindred races inhabiting the countries on the lower Amoor and its affluents. They show great taste and judgment in selecting the sites for their dwellings, many of the villages being placed in lovely and romantic spots. Their settlements are to be seen dotted down on the banks of the Amoor, some nestling at the edge of a dark forest, and looking gay with gardens around them ; others placed under clumps of trees, on the verge of great tracts of pasture land that extend far into the interior. Attracted by gay colours, they paint all their household goods and portions of their dwellings with the most vivid tints. They carry on "a considerable trade in skins with the Chinese, who arrive with their well-laden boats in the early part of summer, and then commence the barter of sable-skins for brandy." "The Chinese trader penetrates to every inhabited spot with tea and various articles of clothing, but the greatest portion of his cargo is brandy, and here, as elsewhere, he soon strips the people of their valuable skins for one-tenth part of their value, paid in this most disagreeable composition. His customers are then compelled to make over to him a portion of the next year's produce, to procure the few necessities they require, which are only to be obtained at an enormous price."* The Soungaria appears to be the great highway by which the Chinese trader penetrates into these districts of Manchouria. With these tribes, as with the

* Tronson, p. 376.

* Atkinson's "Amoor," p. 474.

Ghiliacks, the Shaman is all-powerful, and "nothing of importance is undertaken without consulting him." Besides being the spiritual adviser, he is the family physician, and by the influence which he acquires in the two characters, he moulds the people to his will and directs many of their actions.

To confront these priests, and attack their superstitions, was no slight undertaking. Yet on this errand the Romish Missionaries went forward fearlessly. Nothing is more calculated to excite commiseration than the position of such men, going forth amidst so many dangers to preach that which they consider to be Christianity, but which, after all, is a system of man's devising, in which the truth of God is changed into a lie. Happy for themselves, happy for others, did they know in its purity and simplicity that message of mercy in Christ Jesus, which is alone effectual to convert souls to God. Yet it is impossible not to admire the intrepidity of these men, and their devotion to the cause which they have in hand. Why should they be the first to penetrate into unknown countries, and visit strange races? It is painful in the extreme when in any instance it happens to be so. They who have the truth should be foremost. Their superiority of principle ought to prompt them to superiority of action. The Missionary of the cross ought to be fearless, and as enterprising as the scientific explorer or the Romish priest. We want in our Protestant Missions of the present day more of the spirit of holy enterprise and ready self-denial: men are needed who will be ready to forego their right to lead about a sister or a wife, that, thus disembarassed, they may be more fitted to act as pioneers, and introduce the Gospel wherever a door of opportunity presents itself.

Amongst the Goldi these two strangers remained "for a considerable period, travelling from one village to another, disputing with their Shamans, and assuring them that the god whom their priest called upon in his song could neither hear nor answer his prayer, and that he had no power to do them good or evil. They told him of the true God what they knew—"that He created the world; that without Him not only the sun would not shine, but that it would be constant winter and darkness;" but they could not speak clearly of Him, whom they themselves saw but imperfectly, who had come "as a light into the world, that whosoever believeth in Him should not abide in darkness, but should have the light of life;" and without whose illuminating influence it

must continue to be the winter and darkness of the human soul. Thus they laboured strenuously, but in vain; and at length, leaving the Goldi, reached the Mangours. Here again "they travelled from village to village, using every argument at their disposal to shake the belief of the people in the power of the Shaman, which so enraged the priests, that their position became critical. The Mangours are a quiet and inoffensive race, not easily roused to acts of violence." The Missionaries were indeed compelled to retire, yet without personal injury. But amongst the Ghiliacks it was otherwise. There they were murdered at the instigation of the Shamans, whose malignant feelings had been aroused by the way in which their tricks had been exposed.

Amongst all these tribes, as among the Chinese, the custom prevails of providing their deceased friends with such things as they think will be necessary for them in the spirit-world where they have entered. Unless this be done, the spirit is supposed to wander for ever through dark and dismal forests, where it can find no rest. The custom varies among different tribes: "the Kirghis chief has his favourite horses buried with him, that he may not be compelled to walk in his ghostly state, a thing he abhors when living. The Kalmucks and Kalkas have their weapons, clothes, and implements placed in their graves, that they may appear suitably appareled before their friends, and able to engage in their ordinary pursuits. But the Tongouz races have similar articles placed in their grave, to be ready for service the moment they awake from what they consider to be their temporary repose."*

Atkinson gives a striking description of the funeral rites of a Kirghis chief—

"A celebrated sultan, Darma Syrym, died at his pastures near Nor-Zaisan, within the Chinese frontier. He was an aged man, greatly esteemed by the people, and feared by other tribes. In early life his power had been recognised far into the country of the Kalkas, and into the region of the Gobi. The owl's feather which he wore was not the only badge that marked him a descendant of Genghiz. He was a warrior too, and had made his influence felt on the banks of the Jaxartes. His illness was not of long duration, but his mulla had perceived in its early stage that it would be fatal. This was announced to his people, and caused a deep and painful sensation. As he drew towards his end, many came from afar to witness the last

* Atkinson's "Amoor," p. 483.

moments of the great man. The moment he had ceased to breathe, Kirghis were despatched to the nearest Aouls to announce the event. Swift horses were used, and they were ridden to the utmost of their speed. When the messenger reached his destination, and delivered his sad tidings, another man was despatched to convey the intelligence to others. Thus, within the space of a few hours, the news of the Sultan's death had spread over an area of near 200 miles in diameter. The sultans, chiefs, or elders of each tribe immediately repaired to Darma Syrym's Aoul to assist at the funeral rites, and before evening a vast number came pouring in. A spear and a black flag were mounted at the door of the yourt, and the deceased was laid out dressed in his best attire. The chair of state, the emblem of his greatness, was placed at his head; his saddle, horse-trapping, arms, and clothing were arranged in piles on each side; and Chinese silk curtains were suspended from the ribs of his yourt, while his wives, daughters, and other females of his tribe, knelt with their faces towards him, chanting the funeral dirge. The effect of this music as they sang, swaying their bodies to and fro, was solemn and pathetic. Groups of men entered, and, instantly kneeling, joined in the funeral chorus, swelling the mournful harmony with their deep-toned voices. There were no shrieks, tearing of hair, or funeral wails used by this people; their's was really a musical service. While this was being performed, another part of the ceremony was preparing. In the rear of the Sultan's yourt, men were engaged slaughtering ten horses and one hundred sheep for the funeral feast; near these, numerous iron cauldrons were boiling over fires in the ground, attended by men stripped naked to the waist, who, with wooden ladles in their hands, were employed skimming the boiling contents. Groups of men with crimsoned arms and hands were engaged in the slaughter, while others dragged up the victims for sacrifice, and near were the swarthy forms of those occupied about the cauldrons. At times the whole group might be seen, some with uplifted arms pursuing the work of death, then a shriek and plunge, and a horse fell, having received the fatal thrust; in another moment all was obscured; then suddenly the figures were dimly visible, appearing, as the steam was wafted past, like demons engaged in some unholy rites. It was a savage scene; and, when coupled with the mournful sounds issuing from the dwelling, produced a saddening and a sickening effect. When a sufficient portion of the animals was

cooked, the guests assembled, and seated themselves in a circle on the ground in front of the yourt—the sultans and elders in the centre, those of less degree around them; beyond these were the women.

“The festival continued for seven days, during which other Sultans and Kirghis were constantly arriving. It was supposed that near 2000 people assembled to assist at the funeral. On the eighth day the Sultan was interred. His body was taken from the yourt in the clothing in which it had lain; another cloth was wrapped around it, and then it was placed on a camel, by which he was carried to the tomb. The chair of state was borne before him on another camel, and two of the Sultan's favourite horses formed part of the procession, being led immediately after the body. After these came his wives, daughters, and the women of his tribe, chanting the funeral hymn, in which the mullas and a vast number of men joined, swelling the mournful strain into a mighty chorus, which was heard far over the plain. On reaching the tomb the body was placed in the grave, when the mullas recited prayers, and told of the great deeds of the departed. While this was performing, the two horses were killed and interred on each side of their late master; after which the graves were filled up, and the procession returned to the Aoul, to partake of another grand funeral banquet. One hundred horses and one thousand sheep were slain to the honour of the deceased Sultan. When the women returned, they entered the yourt and chaunted their mournful dirge for an hour before the pile of arms, horse-trappings, and apparel which had belonged to the departed; after which, all the family assembled before the dwelling, and were joined by the Sultans and chiefs who had attended to do honour to the memory of Darma Syrym. This great festival was continued for several days after the funeral, until the people gradually left for their homes. By the tribe it was kept up a long time; and the chaunting was repeated at sunrise and sunset during a whole year.”

The Manchours have hitherto been, in these regions, the dominant race, as they have been now, for upwards of 200 years, in China. The first of their chieftains who attained celebrity was Tienming. This fierce nomad assumed the title of emperor, and, publishing a manifesto against the house of Ming in 1618, vowed to celebrate the funeral of his father with the slaughter of 200,000 Chinese. His grandson, Shunchi (1644), is regarded as the first emperor. From this position of supremacy they are rapidly falling. In China,

weakened by their wars with the western nations, they are unable to resist the fierce outbreak of the Taepings, and in Manchouria and Mongolia the star of the Muscovite is rapidly rising into the ascendant.

They have hitherto been the great traffickers and merchants of the Amoor. "They descend the Soungaria in large boats laden with Chinese produce," which they sell at an enormous price. "The goods which they supply are coarsely-printed calicoes, Chinese silk materials, rice, and millet; also bracelets, earrings, tobacco, and brandy, for which they receive in exchange valuable furs, isinglass, and the dried spinal bones of the sturgeon: the latter are highly prized in Chinese cookery. The Mangours from the Lower Amoor enter into this trade; they collect the furs from the hunters in every part of the region, and the other simple products from the people, quite down to the sea of Okhotak. With these they descend the river, bartering as they proceed, till they reach the Soungaria, and then ascend to Etcha-Khoton, exchange their commodities, and return with a Chinese cargo to their winter stations, where they remain till the following spring. So they pass their time, one voyage in the year realizing enough for all their wants."

There are various yermaks, or fairs, where the traders meet and traffic. Two are held near the mouth of the Koomar: "one begins on the 1st of December, and the other on the 10th of March. To the first of these fairs the Manchour authorities go to receive the tribute of furs that the Manyangs have to pay. Manchourian merchants from Daouria also attend to barter their wares for the produce of the hardy hunter's rifle. They bring Chinese goods, consisting of coarsely-printed or dyed dabi, common silks, tea, salt, rice, millet, tobacco, powder, and lead; also that abominable stinking stuff, Chinese brandy. Lead and powder are the essentials for the hunter, but the merchant tries to tempt him first with his other wares, and, if possible, obtain all his skins before he has supplied himself with the means of obtaining more. . . . The Daourians from the valley of the Koomar attend the fair with their agricultural produce, and the Cossacks from the Argoun go there in March, carrying powder and lead, with a few articles of Russian produce, which they barter for sable or squirrel skins. The latter pass current among these people as money, and any thing can be purchased with them. The tax which the hunter pays to the Manchourian authorities is the same they pay on the southern slopes of the Altai, viz.

a sable skin annually. None of the Manyangs, under twenty years of age, is called upon to contribute to his Celestial Majesty's coffers: after that age no excuse is permitted. Every person must deliver his sable skin, and those who do not hunt, barter for them with the Manchourian merchants, at the rate of seventy squirrel skins for a sable. Nor are the people taken as soldiers before the age of twenty, or after forty: having attained the latter age they are free."

One of the most remarkable of these yermaks is the village of Pui, lying 100 miles below Mariensk, and named by Atkinson the 'Nijne-Novgorod of these regions, where the hunters and traders assemble from all quarters. Tongouz hunters from the Zeya and Yablonoi bring the produce of their rifle. Ghiliacks from the shore of the sea of Okhotak attend with their furs, and the Mangours, with their neighbours the Goldi, bring skins from the Ossouri and Goreena. Manchour merchants from the Soungaria meet them with wares from China, and Japanese come to barter their goods with the hunters for the produce of their forests. Such an assemblage can only be collected on this spot, where curious and highly-characteristic scenes take place between the daring hunter and the crafty Manchour and Japanese."

Manchooria may now be considered as divided between Russia and China. Of its three provinces, Shingking, Kirin, and Taitshar, the former alone remains in its integrity. The two latter are more Russian than Chinese, and will be entirely absorbed by that rapidly-increasing and colossal empire at no distant period. It is chiefly in connexion with the interests of Christianity that the growth and decadence of empires, and the transfer of territories, is a matter of interest to us. Whatever facilitates the action of the Gospel is welcome; whatever has a tendency to interfere with the extension of that boon which man so much needs, is a matter of regret. Hitherto the Muscovite rule has not been favourable to the communication of pure Christianity, and Protestant Missions have been excluded alike from the Muscovite population of the Greek communion, as well as from the heathen tribes within its vast extent of frontier.

Atkinson observes that "Russia has exercised great prudence in her conquests among the Asiatic tribes: she has always respected their religion and superstition, and no priests have accompanied her Cossacks." It may have been so hitherto, and yet, if it be true, it does not say much for her own conviction of the value of Christianity, and its import-

ance to the wellbeing of the human race. Either she is incredulous as to its value, or sacrifices its just claims to that which she considers to be her policy.

We believe, however, that this policy has been departed from, and that, so far as Manchouria is concerned, the Greek priests are diligently and, it is said, successfully proselyting its population to their communion. Whether this be the case or not, it is time for Protestant Christianity to look in the direction of North China and Manchouria, and consider whether something might not be done in these regions. We are happy to perceive that a commencement has been made, and that a Missionary of the American Board of Foreign Missions has taken up his residence at Tientsin. Some extracts from his letters, as published in the "Missionary Herald," will add to the fragments of information which we have been endeavouring to mould together for the reader's use—

"I ought to say a word in regard to my coming to Tientsin, in the province of Chi-li, rather than going to Chi-foo or Tung-Chow in Shantung. This latter place has the advantage as a residence. It is in a mountainous region, bordering on the sea. I doubt if a more healthy or delightful location is to be found in China. Tientsin, however, has the advantage, as a centre of Missionary operations. It is in the middle of a populous province near Pekin, and affords facilities for locomotion in every direction, by its canal and rivers.

"I judge this to be a healthy region. The army enjoyed wonderful health. The plains are very dry, and they are not drenched at every tide by water pouring in through numerous canals and water-courses, as at Shanghai. I think, also, that the long rains we experience there do not prevail here. Besides, we have access to the immense region on the north-west. Already I hear the people speak of the country of the Mongols, beyond the 'wall of ten thousand li,' where the grass grows [tall, and immense flocks of the finest sheep, and herds of cattle, and great numbers of horses, asses, mules, and camels, are reared. To those regions, also, we will hope to penetrate in due time.

"I feel prepared, on the whole, to urge the Board to establish a Mission station in Tientsin. . . . I confess there are some barren plains about the city, and mud-walled houses, and filth and dirt within, which might dishearten romantic adventurers. But Missionaries of the Gospel ought not to be such. If a wide field of usefulness is sought, im-

mense multitudes of our fellow-men, who have never heard, and who have no one to preach to them, the Gospel; if the centre of authority, and influence, and heathen power in Eastern Asia is sought, it is here, and in the region to which this station is the port of access. I would, then, urge the Board to establish a Mission here, and to send two or three families at once, and two more after a lapse of six months.

"This city is now garrisoned by English and French troops. They reside in public buildings, in temples, and in the dwellings of the rich, whom they have dislodged. In general, great care is taken to treat the people with justice and kindness. Rents are paid for all private houses, and supplies purchased at equitable rates. Last Sabbath a subscription was proposed to the English forces for the poor among the Chinese, to be distributed at the approaching Christmas festival. The people, on their part, seem favourably disposed, and bring in supplies in abundance. One may travel in every direction with impunity. The Mongolian forces (there was no Chinese army engaged in the war) have all vanished from this region.

"The country around produces wheat, rye, millet, Barbados millet, or 'raw liang,' Indian corn, both white and yellow, a species of rice, inferior to the rice of the south, a species of cotton which grows in cold climates, excellent in quality, but not grown in great quantities, and great varieties of peas and beans. Apples, pears, peaches, persimmons, walnuts, chestnuts, dates, and most delicious grapes, abound in this section. The sweet potato, and all the ordinary kitchen vegetables, except the Irish potato, are raised in abundance, and are of better flavour than the same in the south. Sheep, which are remarkably large and fine-looking, are brought in large flocks from beyond the great wall, and sold at very low rates. The cattle appear much like those of New England. Horses, asses, and mules abound, as do horse-carts and ox-carts, and truck-teams of a certain kind; also the immense Chinese wheelbarrow, to which an ass is sometimes fastened, by ropes, to help it forward. Horses, mules, asses, and oxen are attached promiscuously to the same cart. We may see a strong ox between the thills, an ox, horse, or mule before him 'tandem,' and, on either side of these, one or two asses, mules, horses, or oxen, as the case may be, each drawing by itself, by ropes attached to the axle-tree, and, in the case of those before, passing through rings of iron at the end of the thills. The number does not often exceed six in one team.

There are roads for riding and driving leading out in every direction.

"I have come at a favourable time. There is a disposition, on the part of quite a number, to inquire into religious things. Some have met together, at my own room, to receive instruction. One of these, who was baptized in infancy by the Roman Catholics, drew out from his bosom, one day, a copy of the New Testament, in Mandarin colloquial, which he kept and read as a hidden treasure. It was translated by Dr. Medhurst, and printed at Shanghai. He had obtained it from a man on board a junk who had visited that city. Individuals from time to time appear who have been at Shanghai, and heard preachers there, and who know many things we teach. There is a wide and effectual door opened, both in Tientsin and in all the surrounding towns. Nay, Peking itself is open to-day to preachers of the Gospel. I cannot desert this field to go there, but, were this place supplied, I should feel called upon to consider the question of removing there at once. Just now Missionaries are received here with a degree of goodwill which ought to stimulate many to enter the field. Twenty labourers would find ample employment."*

Attention should also be directed to the Gulf of Liautung, and to Newchwang, one of the cities opened by the treaty of Tientsin to foreigners, where they may reside, buy and rent houses, lease land therein, and build churches, hospitals, and cemeteries. This right should be claimed and acted upon, and a post of observation established. This gulf was visited by several British vessels during the summer of last year, amongst others by the "Actæon" and the "Slaney," which entered the river Leao-ho.

"It is a large river, with seventeen feet at high water on the bar. Immediately inside the mouth of the river is a mud-built town called Yinkoa, where a most extensive trade appears to be carried on. Junks in large numbers, from all parts and ports of China, were found here. The inhabitants in sampans crowded round the ship; and, whilst lying there, it was impossible to keep the ship clear of them.

"After passing Yinkoa, the river very much resembles the Woosung at Shanghai, and is full of shoals and middle grounds. At about twenty miles above Yinkoa there are three forts, each mounting five or six guns. One of them was apparently new, and of a

much better style and description than the others, though very far behind those at the Peiho forts. A large city, with some junks off it, lay beyond the forts, which was imagined to be the city of Newchwang. As the Mission was surveying, and not fighting, they anchored about 1000 yards below the forts, which were immediately manned, and the guns trained for the 'Slaney.' Two officers were sent up to communicate, the crowd of rabble flocking round them as they made their way to the gates of the fort. On their arrival there they found ten men leaning against the gates to prevent their being forced. No Mandarins condescended to show themselves. Finding that all attempts were useless, they returned to the 'Slaney,' which soon afterwards weighed, and proceeded down the river, mooring off the town of Yinkoa.

"Here they landed, with a paper stating that they desired to buy sheep, fowls, eggs, &c. : they were conducted to one of the out-houses of a temple, or pagoda, imagined to be a part of the police-court. On making known their wants, they were told that the mandarins prohibited their being supplied; at least there was a doubt as to whether the officials did not wish our people to make their own purchases: unfortunately no interpreter was to be had; therefore, at best, our countrymen were reduced to a vocabulary, an excessively indifferent mode of communication. The officers amused themselves by walking in the city, buying furs, fruits, &c. ; after, the under-official already communicated with came on board to arrange the purchase, and every thing was settled amicably. Furs and skins, and all the necessities of life, appear abundant here. These communications, as well as all others, were carried on by writing. After writing on a piece of paper the article required, and the quantity in Chinese, they affixed as many round aughts as they wanted dollars for the quantity. They were remarkably civil, though evidently glad to see us away. The weather about this time (20th Oct.) changed very suddenly, the thermometer falling in one day 20°.

"The northern side of the Gulf of Liautung is similar to the Gulf of Pecheli, low land and soft blue mud. The western shore is high, higher than the eastern.

"The great wall, which is about thirty feet high and forty feet thick, commences at the water's edge in lat. 39° 58' N. long. 119° 45' E., continues along the low land, and then rises to the very summit of the hills, which are rather abrupt. The land close to the water is low; and, at the distance of about a mile

* The "Missionary Herald" (American), June 1861.

and a-half, rises to the height of 1000 or 1200 feet. On the plain the wall is in many places so broken down, that equestrians may, without the inconvenience of alighting, cross it.

"The grandest view of this wall is the extraordinary way in which it climbs the steepest part of the mountains. At the distance of a mile apart are square towers, which render the wall very conspicuous; so much so, that the eye can trace it for upwards of thirty miles, running up and down the summit of the hills, which rather increase in height than decrease. It is composed of bricks, made of blue mud, about sixteen inches long and four

inches thick, rudely made, and some of them without a single mark of age.

"The inhabitants, throughout the whole gulf, were very civil, and willing to trade, but evidently much afraid of the Tartars and Mandarins."*

Meanwhile, the Shantung rebels, having defeated San-ko-lin-sin, are said to be steadily advancing towards Peking, having now approached to within 180 miles of Tientsin, in the Pootai district of Shantung.

* "North China Herald," Jan. 5, 1861.

VALEDICTORY INSTRUCTIONS TO MISSIONARIES.

On June 21st last, the Instructions of the Committee were delivered by the Rev. John Chapman, Secretary, at the Church Missionary Children's Home, Highbury, to Missionaries about to proceed to their several Missions, as follows—

North India.—Rev. Townsend Storrs, B. A., the Rev. William Hooper, M. A., and Miss Jane Hooper.

South India.—Rev. John and Mrs. Whitchurch, and Rev. John Sharp, B. A.

Ceylon.—Rev. William E. Rowlands, B. A.

China.—Rev. Thomas Stringer, M. A., and Rev. J. Wolfe.

DEARLY BELOVED IN THE LORD—

In the good providence of God we are met together to take leave of seven fresh labourers, soon about to enter, for the first time, upon the Mission field—for the most part the free-will offerings of our older Universities,—and of two who are returning, after having recruited their health and spirits by a temporary sojourn in their native land. But though so many of you are going out for the first time, there will be no increase in the number of labourers on the field. By your accession to our ranks one new station will be added to our list; and one additional labourer will be engaged in an existing and recently-enlarged Mission. The rest will but make up for the removal of others by providential circumstances, or by death.

Under this aspect of the case it might appear, at first sight, that our meeting this day does not represent one of those forward movements which we are naturally anxious to hail at each recurrence of occasions similar to the present. But a fuller review of our position will happily dispel any such illusion, and prove that every year, and almost every month, is placing us sensibly in ad-

vance of any thing we have hitherto experienced. A variety of circumstances, which it may be well to glance at, though it can be but cursorily, will justify this observation. Having done so, we shall be in a position to point out the corresponding duties of the Missionary. Let us look first at some—

I. TOKENS OF PROGRESS IN RESPECT TO MISSIONARY LABOUR.

1. It is impossible to overlook the rapid changes under which the world is opening up to Missionary enterprise. Large and populous districts in Southern Africa, whose very names have not yet found their way into our atlases and geographies, are being explored and occupied for Christ, though not without a taste of those sufferings which, in one form or another, accompany the first beginnings of the Gospel everywhere and in all ages.* If some disappointment has occurred at the mouth of the Niger, even the delay is tinged with marks of progress. Time was when long intervals of years intervened between one failure and a renewal of the attempt, and meanwhile the field was altogether abandoned. In the present case, though a year has been well nigh lost, the stations have not been wholly unoccupied. Our native lay agents have remained at their posts, and our Missionaries are even now on their way to revisit, and, it may be hoped, permanently to take up their stations, and both ships and men have hovered in sight of their interrupted work like parent birds around their nest, waiting till the danger has passed, and permission is given them to return.

It is a marvellous fact that Missionaries

* See the "Church Missionary Gleaner," July 1861, p. 78.

can reside unmolested in the heart of Turkey, to labour among the Turks themselves; that Christian books, and, above all, the Christian Scriptures, can circulate freely, and are readily purchased; that Turkish inquirers, known to be such, are suffered to pursue their researches after truth; and that Turkish converts enjoy immunities, not in name only and by law, but practically to such an extent as to subvert in this respect the genuine teachings of Mohammedanism.

But it is principally with India and China that we are interested to-day. An aged Christian minister, who spent sixteen years of his early life in active military service on the western side of India, says—"Having been early brought to the knowledge of the Lord, I watched and viewed every thing with a Christian's eye. I saw and felt the need, the overwhelming need, of all, and far more than all, that Christian England can ever accomplish. The depth of ignorance, darkness, and moral degradation exceeds all that can be imagined; but when I see what has been accomplished, under God, in the forty-four years since I left Bombay, I am amazed and filled with gratitude, and joy, and hope. Our Missionaries, and those of the Scotch church, are now in free quiet possession of cities, the strongest holds of Brahminical superstition and power, which, however, it cost years of much and patient toil to attain, and which, in my time, it was thought madness to attempt to enter. For instance, Nasik, Poona, &c., where the blessed influence of Christianity may now be said to be established." So far this aged servant of the Lord. The generation is fast passing away whose memories carry them back to days of bigotry and opposition, when the strongholds of the Hindu and Mohammedan were as yet unsapped, and when British India, so far from being a postern of easy entrance, was even more determinately walled up against the Missionary than the dominions of the native powers. It is well for us, to whom every inch of ground is accessible, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin—from the Indus to the confines of China and Siam—to go back in thought to the blank aspect of the first decade of the present century.

And China, for centuries the most reclusive of people, has been gradually relaxing her seclusion; (a course in which she will be followed at no unhopeful distance by the sister empire of Japan:) and now at length she has formally introduced herself into the society of nations on terms of open and sisterly intercommunion. There are complications arising out of her internal divisions, but the

strict neutrality which characterizes our national policy, in respect to the states of Europe and America, will, it may be confidently expected, win the goodwill of both contending parties, and enable our Missionaries to take full advantage, alike of treaty privileges and of the brotherhood which cannot fail to spring out of a profession of faith, founded, however imperfectly, upon the word of God.*

2. Concurrently with openings in every quarter of the world, it is impossible not to recognise the solid advance of Christianity in most of our older Mission grounds. This is seen in a threefold point of view.

(a). Our earlier churches have now been so long established, that we cannot overlook what may be called their *natural* expansion. There are multitudes of *birth-Christians*, many, at least of the third generation; and though a renewed heart is of God, and not of man, a promise belongs to the believer and to his children. (Acts ii. 39.) How many here present owe their position in this room, and in life, to the influence, the prayers, the faith of godly parents, who have laid hold on the promise in behalf their offspring! The visible church thus is enlarged, and its influence upon the surrounding population, is enhanced. Sierra Leone, New Zealand, and the islands of the Pacific, must now be reckoned among the *Christian* occupants of earth. Other Mission fields are tending to a like result.

(b) There are again, year by year, no inconsiderable accessions from the heathen: in some localities they come in "one of a city and two of a family;" in others by hundreds: in some cases it is the young, the fruit of our Mission schools and colleges, as, for instance, at Agra; in others it is the household, or the village; as, for example, in Tinnevely, where, during the year 1860, fully 2000 souls were added to the list of Christians.

(c) But there is also the preparatory work which results from the dissemination of truth. From the very circumstances of the case, it is hard to estimate this numerically: and still harder to read the degree of transforming influence which it may have upon the moral position of men, convinced, or almost convinced, but not persuaded. Of its reality, however, there can be no doubt. The witnesses who testify of it, in respect to India, are not Missionaries only, but men of all classes: nor is it of recent growth, for so long ago as in 1853, witnesses before Com-

* See the "Church Missionary Gleaner," July 1861, p. 76.

mittees of the Houses of Parliament expressed a belief in the approach of mighty changes. "The country," said Sir Charles Trevelyan, "will have Christian instruction infused into it in every way by direct Missionary instruction, and indirectly through books of various kinds, through the public papers, through conversation with Europeans, and in all conceivable ways in which knowledge is communicated; and then, at last, when society is completely saturated with Christian knowledge, and public opinion has taken a decided turn that way, they will come over by thousands."

Subsequent events have not weakened these expectations. On the contrary, to the milder and persuasive influence of a better knowledge of Christianity itself, must be added the most terrible one of that staggering blow which shook our nation to its centre, but recoiled with ruinous effect upon its perpetrators—the Indian mutiny. We did not, at least intentionally, make it a religious struggle; but the Bengal army did. It was, in very truth, a grand effort on the part of the powers of darkness: the arm of God interposed: they were worsted. Against odds almost inconceivable, Christianity maintained its ground; and a marvel of marvels it is, that the Lord vouchsafed in that hour of peril to forget our forgetfulness of Him, to hear our cry, and acknowledge a people so unworthy of Him as the representative of his truth. Nor was it only on the field that Christianity was victorious. In a nobler struggle for spiritual fidelity, her martyrs received the crown of victory. The heathen recognise the hand of our God, and are cowed. And now, before the inscription has become dim on the tomb of the men, the mothers, the little ones, who fell by those who dealt towards them very treacherously, the hand of charity, stretched forth to help the treacherous dealers in *their* hour of destitution, is the very hand whose piety had reared that tomb! The triumph of love will be greater than the triumph of the warrior—"For every battle of the warrior is with confused noise and garments rolled in blood; but this shall be with burning and fuel of fire:" not the devouring flames of the conflagration, but those of which it is said—"If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink; for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head."

Men have learned that the moral excellencies of our faith are no less superlative than the greatness of our heaven-supported power.

3. Another feature of our day is the substantial position taken by Missionary Socie-

ties and their agents as a power acknowledged by the State. The intervention of Swartz, in the character of an ambassador of temporal peace, no longer stands alone in the history of modern Missions. The heralds of the Gospel have been the successful pioneers of colonization and commerce, and successful peacemakers, in Southern and Western Africa, in New Zealand, in North-West America. On the far off coasts of the Pacific the captain of one of Her Majesty's ships told our Missionary that the business he had just had with Indians convinced him that it was not our ships of war that were wanted on the coast, but Missionaries. "Why," he asked, "do not more men come out, since your Mission has been so successful? or if Missionary Societies cannot afford them, why do not the Government send out fifty, and place them up the coast at once? Surely it would not be difficult to find fifty good men in England willing to engage in such a work; and their expenses would almost be nothing compared with the evil which the country must sustain to subdue the Indians by arms." In India there has been a recognition of the services of Missionaries in many particulars, and in none more markedly than in the part they have taken in the great work of education. There has been a thankful acknowledgment of the progress made, and there is opened up to them, in consequence, a share of the grants-in-aid, distributed for the encouragement of voluntary efforts in this direction.

4. Another note of progress is the action of the native church itself, as the instrument of its own instruction, and as an agent for the diffusion of the truth,—and that increasingly—at its own pecuniary cost. The catechist agency, in its earlier conception little better than a make-shift for the absence of the European Missionary, to teach a few scattered inquirers, or keep together a feeble company, has ripened first into an efficient machinery for the oversight of important congregations; and then into a well-ordered nursery for Christian ministers, from which a stream of pastors is flowing forth, men who have purchased to themselves a good degree and great boldness in the faith which is in Christ Jesus. None of the larger Missions of the Society are without their fruit of this kind: in some the ingathering betokens something more than an offering of first-fruits. It assumes the aspect of a commencing harvest rather than of a few prematurely ripened ears.

5. The success, once more, which has attended educational efforts, already alluded to

under a different point of view, has manifested itself in a Missionary aspect, partly in the increased intelligence and the higher moral principle of each succeeding generation (the child of thirty years ago was systematically taught to lie; the child of the present day is taught to respect the truth)—partly in the number of efficient native agents thus supplied; (of the last large body of native pastors ordained by the Bishop of Madras, many traced their first religious impressions to the Mission school);—and partly in the friendly spirit manifested by those on whom the kindliness and the godly exhortations of the Missionary have not been lost, though the fruit has not yet been the conversion of the soul.

6. Lastly, it has pleased God to manifest his presence with the Missionary church in a manner precisely similar to his interposition among ourselves. There have been revival blessings, in their first bestowal poured out upon the church itself, in their progress overflowing its banks, and dispersing themselves among the heathen. As in this country, they have not been without some counteracting influences, tending to throw discredit upon the movement. But there has been a substratum of genuine grace at the bottom; and as the mist which has gathered round it passes away, it is found that the foundation is sure. It has the double seal—"The Lord knoweth them that are his," and "Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity."

We come now to,

II. THE MISSIONARIES' CORRESPONDING DUTIES.

If there are difficulties and dangers in the work of the pioneer, if skill and caution are requisite in his more tentative approaches, there are difficulties and dangers also, though of a different kind, when the ground is occupied in force, and more substantial operations begin to be successful.

1. The Missionary will recur to the foundation-idea and pilot-thought of his calling. His work is flexible and his course is variously directed; but the pole-star of it is unchangeable. "I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth; to the Jew first and also to the Greek." "I determined not to know any thing among you save Jesus Christ, and Him crucified." The Apostle did not neglect the multifarious objects which pressed upon him out of measure. He had to work at his trade, labouring with his own hands; he made provision

for charitable collections; he laid down regulations for their custody and their distribution. The widow's dole, and alms for the poorer saints in Jerusalem had a place in his thoughts. He gave injunctions respecting the various offices in the church; he condescended to the minutest directions, even to the wearing of the hair, that all things might be done decently and in order: daily he had laid upon him the care of all the churches. But he did not suffer these things for an instant to divert him from the one great object of his mission. Nothing ever clouded his vivid spiritual perception of first principles. The prime object of his labours, of his thoughts, of his affections, suffered no eclipse. The love of Christ was his constraining principle; the doctrine of the cross was the sun and centre of his system: round this, as round a central force, his whole soul was held, by an irresistible attraction, in perpetual revolution. If other forces in constant action kept him, while in the flesh, at a distance, and tended to carry him off from this bright centre, they were counteracted, and his path pursued with undeviating exactitude, because there was acting upon him a force as incessant, and so balanced and adjusted, that neither did "the care of the churches" degenerate into "the serving of tables," nor the contemplative "love of Christ" into asceticism and seclusion.

Education, organization, charity, more or less of the supervision of the temporal as well as of the spiritual affairs of the church, must inevitably occupy some of the time and thoughts of the Missionary; and often it is impossible to relieve him of cares even less directly bearing upon his proper work. These things, under the existing circumstances of our Missions—perhaps it might be said under the existing dispensation—cannot be left undone; but they constitute the anise, and mint, and cummin of the Missionary's duty. There are higher things that must also, and first, be done. An experienced Missionary, now among us, whose labours the Lord has signally acknowledged and blessed, testifies to an increased vigour in the vital power of godliness among his people, which he traces to his own greater watchfulness in thrusting forward, as the one grand essential object of his preaching, Christ crucified; and he speaks of the pulpit ministrations of one gifted native minister, now with Christ, in these terms—"He is never so interesting as when he expatiates upon the redemption of a lost world by the death of the God-man, and grace provided for the chief sinners. These are themes at which he kindles and burns,

and absorbs the attention of all, and is often overwhelming." One of the great fathers of our Society, the venerated John Newton, rightly puts the case in one of his exquisite hymns—

"What think ye of Christ? is the test
To try both your state and your scheme;
You cannot be right in the rest,
Unless you think rightly of Him.

* * *

If asked what of Jesus I think?
'Though still my best thoughts are but poor,
I say, He's my meat and my drink,
My life, and my strength, and my store;
My shepherd, my husband, my friend,
My Saviour from sin and from thrall;
My hope from beginning to end,
My portion, my Lord, and my All."

2. If the standard of the cross be kept unfurled, the standard of morality will never droop. Large accessions to the nominally Christian body, whether by birth or by the influx of multitudes, tend, on the one hand, to raise the general tone of morals, and, on the other, to lower those loftier and purer principles which distinguish the few. The purely *spiritual* nature of the work is thus in danger of being impaired; and the Christianity to which the Missionary invites, of being confounded with the Christianity which the world professes. The work of the Spirit of God is liable to be replaced by the conviction of the intellect, or the more unthinking assent of habit and prejudices, now enlisted on the side of the popular creed. The visible and the true Church each consists of a *company* of believers, banded together by a common faith, whether that faith be of intellectual or of deeper origin; but the real foundation of association in the true church is the *conversion* of the sinner to Christ, the radical renewal of the individual, and his mystical incorporation into the body of Christ. The "hundred and forty and four thousand of all the tribes of the children of Israel" were not encompassed in the mass by a lustral cord; but the injunction to the four angels was, "Hurt not the earth, neither the sea, nor the trees, till we have sealed the servants of our God in their foreheads." In the infancy of a church, the individual principle, the personal conviction of the convert, by the very necessities of the case, must force itself upon the Missionary. As things progress, he, in turn, must sedulously keep his eye fixed upon it, lest it elude him in the crowd. The crowd which throngs in outward show round Christ may shut out many from hearing his voice, and keep true hearts afar.

3. The growing spirit of Christian inde-

pendence in the churches must be watched, guided, and fostered. The solitary Christian naturally and necessarily leans on his teacher. The company of Christians flock together, and should be encouraged to do so for their mutual edification and support. They need not segregate themselves from their fellow-countrymen, and ought not to be as children to the foreigner, as strangers to each other. Let them trust one another, pray one with and for another, help one another, bear one another's burdens, let them unite and form their own schemes, and carry out their own plans; if necessary, it may be under advice and direction, cautiously and sparingly given, and gradually withdrawn, until, in the providence of God, they are able, as respects human help, to stand alone.

4. But while this training for independence is going on, the teacher will be prepared for difficulties arising out of national peculiarities, nay, out of the narrow-mindedness, the self-will and worldliness of the churches. The exhortation to the Missionary will be:—Bear with them, "considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted." Do not be discouraged by infirmities and imperfections; but do not *yield* to them as irremediable: counteract and correct them by wisdom and grace, as opportunity may serve; and when you have done your best, be content to leave the rest in the hands of that God whose love has chosen them to be objects of his mercy, whose they are, and whom they serve, and to whom belong, as properly and as fully as to ourselves, the precious promises of his blessed word.

5. But in dealing with growing churches, our very success may become a snare. We must not leave our infant churches too soon; we must not be occupied about them too long. On the very confines, and often, as in India, mixed up with our most flourishing stations, are thousands upon thousands of perishing heathen, as yet untouched by Gospel influences. We may not loiter feeding those who can feed themselves, while those who cannot are perishing in helpless destitution. Our watchword is "Go forward." Paul and his company were "forbidden of the Holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia;" and when "they assayed to go into Bithynia," "the Spirit suffered them not," because the Lord had prepared a way for them in Macedonia. "A vision appeared to Paul in the night, Come over into Macedonia, and help us." His providence will make it plain where his servants are to adventure forth, and when. It may sometimes be a question, as with the child Samuel, whether the call is from Him. This

point settled, there can be none respecting the duty, or as to the heartiness with which the call will be responded to.

6. Lastly, next to a spirit of prayer and the faithful preaching of Christ, no gift is more an object of desire to the Missionary than that of the discernment of spirits. The deceitful and desperately wicked heart of man becomes tenfold more subtle and depraved in lands where no Gospel leaven has affected the mass. The powers of darkness range there more uncontrolled than in Christian countries. Mixed motives and selfish ends are incessantly intruding. In ordinary cases the difficulty is great: under circumstances such as those attending *revival blessings*, they are greatly multiplied. There is a limit to the discernment of man. In him it is presumption too boldly to attempt the separation of the wheat from the tares; but he may distinguish between the sheep and the wolves, even though the latter be in sheep's clothing. "By their fruits ye shall know them." By these he may be enabled to say of some, "I perceive that thou art in the gall of bitterness, and in the bond of iniquity." That which is sound he will welcome as a gift from on high, a precious deposit, respecting which he receives his commission—"Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood."

The Committee send you forth, dear brethren, as they trust, "in the fulness of the blessing of the Gospel of Christ." You have devoted yourselves to his service in that special department of his work, whose object is to proclaim his glorious promises in the "regions beyond," where He has not been named. This you have done, not hastily, but of deliberation. You have put your hand to the plough; and your hearts do not look back. May He who has put this desire into your souls strengthen and confirm it to the end! He has brought you to this day—a day which you regard as so far a consummation of your desires. May He sustain you through all the trials you will have to encounter; all the difficulties and disappointments which may be in store for you! You tread in apostolic footsteps: be cheered by apostolic supports—"Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? As it is written, For Thy sake we are killed all the day long: we are counted as sheep for the slaughter. Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors, through Him that loved us. For I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."

NANKIN AND ITS RULERS.

SEVERAL Missionaries have succeeded in reaching Nankin, and have had communication with some of the principal men in the Taeping movement. The Rev. J. Roberts, to whom the Kan-wang was more particularly known when he acted in the capacity of a Christian catechist, has been for some time resident there. In November last the Rev. H. Z. Kloekers, of the Baptist Missionary Society, and the Rev. Griffith John, of the London Missionary Society, arrived at the Taeping capital, and in January of the present year, the Rev. W. Muirhead, of the London Missionary Society, arrived at the same city. We shall place before our readers the more leading and prominent points referred to in their journals.

They all agree in the utter desolation of those parts of the country which still continue to be a battle-field, and where the Taeping power is not yet consolidated. All the way

to Soochow the country presented a devastated and uncultivated appearance. That city itself, formerly teeming with life, and renowned for its riches and beauty, was more than half in ruins. Instead of a population of 700,000 or 800,000, there were some 20,000 Taeping soldiers. In fact, there is now no native population in Soochow. The whole is a vast camp, and none are allowed to reside or enter the gates except such as are connected with it. The same desolation prevails throughout almost the entire line of the journey to Nankin. Towns and cities, which had once overflowed with a busy population, were occupied only by soldiers and a few old men and women.

At a certain point of progress, however, an improvement in this respect was apparent. The Taeping power had come to be regarded as established; the inhabitants had begun to feel themselves secure, under the new dynasty.

and the farmers had recommenced cultivating the soil. Still a little thing sufficed to alarm them, and, on the approach of a stranger, they took to flight.

Another point referred to in these documents is the utter destruction which has come upon the idols. In Soochow, at a temple, one priest was found, the only one saved out of a hundred who served in it. All the gods were destroyed, and his trade was gone. "I entered," observes Mr. Muirhead, "a number of temples and ancestral halls on the roadside, and the work of destruction was complete, especially in the case of the former. The idols had been torn down from their thrones, and were lying around in the utmost confusion. It appeared as if they had been treated with indignant contempt, while what had once been large and magnificent temples, were now unroofed, and their contents, after enduring all that man could inflict in the way of fire and sword, were left to decay, under the withering influence of wind and weather." The Rev. H. M. Parker, American Episcopal Missionary, bears the same testimony. "I landed first at the Loon Hwo pagoda and village, some fifteen miles distance from Shanghai, and, taking some Bibles and other books for distribution, I went up to take a look at the religious buildings, of which there are a great number. Having seen them several times before, my object was only to see the effect of the rebel visit. I found some of the temples burnt down, others only torn down in part, and defaced. In the interior I saw what struck me most. The images and idols, were some thrown down and broken to pieces, some decapitated and with the hands and feet cut off, others were only disfigured, having the noses cut off, the eyes bored out, or mouths cut from ear to ear; others again were turned upside down, or placed in the most ridiculous positions. In every conceivable way it was evidently their desire to show their own contempt for these objects of worship, and to excite that of their countrymen. I was surprised to see with what persistency they had followed up this object. In my trip I visited great numbers of temples, large and small, and in all, and frequently with the evident expenditure of some labour and trouble, I saw, without exception, the same work carried out. Their hands spare not the idols. And will any one say that such a work, persistently carried out, will produce no effect upon the religious faith of a people? I must mention a fact related by one of the Missionaries lately returned from the interior, not that I believe it descriptive of a state of things already existing,

but rather illustrative of what I believe must be the effects of this revolutionary movement, if it be not crushed by foreign interference. These Missionaries stopped at a small village and inquired what gods they worshipped. They replied that the rebels had destroyed their gods, and forbidden them to worship them, and now they had no gods, and would be glad to be taught the worship of some other. What must be the consequence of such a state of things? The rebels themselves have no well-developed system of religion to offer. Some seem to apprehend that the Heavenly King, as he is called, will prove a second Mohammed. I do not and cannot believe, from all that I have heard of him that he has any of the great constructive genius of Mohammed, and if he had, I do not believe that he could resist the overwhelming pressure of civilization and the times, all lending their aid to the power of that word of truth which the rebels at least profess to hold up as a standard of truth."

Undoubtedly, the Taeping movement has been a judgment-stroke on the idolatry of China, and has broken its images to pieces. "It has inflicted a death-blow on idolatry and superstition in many parts of the country, which will be of service, when other means are employed, in the providence of God, for the overthrow of Satan's seat in the land. Such indignation has been shown to the idols, that the reverence of fear, once entertained in regard to them, can never be revived in the minds of their former worshippers."

From the leaders of the movement little can be expected except non-interference with the efforts of Missionaries. The Teen-wang continues to be the fertile source of new visions and revelations, which interfere with the authority of Scripture, and are subversive of its truths. The following is the outline of a document placed by the Celestial King in the hands of Mr. Roberts—

"There is no doubt of Hung-sew-tseuen or the Teen-wang, having been in heaven, and seen the Heavenly Father and elder Brother Jesus, and come down again. He that comes from heaven is above all. He was in the same way the Son of God as Jesus, from the same Father, though not the same mother. To doubt this fact, and all others connected with it, would be the same sin as that committed by the Jews who disobeyed Moses, and would be of the same consequence. He is the word, the light, the way, the truth, the life, as Jesus was. Jesus was, in his way and for his dispensation, and the Teen-wang is it now. The quiet preaching of the Gospel has been ineffectual: he comes now to

force to obedience with the sword. All have, at present, to believe in Jesus as the Saviour, and in Him, as such a messenger of God, to be saved; and he who believes not shall be damned. He urges Mr. Roberts to preach this doctrine, and to uphold him in those claims."

Many of the insurgents, it is believed, are incredulous as to the celestial king's immediate communication with heaven; but he is considered to be a man of such ability, and so necessary to the success of the movement, that for the present he is borne with. "He keeps all his ministers at a distance, and they stand in awe of him, while his pretensions and domestic *régime* are too much imitated by themselves to admit of their throwing a stone at him. Though the great truths of our holy religion are acknowledged by them, and, in their view, acted out in daily life, by the overthrow of idolatry and the establishment of divine worship, yet such is the effect of general manners, that, even where piety seemed once to prevail among any of the leaders, it has deteriorated. Those at the head of the movement ascribe their limited success of late years to the impiety of recent adherents; but it were well for them to remember their own departure from the truth. While ever ready to attribute their rise and progress to the Heavenly Father, they are not insensible to the evil influence at work around them, and to which they have too easily given way. Even the Kan-wang has not proved safe from the contagion. Though he is about the best among his co-peers, and is well aware of his religious duties, his piety has suffered from the circumstances in which he is placed. I alluded to this in a serious manner. He felt it. He acknowledged that he had already yielded to the 'Celestial King,' in the matter of polygamy, and was now being urged by him to add two more to his circle of four wives, but he had positively refused to do it, and would continue to do so. He informed me that he had baptized his four wives and two officers in attendance upon him, that he had diligently instructed them, and supposed them qualified for the ordinance. In view of Taeping-Wang's authority, the rite of baptism is to be performed when the affairs of the state are properly arranged. Like all the other chiefs, the Kan-wang has family-worship. Notice is given morning and evening for his household to assemble, and at special seasons he preaches to them, I believe, with great propriety. Even now, though he has gone to the country, the same intimation is heard, and his wives have a service among

themselves, together with the female domestics."*

With the Kan-wang the Missionaries had many interviews, and most anxiously did they look to him for hearty co-operation in the great work of teaching the pure Gospel to the people. "But how great was our disappointment when we found that the time had not yet come, according to his opinion. The soldiers were fighting everywhere, and the people scattered abroad: the best thing would be to wait for quieter times. We saw, however, soon, that the difficulties in the way were of a very different character: it was the Gospel which we preach. The Kan-wang being himself so well acquainted with the Gospel, knows, of course, that we cannot and do not believe, neither are willing to preach, the doctrines and dreams of the Teen-wang and the former eastern and western kings: this we felt to be the reason why he now withdrew his Soochow promises."†

The same evasiveness and disinclination to commit himself to any open recognition of their Missionary proceedings was experienced by Mr. Muirhead.

"I had a cordial welcome from the Kan-wang. I remained with him about an hour. He seemed glad to renew an old friendship, and talked in a pleasant manner about himself, and the work of christianizing the people under him. I stated that my single intention in coming was to preach in the country round about, and that I would have been satisfied to do so in other parts of the territory if I could have had the opportunity. I wished, therefore, to know where I might conveniently go to for a week or ten days, and by what means. He approved of the object as such, but reserved it for after consideration. The next day he called on me, and said that the state of things at present in the city and the neighbourhood rendered it scarcely suitable for foreigners to engage in public preaching. It would require him to issue proclamations informing the people, calming their apprehensions, and prohibiting them saying improper things. Were it a time of peace he would also order his under-officers to use their influence in promotion of the object; but he was just now busy in preparing to lead out an army, and he was not sure that the king would consent to the requisite arrangements. Altogether he advised delay, and specially that preaching might not be carried on in the capital. At subsequent interviews the matter was brought fully up.

* The "Missionary Magazine," July 1861.

† "Baptist Missionary Herald," July 1861.

He then stated that the desire of his royal master was to evangelize the country; and when I asked if that was their mutual intention, he at once replied, most certainly it was; the thing had been contemplated from the first, and would be strenuously followed out. But it was necessary to observe, he added, that the king intended to prosecute this object in his own way. 'In what way?' I asked. 'By native means,' he said. Examinations would be held annually, at which all the public officers would be present. The text-book on such occasions would be chiefly the Bible, and according to the attainments of the writers in scriptural knowledge would their respective positions in the empire be determined. The successful essayists would be appointed to certain offices, and in each, large and small, would regular instruction be communicated to all around. I observed that something more than that was required, in view of ascertaining the religious character of the candidates, and for promoting the ends and objects of a spiritual kingdom. He replied, that such was the scheme contemplated by the 'Heavenly King,' and that it was supposed by him to be a complete one. 'Well, then,' it was asked, 'what position would foreign teachers have in the case?' He stated, that at first they would be useful in diffusing among the scholars and people a general knowledge of Christianity; but the fact was, that the king did not like the idea of depending on foreign aid in the matter. He thought that the thing could be done by the Chinese themselves, who were naturally proud, and not disposed to accept the Gospel at the hands of foreigners. He was desirous of being friendly with us, but there was such a variety of sentiment among us, and the simple fact of our being what we are, determined him to follow his own course.

"I spoke further to the Kan-wang on the subject of Missionaries coming to reside at the capital. He answered, in a very friendly way, that he would not advise it, at least in the mean time. The place was nothing else than a camp. Though he would be glad to see a few of his special friends now and then, yet he could not encourage the idea of the metropolis being made the centre of Missionary operation, at all events at present. It was impossible to provide houses here, and it were better, in his view, to work our way gradually from Soochow upwards. However, he said, 'If any one feels himself imperatively called upon by God to undertake a Mission to this place, let him come by all means, but do not ask me in the matter.' He repeated these words in an emphatic manner, on the

understanding that they should be told abroad."*

While Mr. Muirhead was yet at Nankin, this leader, at the head of a considerable force, set forth to attack Kang-chow.

"It is the first time he has done so, and the proceedings on the occasion were rather splendid. A large retinue assembled outside his palace, while a number of his chief men went in to pay their respects to him. Just as he was starting, and at the end of the affair, they all knelt before him and sang the doxology, 'May Kan-wang live a thousand years, a thousand years, a thousand times a thousand years.' He then came down from his throne, and entered his chair of eight bearers. He was dressed in a gorgeous yellow robe, with a golden crown on his head. My reflections at the time were rather strange, in view of his antecedents and Christian profession. The above anthem is a daily song in his ears, and, when being raised by any coming to visit him, in presence of those he was formerly acquainted with, he appears, in a religious point of view, ashamed of it, I believe. But such is the order of things in China. In prospect of his going out, I had occasion some time ago to allude to his constant dependence on God, and to urge upon him the duty of earnest prayer. But in this I was anticipated by a previous request of his own, when, after describing the trials and difficulties of his situation, he said to me, in a rather impressive manner, 'Mr. Muirhead, pray for me.' He has need of our prayers, and I trust his request will be attended to by many friends at home."†

Amidst much that was discouraging, there was one point which afforded to the Missionaries great satisfaction—the cordial welcome which they received from the masses of the people. "Everywhere, on their entrance into Nankin, smiling and happy faces beamed on them, and they could not help thinking that foreigners would be welcomed, and the Gospel heartily received, if only heard and understood. Then on the Sunday, on which day they arrived, some of the people came in after family-prayer. Mr. John spoke to them about the heavenly Father and Jesus, One of them seemed perfectly to understand the doctrines of sin, repentance, reformation, and redemption; but on the point of relationship between the Father and Jesus was entirely in a maze. With the explanations that were given he expressed himself highly delighted."

* The "Missionary Magazine," July 1861.

† Ibid.

The Missionaries felt their hearts drawn out to these people, whose slight knowledge of Christianity was endangered by a constant admixture of so much that was erroneous, and Mr. Muirhead commenced a public proclamation of the Gospel message.

"Notwithstanding the advice of Kang-wang, not to set about public preaching in the city, being hindered from going into the country, I commenced the work in the most open manner. Mr. Roberts has long had service in his own house, but from his not knowing the Mandarin dialect, he had been prevented from more public labours. Going about sometimes for several hours a day, I have been abundantly encouraged by the number and attention of the audiences. It seems as if there were a foundation to go upon, from the amount of religious knowledge diffused among the people. There is a response, if not in their hearts, at least in their thoughts, to the tidings of mercy. They are made familiar at every step with the name and compassion of the Heavenly Father, by the unprecedented practice of recording the fact over every door. When, therefore, the same truths are announced in their hearing by a foreign Missionary, they give a ready assent, and express their cordial approval. How different is all this from our experience in Shanghai and elsewhere! There we have a hard and stony ground to work upon. Ignorance and opposition prevail in abundant measure. Here, on the part both of the military and civilians, there is knowledge, and there is appreciation of the truth to a certain extent, which renders the spiritual enforcement of it a more easy and pleasant duty. All this has been forced upon me, in course of my ten days' labours at this place, and could only have been reached by means of the public preaching and distributing, in which I have been engaged. Yesterday Mr. Roberts and myself were walking out, and he took me into a large hall, over which were inscribed these words, 'The Hall of the Heavenly Father.' Here we readily collected a good congregation, to whom Mr. Roberts preached in Canton, and I in Mandarin.

"On one occasion, after I had returned from labours of the above kind, an official document was handed to me. It had been sent to Kan-wang by some civilian. It stated that a foreigner was actively engaged in distributing a series of page tracts, which was rather a strange affair in Teen King (heavenly capital), and it required investigation. The writer therefore begged Kan-wang to refer the matter to Mr. Roberts,

who was the accredited agent of foreign affairs. I took the paper to Kan-wang, who, smilingly said, that the thing was in Mr. Roberts's hands, as the public officer appointed, and so it passed over.

"A proclamation has been issued, to the effect, that eighteen chapels or churches are to be established at the capital, and a number of others in every district, suited to the number of inhabitants. On inquiring from Kan-wang as to the nature of these places, he said that they were all called by the same general name, though their object was very different. They were simply public offices, whose work it would be both to fulfil the duties specially connected with them, and to attend to the religious instruction of those around them. They were not to be considered as separate buildings designed for the purpose to which their name would correspond in our view."*

During their continuance at Nankin, the Missionaries had opportunity of observing many of the distinctive features of this singular capital. They were present at the celebration of the new-year's day of the Taeping dynasty.

"In one part of the city there is the palace of the 'Heavenly King.' It is a new erection, and is yet far from finished: however, it is an imitation of the imperial as much as possible. At first it is very imposing. Over the outer gate there is this inscription, 'The sacred heavenly gate of the true God, and over the second, 'The royal heavenly gate.' All around there is a profusion of strange figures, dragons, phoenixes, &c. On the above day the kings, chief men, and under-officers went to pay their respects to his majesty. The assemblage was large: every one of these had a number of civilians and soldiers in attendance, conveying him to the palace. The kings came in yellow-coloured chairs borne by sixteen men, and those next in authority in chairs of different colours, carried by eight bearers, while before and after them there was an immense variety of silken flags and streamers, covered with strange devices, or recording the names and titles of their respective owners, and headed by the inscription, 'The peaceful heavenly kingdom.' The kings and chief men went into the inner court, where the 'Celestial King' was seated, while the others, in number at least 300, remained in the outer court. I was among the latter, and witnessed their proceedings, which corresponded with those going on inside, though

* The "Missionary Magazine," July 1861.

imperfectly seen from my position. At twelve o'clock all in the outer circle fell on their knees, after a given signal, in a direction towards Tae-ping-Wang. They then sang his praises, or wished him a long life in imperial style, of 'ten thousand years, ten thousand years, ten thousand times ten thousand years.' Turning in a different direction they were told to worship the heavenly Father, when they knelt again in front of a table, on which were several basins of food, and two lamps, that were intended for sacrifice. At the head of the worshippers was a man with a paper containing a prayer to God, which he read and then burned. The assembly rose up, but very soon were summoned to fall down in the direction of the king once more, and in that attitude remained a considerable time. Nothing was said, yet, with few exceptions, much decorum was observed during the service. At about half-past twelve o'clock the whole was over, and the chief men returned into the outer court. Their appearance, in dress and manner, was certainly much superior to the class of outside worshippers, and the prevailing colour of the long robes worn on the occasion was yellow, while the caps worn by all were different from those of the reigning dynasty. The assembly dispersed in a very quiet manner."*

* The "Missionary Magazine," July 1861.

Females amongst the Taepings appear no longer doomed to an unhappy seclusion, but are free to move about in public.

"While walking along the streets the number of females that are seen on the way is rather a novelty. They are in general well dressed, and of very respectable appearance. Many are riding on horseback, others are walking, and most of them have large feet. Not a few stop to hear our preaching, and always conduct themselves with perfect propriety. This is new, as compared with the former course of things, and the whole reminds one partly of home life. It will be a blessing if the revolution should tend to break up the system of female exclusion hitherto practised."*

The opinion of the Missionaries is, that Nankin and its neighbourhood are not at present a suitable sphere for the location of a Mission, and that, for a time, occasional visits will be preferable. There is, moreover, every prospect of a great extension of the Tae-ping power, and they consider that tentative efforts, not involving much expense, had better be adhered to, until affairs assume a more settled aspect.

* The "Missionary Magazine," July 1861.

LIBERALITY OF THE JEWS IN RELIGIOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

THE temple at Jerusalem was to the Jews of old an object of primary importance : national interest, in a remarkable manner, centred in it ; an interest, first of all directed to the tabernacle, and then transferred to the temple.

The estimation in which it was held may be concluded from various considerations, and, first, from the vastness of the preparation made for its erection. David desired that it should be builded in his reign, and under his authority and superintendence, but this was not thought desirable, for reasons which he explains to Solomon, his son. "My son, as for me, it was in my mind to build an house unto the name of the Lord my God, but the word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Thou hast shed blood abundantly, and hast made great wars ; thou shalt not build an house unto my name, because thou hast shed much blood upon the earth in my sight. Behold a son shall be born unto thee, who shall be a man of rest. . . . he shall build an house for my name." (1 Chron. xxii. 7—10.)

But although thus precluded from being

himself the builder of the house, David was still free to prepare the way for Solomon, and facilitate the erection of the structure, when the time for action had arrived, by amassing such materials as might be requisite, and this he did with a zeal and devotedness well worthy of imitation by those who in these modern days engage themselves in the Lord's work and service.

He obtained the site, and that site was a remarkable one ; it was the threshing floor of Ornan, or Araunah, the Jebusite, the place where the plague was stayed which had gone forth on David's numbering of the people, and where the king resolved to build an altar to the Lord. The Jebusite, with princely munificence, wished to bestow it freely, but David would not accept it, without paying the full price for it. "I will not offer burnt-offerings unto my Lord my God of that which doth cost me nothing." On this ground, probably the only place in Jerusalem which still remained the property of a Gentile, it was decided the temple should be erected. "Then

David said, This is the house of the Lord God, and this is the altar of the burnt-offering for Israel."

He then proceeded to accumulate materials: he set masons to hew wrought stones, he prepared iron in abundance, and brass in abundance, also cedar trees in abundance; for he said, "The house that is to be builded for the Lord must be exceeding magnifical of fame and glory throughout all countries. I will, therefore, now make preparation for it." (1 Chron. xxii. 5). In his directions to Solomon he enumerates his efforts. "I have prepared with all my might for the house of my God, the gold for things to be made of gold, and the silver for things of silver, and the brass for things of brass, and the iron for things of iron, and wood for things of wood, onyx stones, and stones to be set, glistening stones, and of divers colours, and all manner of precious stones, and marble stones in abundance." And besides this vast accumulation, which might be regarded as public property, he gave out of his own privy purse sums of money, which to us at the present day appear to be almost incredible, so high do they range above the utmost which we do in the way of religious contribution. "Moreover, because I have set my affection to the house of my God, I have of mine own proper good, of gold and silver which I have given to the house of my God, over and above all that I have prepared for the holy house, even three thousand talents of gold, of the gold of Ophir, and seven thousand talents of refined silver to overlay the walls of the houses withal." Thus he was in a position to invite the heads of Israel to imitate his example—"Who is willing to consecrate his service this day unto the Lord," an invitation which was promptly responded to. "Then the chief of the fathers and princes of the tribes of Israel, and the captains of thousands and of hundreds, with the rulers of the king's work, offered willingly, and gave for the service of the house of God of gold five thousand talents and ten thousand drachms, and of silver ten thousand talents, and of brass eighteen thousand talents, and one hundred thousand talents of iron. And they with whom precious stones were found gave them to the treasure of the house of the Lord;" and if they gave liberally, they received a recompense from the Lord, that which gold or silver cannot purchase—"Then the people rejoiced, for that they offered willingly, because with perfect heart they offered willingly to the Lord: and David the king also rejoiced with great joy." The richness of these contributions may be estimated by the value of a talent, about 342*l*. Of these, in gold and

silver alone, David gave, as his own personal contribution, 10,000, and the princes, 15,000, besides precious stones.

Again, the importance attached to this building may be seen, not only in the greatness of the preparations, but in the care and pains which were taken in its erection. It was to be "exceedingly magnifical," so much so as to attract the attention of surrounding nations, and Solomon was anxious to command for this purpose the best artists of the day. He solicits, therefore, the aid of a Gentile king. It is remarkable how Jewish and Gentile instrumentalities were intermingled in all that concerned the completion of the temple, from the site to the most finished details of the carved work and gildings; a foreshadowing of the divine intention, that the "Gentiles should be fellow-heirs, and of the same body, and partakers of his promise in Christ by the Gospel." He sent to Hiram, king of Tyre, saying, "Behold I build an house to the name of the Lord my God. . . . And the house which I build is great, for great is our God above all gods. . . . Send me now, therefore, a man cunning to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass, and in iron, and in purple, and crimson, and blue, and that can skill to grave with the cunning men that are with me in Judah and in Jerusalem, whom David my father did provide. Send me also cedar-trees, fir-trees, and alnum-trees, out of Lebanon, for I know that thy servants can skill to cut timber in Lebanon." And Hiram readily gave to the king all that he required—"I have sent a cunning man, endowed with understanding, of Hiram my fathers;" a man of mixed origin, "the son of a woman of the daughter of Dan, and his father was a man of Tyre," &c. Under such auspices, and by such artists, the house was erected in the most sumptuous manner. It was built "of stone made ready before it was brought thither;" the walls of the house were covered within with boards of cedar, all were cedar, "carved with knops and open flowers: there was no stone seen." It was then overlaid within with pure gold, even the floor of the house was overlaid with gold, within and without. The house was also garnished "with precious stones for beauty," and on the walls and the doors were carved "cherubims and palm-trees, and open flowers, covered with gold, fitted upon the carved work."

Into this costly structure, when completed, were introduced all the articles of sacred furniture which had been connected with the tabernacle of old, but many of them on an enlarged scale, as better suited to the magnificence of the temple. The altar of burnt-

offering was four times larger than the one which stood in the court of the tabernacle. Instead of one laver, there was a molten sea, and ten lavers, five on the right hand, and five on the left, to wash in them; instead of one candlestick, there were ten candlesticks, five on the right side, and five on the left, of pure gold; there was also the altar of gold, and the table of gold, whereon the shewbread was; above all, there was the ark, that ark which, in its past history, had experienced so many vicissitudes, once captive in the hands of the Philistines, and ignominiously placed in the house of Dagon their god; then again marvellously liberated without human interference; and now at length brought into the resting-place provided for it. "The elders of Israel came, and the Levites took up the ark, and the tabernacle of the congregation, and all the holy vessels that were in the tabernacle, these did the priests and the Levites bring up," "And the priests brought in the ark of the covenant of the Lord unto his place, to the oracle of the house, into the most holy place, even under the wings of the cherubims. . . . and they drew out the staves of the ark, that the ends of the staves were seen from the ark before the oracle, but they were not seen without; and there it is unto this day"—a remarkable type, in its eventful history, of Him, "who in the days of his flesh offered up supplications and prayers, with strong crying and tears, unto Him that was able to save Him from death;" who was delivered up into the hands of his enemies, crucified in weakness, raised in power—"I lay down my life that I might take it again: no man taketh it from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again"—and who thus having come forth self-liberated from the prison-house of the grave, "has entered, not into holy places made with hands, but into heaven itself;" and there He is, unto this day.

Why was it that this temple was so specially regarded, and so much importance attached to it? Because it was the indwelling place of God, it was that house in which he dwelt in the midst of Israel. Of old He had declared such to be his intention. "Let them make me a sanctuary that I may dwell amongst them;" and when the tabernacle was finished, "a cloud covered the tent of the congregation, and the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle." And in this tabernacle the Lord continued to dwell, appearing in a visible glory on the mercy-seat between the cherubims, until the reign of the pious David. "Now it came to pass as David sat in his house that David said to Nathan the prophet,

Lo! I dwell in a house of cedars, but the ark of the covenant of the Lord remaineth under curtains. Then Nathan said unto David, Do all that is in thine heart, for God is with thee." And so we find when the temple was finished, the Lord was pleased to do with it as he had done with the tabernacle. "Now when Solomon had made an end of praying, the fire came down from heaven and consumed the burnt-offering, and the sacrifices, and the glory of the Lord filled the house." It was because of this that the house was so honoured and decorated, that it might be in some feeble measure a suitable dwelling-place for God, and thus God dwelt in the midst of his people Israel. Hence the expressions occur, not only such as, "The Lord God that dwelleth on high," but "The Lord who dwelleth in Zion," "The Lord who dwelleth in Jerusalem," and "between the cherubims." Thus David says, "In Judah is God known, his name is great in Israel. In Salem also is his tabernacle, and his dwelling-place in Zion."

And thus the temple became the great central point of national worship and religious service. In this particular the worship of the one true God was to be diverse from that of the false gods of the heathen. They were served anywhere, "upon the high mountains and upon the hills, and under every green tree;" but to the Israelites it was enjoined, "Ye shall not do so unto the Lord your God. But unto the place which the Lord your God shall choose out of all your tribes to put his name there, even unto his habitation shall ye seek, and thither thou shalt come, and thither ye shall bring your burnt-offerings, &c." To this recognised and solemnly consecrated place, all the men of the various tribes were commanded to come up, three times in the year, from all quarters of the land. "Three times in the year all thy males shall appear before the Lord God," and to this the Psalmist refers: "I was glad when they said unto me, let us go into the house of the Lord, our feet shall stand within thy gates, O Jerusalem. Jerusalem is builded as a city that is compact together, whither the tribes go up, the tribes of the Lord, unto the testimony of Israel, to give thanks unto the name of the Lord;" and thus the temple was a meeting-place between God and the worshipper. There the Lord vouchsafed to be, that He might meet the worshipper, and there the worshipper was invited to come that he might meet God. There, in the use of typical sacrifices, the spiritually-minded man was helped to the more clear perception of the one great sacrifice. In the temple all the various articles of holy furniture were grouped together with a

completeness which had been wanting since the days of Eli. From thence, until the reign of David, the ark had been in one place, and the tabernacle and shew-bread in another; but now all were brought together, the symbolism was complete, and many were enabled to behold in this, as in a perfect picture, those grand facts of the Gospel which it was designed to shadow forth.

The temple was the type of a great reality. What this is we are informed. When Jesus, with a scourge of small cords, drove out those who made his Father's house an house of merchandize, and purified the temple, the Jews said unto Him, "What sign showeth thou unto us, seeing that thou doest these things?" his answer was significant: "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will build it up." They thought He referred to the great national structure, the temple, "but he spoke of the temple of his body." His body, his humanity, is both tabernacle and temple. "A body hast thou prepared me;" and when it had been prepared, He entered into it, who had been from the beginning, in a priority of existence to all created things. "The Word was made flesh, and dwelt (or tabernacled) amongst us," and this humanity is the temple, for the fulness of the Godhead dwelleth in Him bodily, and in that glorified humanity is permanized for ever. Christ is the place where "the Lord has put his name there." If man wishes to know God in his true character, as hating sin yet pitiful to the sinner, that knowledge is only to be found in Christ. There and there only can it be seen how God can be both just, and yet the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus. Christ is the true meeting-place, where they whom sin had separated may meet and be reconciled. His peculiar fitness to be the great peacemaker is evidenced in the constitution of his person. As God manifest in the flesh, he is interested in the parties between whom he mediates; as God he is interested in the honour of his Father; as man he is interested in the salvation of the sinner. In Him God draws near to meet the sinner, for "God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself," and in Him the sinner is invited to draw near to God. The Lord advances from his position of just displeasure against the sinner, and the sinner is invited to come forth from his estrangement and distrust, that in Christ Jesus, the great peacemaker, there may be reconciliation. It is not merely the sinner who is commanded to draw nigh to God, but to encourage him so to do. The Lord declares his willingness to draw nigh to the sinner. When the

prodigal arose and sought once more the home which he had forsaken, the father did not remain immoveable on the threshold of his door, but ran to meet him. There was a spot at which these long-separated parties, advancing towards each other, met, when the father fell on his neck, and kissed him; and that place of happy reconciliation is significant of Him who is the great peacemaker.

Moreover, as all the various symbols of the ritual dispensation were grouped together in the temple, so in Christ there is fulness. In Him we are blessed with all spiritual blessings. Whatever be the need under which the sinner labours, the corresponding supply is to be found in Christ. In Him is sacrifice and intercession, the initiative to peace, the means of preservation in the same.

And thus the Lord Jesus, in his living personality, is now the great centre, the true temple in whom God may be found a reconciled God: to Him all eyes should be directed, on Him all hearts should rest. "I will fasten Him as a nail in a safe place, and He shall be for a glorious throne to His father's house, and they shall hang upon Him all the glory of his father's house, the offspring and the issue, all vessels of small quantity, from the vessels of cups even to all the vessels of flagons." The Lord Jesus is to Christians what the temple was to the Jews, our glory and defence, the great central point to which we are attracted, and in union with which we are sustained. All the various thoughts and influential considerations which centered in the temple of old have now been transferred to Christ, and are absorbed into his person. Many there are who do not seem to understand this, and who, in their views on such subjects, have not progressed beyond mere Jewish elements. They continue to attach sacredness to localities, and to regard consecrated buildings as places where God is indwelling, and where he is specially to be found. Hence the vast expenditure of money on the decoration of churches, the costliness and minute elaboration of details, which, after all, are only meagre imitations of the great structure at Jerusalem, which the Lord permitted to be razed to the ground, because, the great reality having come, it was no longer needed. All the great realities which were symbolized in the temple ritual have their place in the person of Christ, and, that they may be ours, must be sought in Him. It is as we look to Him that prayer becomes efficacious, and prevailing intercession is put forth in our behalf.

Did the Jews of old delight to go up to the temple of old? The Psalmist speaks forcibly

on this subject. In exile and isolation from the ritual privileges, he deemed them happy whose stated residence was within the courts of the temple. "Blessed are they that dwell in thy house ; they will be still praising thee." "Yea, the sparrow hath found an house, and the swallow a nest for herself, where she may lay her young, even thine altars, O Lord of Hosts, my king and my God." He speaks of the various companies who, at the time of the stated feasts, went up to the great centre of symbolism and religious privilege, and, although exposed to various discomforts and trials, thought little of the journey in the prospect of its happy termination : "passing through the valley of Baca, they make it a well : the rain also filleth the pools. They go from strength to strength : every one of them in Zion appeareth before God." Shall not those, then, amongst men, who, in the providence of God, have had furnished to them the needful directions, go up without delay to Him who is our great centre, and in whom all their spiritual wants may have a full supply. Our position in this respect is one of vast superiority. The centre of Jewish worship was a localized one ; time and distance separated it from the many. But our great centre, although personally removed from us, is one which may be approached instantaneously, for the goings up by which we draw near to Him are those of faith. "The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that is the word of faith which we preach, that if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God had raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved."

Did the Jews expend their gold, their jewels, in the material temple ? He needs not this from us, so far as He is personally concerned : He is highly exalted, infinitely glorified. "Thou preventest Him with the blessings of goodness : He asked life of thee, and thou gavest it Him, even length of days, for ever and ever. His glory is great in thy salvation, honour and majesty hast thou laid upon Him, for thou hast made Him most blessed for ever. Thou hast made Him exceeding glad with thy countenance." But let the affections of his people be largely expended upon Him. Is He not worthy of all the love that they can give ? All the decoration of the temple, the artistic skill, the carved work and precious stones, were designed to foreshadow the excellence of his person, of whom it is with truth said, "Thou art fairer than the children of men." Many there are who perceive not the beauty of the Lord. They have eyes, and see not. But it is otherwise

with his people, although it be true that some have fuller, and others fainter perceptions of his glory. The mighty operation of the Spirit of God, enabling us more clearly to see, and more powerfully to be attracted by the excellence of Christ, is needed, that there may be many like Paul, ready to count all things loss for the excellence of his knowledge.

But his cause he commends to our care. He charges himself with our interests in heaven. He commits to us his interests on earth. There is no intermission in his zeal. He bears the names of his people upon his heart, and ever liveth to make intercession for us. We ought to imitate his devotedness, and charge ourselves gladly with the obligations that appertain to the advancement of his kingdom. In connexion with this, we have an opportunity of surpassing the liberality of the Jews of old. We ought assuredly to do so, for we have the realization of that of which they had only the type and the foreshadowing. It was with them the twilight time. The Sun of righteousness had not yet risen. Their rituals and symbols were as the moon and planets, reflecting the light of a luminary as yet below the horizon. Yet with this feeble measure of privilege, did they not surpass us ? With what a ready munificence they poured in their gifts when the tabernacle was to be erected. "They came every one whose heart stirred him up, and every one whom his spirit made willing, and they brought the Lord's offering to the work of the tabernacle of the congregation, and for all his service. . . . And they came, both men and women, as many as were willing-hearted, and brought bracelets, and earrings, and rings, and tablets, all jewels of gold, &c." Never were the women so gloriously adorned as when divesting themselves of their jewels, that the Lord's work might be done ; their hearts were gladdened, and their countenances brightened with the sense of the Lord's favour towards them. Holy David felt the same promptings ? His ceiled house was to him a source of pain when he remembered the Lord's ark in its inferiority of position. How is it with the Lord's people at the present day ? There is a great work to be done. The world lies open before us, and suffering nations supplicate our help. It is a time to make known far and wide to the ends of the earth the message of mercy. But are the various agencies which have been brought into operation for this purpose in a position to undertake large and comprehensive measures ? So far as concerns our own Society, it is far otherwise. Our pecuniary means diminish as our opportunities increase. Last

year we had a deficient income. This year, so far as the months have advanced, there has been no recovery. At this date of last year we had received less than the average of the five preceding years, by 2545*l*. ; on June 30th of this year we had received less than at the same period of last year by 3573*l*., and less than the average of the five preceding years by 6118*l*. Our estimates must undergo a proportionate reduction : in other words, instead of expanding we must contract the sphere of our operations ; and as general principles of this kind are sure, eventually, to resolve themselves into details, the tender shoots of the Missions in distant lands must be interfered with, and their natural growth interdicted. How is this to be accounted for ? Has the Society been untrue to its principles ? In this day of fluctuating opinions, has it beendrifted out of its course by some wind of doctrine ? Is there less care in the selection, as its Missionaries, of faithful men, who shall not spare to declare to the heathen the whole counsel of God ? Has God's message of mercy, as delivered by this Society, through a many-tongued agency, to the nations of the world, lost its scriptural character and distinctness of enunciation, and become perverted into another Gospel ? Has the Society ceased to rely on Gospel truth as the appointed instrumentality for the conversion of sinners, through which the Spirit works, and transferred its confidence to ecclesiasticism in its various and versatile movements ? Have any left us who once adhered to us, and, if so, is the change of principle with us or with them ? The grand truth of the everlasting Gospel has of late years, in this country, been subjected to a very severe ordeal. It has been aggressed upon from various quarters, and, in various ways, the attempt has been made to disparage it in the nation's eyes, and displace it from the high position it has occupied. Now there has been a retrograde movement toward symbolism ; now, with a bold eccentricity, men have speculated, until they have lost themselves in scepticism. Cometary bodies have of late years been frequent visitors in our firmament. They have hitherto deviated by a slight angle of inclination from the plane of our ecliptic, and, in their perihelion, have acknowledged themselves to be in connection with our central luminary. But now, it is said, a new phenomenon has appeared, a stranger

never known before to have come within sight of our earth, who, with a bold defiance of all recognised rules, pursues a course perpendicular to the plane of the ecliptic, and, disregarding our sun, approaches him not, and tenders him no homage. He has come at an appropriate season. Hitherto the aberrations from the truth have been of a modified character ; they have professed a regard for revelation, and have recognised Him who is the great sun and centre of the spiritual system. But now a glaring meteor has appeared, subversive of revelation, and bold in the avowal of its scepticism. Have these phenomena caused a disturbance in the settled procedure of events, under the effects of which we are temporarily suffering ? or has there been in any quarter a systematic disparagement of the Society, and a misrepresentation of its principles and objects ? Some will be disposed to think, that however these causes may have acted prejudicially on the Society's income, the true explanation is to be found in the monetary condition of the country, the heavy pressure of taxation, the deficiency of the previous harvest and consequent high prices, the uncertainty as to political events, the American disruption and its relation to our manufacturing prosperity. But if this be the case, has private expenditure been curtailed ? or, while the measure of religious contribution has been lessened, has that remained the same ? Do men find it easier to take from the Lord than to take from themselves ? Certainly, the fashion of the world, to those who submit themselves to it, is imperious in its dictates, and demands an expenditure in dress, and the details of domestic life, which leaves men poor, and often penniless, for religious services. The pressure of the yoke is felt with the increasing refinement of the age, and yet however burdensome they may feel it, individuals know not how to emancipate themselves from the necessity, as they conceive it to be, of doing as others do. Meanwhile, the Lord's work is standing still. Oh that the Spirit of the Lord might so move the hearts of his people, that with a mighty effort they might break loose from all that would hinder them from the Lord's work, that, as his free-men, they might go forth to glorify Him by a hearty consecration of themselves, and all they have, to Him and his service !



NEW PLYMOUTH, NEW ZEALAND.

RUSSIA IN CENTRAL ASIA.

THERE is a remarkable resemblance between Russia and England in the relation which they respectively occupy with reference to Asia. Each is a European power; and in Asia each has obtained possessions and influence. England has her great oriental dependency of India; and Russia, from her European centres, having first obtained dominion over Siberia, is from thence, with consummate ability, extending her sway over territories which promise to repay whatever culture she is enabled to bestow on them, and to become, in due time, richly remunerative. Each, then, has the opportunity of introducing European civilization into the heart of Asiatic barbarism. Whether of the two shall dominate the most extensively, and from which quarter shall ameliorative influences introduce themselves with most energy amidst the wandering hordes of Asia's population? The policy of Russia is to enlarge her territory. That has ceased to be the policy of England. We have no wish to advance our boundaries beyond the great natural barriers of the Himalaya, the Indus, and the Khyber Pass. If, along the vast extent of frontier, ranging from Beloochistan on the west to Pegu and Burmah on the east, any extension of frontier takes place, it will be as the result of necessity, and not of choice. But commercial expansion we do look for, and increase of friendly intercourse with the natives beyond; and as intercourse is opened with new tribes of people, we look to British Christians to be on the alert, and avail themselves of every new opportunity, which, having become sufficiently consolidated to give them a firm footing, enables them to advance the standard of the Gospel. In this we see the superiority of England. She is in a position to introduce among the nations of the earth the true ameliorative, the alone specific for the ills of man. She has the Gospel, and she can communicate it. Side by side with discovery and commerce, Christianity may and ought to progress. Forward movement is the very life of Missionary effort. So soon as it begins to take up a fixed position, and assign to itself a settled boundary, beyond which it hesitates to advance, it will lose its vigour, and become feeble in its action. The day in which we live is remarkably one of enterprise and discovery, and Missions must be prepared, in this respect, to act conjointly with the spirit of the age, and be characterized in their movements by boldness and promptitude.

Societies may not be contented with pursuing, however diligently, the old and well-beaten path of prescriptive effort. It will not do to be ever looking back on our supports to ascertain whether, according to the rules of economic calculation, they are sufficient to sustain us in a forward movement. If there be opportunities of such a nature as to justify a new effort, let the work be done. The importance and fearlessness of the undertaking will excite interest; and in this way the means be providentially supplied. It is the Lord's work. The Gospel, in its power, can alone meet the necessities of man. This is becoming more and more undeniably apparent. It was thought, for a time, that education and civilizing influence would raise man from his degradation, and suffice to secure his happiness. Facts, as they accumulate, point irresistibly to a different conclusion—that the more refined the nations become, the more they need the conservative action of the Gospel; and that the educated mind, without religion, does not fail to produce its own type of criminality. Man's great need is the Gospel; and to provide him with this is that great work to which the energies of God's people should be unhesitatingly and self-denyingly consecrated.

It is for this reason we view with jealousy the political aggrandizement of Russia, because, destitute of religious vitality, she is, in the great matter of Christianity, ignorant and cold as her own protracted winters. And it is for this reason we desire the extension of English influence, because, as it expands, the Gospel of Christ has freedom of action.

A review of the position of Russia in Central Asia will convince us of the energy with which every opportunity of forming relations with the tribes beyond her frontier is improved until a way is prepared for territorial encroachment. We may then examine the action of England along the extended line of her Indian territory, and ascertain whether there has been, on our part, the same promptitude in opening channels of friendly communication, and so dealing with the various tribes and nations beyond our frontier as to predispose them in our favour.

Atkinson specifies four places which are the starting-points of the great caravan routes leading into the interior of the Asiatic continent, namely, Orenberg, in lat. $51^{\circ} 46'$ N. and long. $55^{\circ} 4' 45''$ E.; Troitaka, in lat. 54° N. and long $61^{\circ} 20'$ E.; Petropavlovsk,

in lat. 54° 30' N. and long. 69° E.; and Semipalätinsk, in lat. 50° 30' N. and long. 80° E.

From Orenberg there are two routes to Khiva, lat. 41° 40' N. and long. 59° 23' E., the one traversing the country lying between the Caspian Sea and the sea of Aral; the other running along the eastern shore of the latter sea. There is also a route to Bokhara, in lat. 39° 40' N. and long. 64° 45' E. This, a sixty days' journey, is "frequently travelled by caravans, being the great road from Central Asia to the fair at Nijne Novgorod." After passing the Syr-Daria, which falls into the Aral, "it enters a desert region, which, under the various names of Kara-koom, Kizel-koom, and Batak-koom, extends, with little interruption, nearly 400 miles. The distance from Orenberg to Bokhara is about 1100 miles. The routes from Troitska and Petropavalsk to Bokhara pass through the same desert region. It is here occur the singular phenomenon so well described by Atkinson—the sand pillars in the desert.

"When seen at a distance, for the first time, it made a strong impression on my mind; about twenty pillars were in view, wheeling round and licking up the sand. As they passed along, a cloud of dust was raised on the ground, apparently eight or ten yards in diameter. This gradually assumed the form of a column, that continued to increase in height and diameter as it moved over the plain, appearing like a mighty serpent rearing his head aloft, and twisting his huge body into contortions in his efforts to ascend.

"The pillars were of various sizes, some 20 and 30 feet high, others 50, 60, and 100 feet, and some ascended to near 200 feet. As the whirlwinds began gathering up the dust, one might have fancied that antediluvian monsters were rising into life and activity. The smaller ones seemed to trip it lightly over the plain, bending their bodies in graceful curves as they passed each other; while those of larger dimensions revolved with gravity, swelling out their trunks as they moved onward, till the sandy fabric suddenly dissolved, forming a great mound, and creating a cloud of dust that was swept over the desert."*

About 400 miles from the sea of Aral stands a large and strong fort, which "gives Russia the complete command of the Syr-Daria and the regions around. Her steamers can pass up the river beyond this fortress to within twenty miles of the town of Turkestan, and to within thirty miles of Tashkend,

and boats can ascend the river Tchubar-sou nearly to the town. Vessels of a small draught of water will be able to reach Khodjend, and even near to Kokhan. Thus steam has placed these States under the control of Russia, and her will must be their law."*

Semipalätinsk, or Seven Palaces, is the most southerly of the four points to which we have referred, and lies more towards the heart of Asia. Its importance is proportionate. It "stands on the frontier between Siberia and the Kirghis Steppe, in lat. 50° 30' N. and long. 80° E., and at above 775 feet above the level of the sea. It is so named from seven mounds lying near the town, traditionally the remains of royal residences; but if this be the case, they were erected when the art of building palaces was in its infancy. Unless a great change has taken place in this district, it is difficult to account for such edifices being raised here, for the country around is a barren plain, with several stagnant lakes, occasional patches of grass, and numerous hillocks formed by the wind whirling the sandy soil into heaps.

"The town, consisting principally of wooden buildings, stands on the eastern bank of the Irtisch. It is a long line of houses set back about 150 yards from the river, facing the south-west, with a view over the Kirghis Steppe, which stretches out in that direction for more than a thousand miles. A wide road separates the houses from gardens that extend along the river bank. Here melons and water-melons are grown of a large size, and of a most delicious flavour, without the aid of glass. They are sold at a very cheap rate—five or six for tenpence.

"The buildings are scattered over a considerable space, forming several streets; each house, great and small, has its courtyard enclosed by a wooden fence ten or twelve feet high, with large gates in the centre. The government offices, and other edifices connected with the military department, are at the northern end of the town. These, and the custom-house, are mostly built of brick, and have an imposing appearance when seen at a distance. A numerous body of Cossacks is always stationed here with a strong force of artillery; so that this is really a military town of great importance in connexion with the government of the Kirghis. . . .

"Many Tartar merchants in Semipalätinsk are engaged in trade with the Chinese towns of Tchoubachack and Kulja; also with Bokhara, Khokan, and Tashkend, between which and Semipalätinsk caravans are

* Atkinson's "Upper and Lower Amoor," pp. 278 and 279.

* Ibid., p. 280.

frequently passing. They take out printed Russian goods, copper, iron, and hardware, returning with tea, silks, and dried fruits, which are forwarded to the fair at Irbit, and are then dispersed, the greater portion being sent into Siberia, the rest into Europe. The dwellings of the merchants engaged in this trade are commodious and clean, and the rooms contain a great deal of valuable property: in some rich carpets from Persia and Bokhara are hanging on the walls, as well as spread on the floors; in others they are piled up in bales. In another room are magnificent silks, shawls, and kalats (or dressing gowns), beautifully embroidered with gold and coloured silks. Ornaments and large vases in porcelain from China, tea services, plates, dishes, and similar works of singular taste and beauty, diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and a few other precious stones, form parts of their stock in trade. At my visits, shortly after entering the house, tea and dried fruits were handed. Low divans are placed round the rooms, but most generally the inmates are found seated on carpets spread on the floor, drinking tea and sewing. Forged Russian notes are frequently found among these Tartars: twice they passed them upon me. Although I knew from whom I received them, my friends advised me to burn the notes, as the loss would be far better than the trouble and annoyance if the affair was placed in the hands of the police.

"Besides these merchants, there are others who carry on a great trade with the Kirghis, supplying them with silk dresses, tea, raisins, and wooden bowls from China, kalats of printed calico from Khokan, Russian hardware, iron, copper, and leather; for which they receive in exchange black and grey fox skins, black lamb skins, horses, oxen, and sheep. The horses and oxen are driven into eastern Siberia to the different gold mines. One of these Tartar traders told me that he imported 50,000 horned cattle into Siberia annually, and these are chiefly consumed at the gold mines. I have met the Kirghis with herds of from 3000 to 4000 oxen, 1500 miles from their homes, and 500 from their destination.

"When the cattle are delivered at the mines the men remain a few days, and then start on their return—a very long ride. Their journey homeward is by the post as far as Semipalatinsk, and then to their hovels in the Steppe on horseback. The sheep are driven across the Steppe to Petropavlovsk on the frontier of Siberia, and thence to Ekaterineburg, where they are killed and their fat melted down into tallow. More than one million sheep are brought from the

Kirghis Steppe yearly, which are disposed of in this manner. The whole of the tallow was (till within the last few years) forwarded to Europe: now the bulk is converted into stearine at a large work near Ekaterineburg. This establishment supplies all Siberia with candles, besides sending a great quantity into Russia.*

The routes from this town are exceedingly important. They extend to Tashkend, Kokhan, Samarcand, Kashgar, and Yarkand. A portion of the journey lies through a sterile region, where "the sand has been whirled into thousands of hillocks, some forty and fifty feet in height, and others of smaller dimensions." Here the mirage and sandstorms are frequently met.

"The former tantalizes the traveller's thirst, and the latter may form his grave. Many of my readers know nothing practically of the mirage, and thus they can neither appreciate the beauty of this deception, nor estimate the disappointment it creates. I fear my pencil fails in rendering its magical effect, and my pen cannot give an adequate idea of its tantalizing power on the thirsty traveller. It has, however, often fallen to my lot to witness it, when an apparent lake stretched out before me, tempting both man and animal to rush on and slake their burning thirst. Even after years of experience I have been deceived by this phenomenon, so real has it appeared, and many of its peculiar and magical effects have been preserved. Sometimes vast cities seemed rising on the plains, in which a multitude of towers, spires, domes, and columns were grouped together with a picturesque effect that neither poet nor painter could depict. And these were reflected in the deceptive fluid with all the distinctness of a mirror: at times a slight breeze seemed to ruffle the placid surface, destroying the forms for a few minutes, and then they re-appeared.

"Sometimes I have been almost induced to believe that vast tropical forests were before me, where palms of gigantic size, with their graceful foliage, overtopped every other tree, and that beyond were mountain crests, giving a reality to the scene that caused me for the moment to doubt its being a phantom. At last I have passed over the spot where the lake, the mighty city, and the vast forest had appeared, and found nothing but small bushes and tufts of grass growing on the steppe.†

* Atkinson's "Upper and Lower Amoor," pp. 3—7.

† Ibid., p. 283.

The journey from Semipalâtinsk to Tashkend occupies from fifty to fifty-five days, and to Kokhan seventy days.

Another frontier point which is reached from Semipalâtinsk is the Chinese town Tchou-bachak, in lat. 46° 15' N. and long. 83° 5' E. To this town there are two routes: the one, advancing over the steppes to the south-east, reaches the new Russian fort of Kokpaktinskoi; thence, crossing the streams which flow from the Tarbagatai mountains to the Nor-Zaisan, it ascends those high ridges, and, descending the southern slopes within the Chinese frontier, arrives at Tchou-bachak, after a journey of ten days, throughout which good pastures and water abound.

The road we have just sketched crosses the streams which flow eastward from the Tarbagatai mountains into Nor-Zaisan. There is another road by Ayagus which strikes westward of that chain. This we shall trace more carefully. Crossing the Irtisch, on the north bank of which Semipalâtinsk is situated, and which is there about a quarter of a mile broad, the traveller enters a Tartar village on the Kirghis side of the river. "Here exists a curious population of Russian Cossacks, Tartars, Kalmucks, and Kirghis; and a singular mixture of races is springing up, which will greatly puzzle the future ethnologist. There are many Tartar merchants in this village, which at times presents a very busy and somewhat singular scene. There are groups of Bokharians, Khivans, Khokanians, and men from Tashkend, each in their gay and picturesque costume. Numerous camels, with their long shaggy necks and huge loads, were waiting to be unburdened; others were patiently lying down while the bales were being removed from their saddles. Many Cossacks were watching these operations to prevent smuggling; but, notwithstanding their vigilance, the people succeed in conveying into Siberia considerable quantities of tea and silks which have never passed His Imperial Majesty's customs." The road then strikes due south from Semipalâtinsk to Ayagus, a distance of 200 miles, along which Russian picquets are placed about fifteen miles apart, forming a line of posts guarding the Khirgis.

Ayagus is a Cossack fortress, on a river of the same name, which flows from the Tarbagatai chain into Lake Balkash. "Nine hundred Cossacks are stationed here, most of whom have families. There is also a battery of Cossack artillery and a small body of infantry. . . . At the head of the civil department is the Sessedatal, or chief magistrate, who has a Secretary and several assistants. These constitute the governing

power over the Kirghis in this region. The men sent to fill these departments look upon their position as a species of banishment; and it has always been a principle among the *employés* to abstract the greatest amount of profit from the nomades, who are ground by every man, from the chief to the common soldier. This makes the Kirghis give Ayagus a wide berth: nevertheless, means are devised to bring many of the tribes within the grasp of the needy officials."

The duties of the Sessedatal "are wholly with the Kirghis; and he has officers residing among the different tribes, wherever Russia has obtained any influence, who lose no opportunity of extending her power. The chief is courted, paid, and some mark of distinction given him—perhaps a medal, a sabre, or a gold-laced coat and cocked-hat, with the privilege of attending a council at Ayagus once a-year, when laws are made to govern the tribes, that rivet still faster the fetters with which he and his people are being bound. From this meeting he returns to his aoul, 'dressed in a little brief authority.' A young Russian who understands his language is appointed to reside with him, to translate all official papers sent to him, and write his answers, to which he attaches his seal without understanding a word they contain. The youth is also a spy upon him and those who visit his aoul, reporting regularly to the chief at Ayagus. Thus the power of the empire is gradually creeping on in the plains of Central Asia, and, when it is sufficiently secured, the nomades will have to pay both in men and money."*

On leaving Ayagus the road passes over the plain to the southern side of the Tarbagatai, where it crosses several spurs projecting from the chain, and numerous rivers descending from the mountain's side. A region of lakes is then reached: at the western end of one of them "is a Chinese picquet, close on the Russian frontier, and eight miles beyond is the town of Tchoubachak. It stands on a level plain at the foot of the Tarbagatai, which rises abruptly from the plain for about 3000 feet. This journey occupies fourteen days."

The region between the Balkash and Nor-Zaisin abounds with ancient tombs, "which are held in great veneration by the Kirghis. They say that one of these edifices contains the graves of two mighty genii, who ruled over the whole region between Nor-Zaisin and the Balkash, to whom all the sultans of the steppe did homage. They also

* Atkinson's "Upper and Lower Amoor," p. 34.

tell of the terrible battles which were fought between these great spirits, and others who inhabited a part of the Gobi. Some of the fearful ravines in the mountains to the south are attributed to strokes from their swords, when a path was required to bring up their legions. Extravagant as are such legends, it would not be safe to venture to express to the Kirghis any doubt respecting their authenticity.

"Two of these tombs are alike both in form and dimensions. They are circular on the plan, and conical, or more properly an elongated dome, with an aperture on the top. From the ground to the apex of the dome the height is about fifty-five feet: on the south side, and about eight feet from the ground, there is an opening four feet square, and higher up in the dome there is another about two feet square. I succeeded in entering the tomb through the lower aperture, and found the interior diameter twenty-one feet. The walls are four feet thick, and built of stone obtained from rocks near at hand. In the centre of the tomb there are two graves, nine feet long and three feet six inches wide, and on each side of these are three other graves six feet long. The Kirghis say the two large ones contain the genii, and the smaller ones are the sepulchres of six inferior spirits, their attendants, who were sacrificed when the former were overpowered by the genii of the Gobi. Around this spot there are several smaller tombs and numerous mounds of earth."

From Ayagus there are two routes to Kulja, a large Chinese town, containing 40,000 inhabitants in lat. 42° 46' N., and long. 82° 48' 15" E. Both pass over the Karatau mountains. The Karatau, or Black mountains, bound the Kirghis steppe to the south. On approaching them, after ten days' journey in a southerly direction from Ayagus, the arid steppes are left behind, and the country becomes more fertile, "affording good pasture for large herds of cattle: indeed, wherever there is moisture, grass is abundant."

"The ancient inhabitants of this region rendered it extremely productive. The numerous canals which still exist show their engineering skill, and the extent of the irrigation it produced. In some of the channels the water yet runs, and, where it overflows, the sterile soil is covered with a luxuriant carpet of vegetation, adorned with flowers of singular beauty. There is abundant proof

that it has once been densely inhabited, and it is probably destined to be a great theatre when occupied by Russia. The vast number of tumuli scattered over the plain, the extensive earthworks, which have been either cities or strongholds, afford convincing evidence that a great people were once located here.

"One of these ancient works on the Lep-sou, near its outlets from the Karatau, is a parallelogram, about 700 yards in length and 300 in breadth. The earth walls are now about twelve feet high, and have been considerably higher; their thickness is about sixteen feet at the bottom, and nine feet at the top. This enclosure was entered by four gates, one being in the centre of each side; but the eastern end has been partly destroyed by the river, which is gradually cutting down the bank. Half a mile to the north and south are numerous mounds; and at about a mile from the western end, there is a large tumulus, about 150 feet in diameter, and 50 feet high. The people who produced them were a very different race to the present occupiers of the country, and had made an extraordinary advance in agriculture and mining."*

Near the gorge of the Acsou, a river which flows from the Karatau mountains into the lake Balkash, Atkinson met with singular remains of these former inhabitants.

"We came upon a great number of ancient tombs, many only small mounds of earth, varying from fifteen to twenty feet in diameter, and ten feet high; these were scattered far over the plain. About a mile further I found others of much larger dimensions; one, 120 feet in diameter and 37 feet high, with a shallow ditch 12 feet wide and four feet deep, running round its base. One hundred feet from the edge of the ditch was a circle of stones two feet high; and ten feet from this there was another of the same height. Directly facing the east was an entrance twelve feet wide, having an avenue of the same width, formed of similar stones, extending eastwards 100 yards.

"Having ridden my horse to the summit of the tumulus I saw three others to the north, of apparently similar dimensions. One of them was about a mile distant, another about two miles, and the third still further, in a north-westerly direction. To the south I observed a still larger tumulus not far away. The whole intervening space was covered with smaller tombs, extending over an area

* Atkinson's "Upper and Lower Amoor," pp. 38—40.

* Atkinson's "Upper and Lower Amoor," pp. 85, 86.

nearly four miles in length by one mile in breadth—verily a vast city of the dead.

“Here was a place for reflection, and for much curious speculation as to what nation or race occupied these numberless mounds. They have passed away without leaving a single record, and it is impossible to identify them or date their cemeteries. Most probably they were raised by the earliest inhabitants of these vast regions, which we are led to believe was the cradle of the human race. I turned my horse away, deeply regretting that I had not the means of examining one of the larger tombs, as articles might probably be found therein that would go far towards explaining this historical enigma.”*

Southward of the Karatau lies the Alatau chain, or the variegated mountains. These two ranges are separated by a valley, about twenty miles in width. In this valley is Kopal, the most southerly fort Russia has as yet planted in Chinese Tartary. It is situated “in about 43° lat. N., and 82° long. E., and is only three days from Kulja. The fort is in the region belonging to the great horde of the Kirghis, and is significant of the fate which awaits these warlike tribes.”

The hardships endured by the Russians, and the difficulties surmounted by them, in the formation of this important military post, which threatens the independent Kirghis in one direction, and the Chinese in the other, will enable the reader to understand the unconquerable tenacity of purpose with which these Cossack pioneers devote themselves to the work of encroachment, and the gradual extension of the Russian frontier.

“About four years before my arrival,” observes Mr. Atkinson, “a battery of artillery, consisting of six guns and 100 men, had been sent into the Alatau, and the officer in command had taken up a position in a pass about eight miles to the southward of the site of the new fort. From Ayagus to their camp was a journey of eighteen days, with hostile tribes inhabiting the plains between this little band and their friends, while to the south-west, on the opposite side of the mountains, there were legions of Chinese convicts occupying the region around Kulja. The officer had formed his camp in the mouth of a gorge: a few men stationed up in the cliffs were sufficient to defend the place against one hundred times their number, and the guns would have caused terrible slaughter had any body of men attempted to force the pass. The captain and his men arrived here

in the autumn, after a most arduous march of forty-two days over a country in which there were no roads. Deep rivers often delayed their march, and extensive morasses, capable of swallowing vast armies, frequently compelled them to make a *détour* that occupied several days.

“Notwithstanding that every thing now around them wore a summer aspect, they knew that winter was fast approaching, and that no time ought to be lost in preparing for it. The numerous glens and small sheltered valleys afforded plenty of grass for their horses, where they could be left to pasture in safety, but the season was past for making hay for their winter fodder. This, however, was not of vast importance, as these Asiatic horses are accustomed to seek their food beneath the snow, like wild animals, and instinct tells them where grass is to be found. Nor do they require any shelter from the weather—stable, grooming, and corn being luxuries unknown to them.

“Stone was lying in the bottom of the gorge, ready quarried by time and water, and with these rough materials the men soon erected huts for their winter dwellings. Trunks of trees and branches formed the flat roofs; over these was thrown a covering of earth, about nine inches thick: thus they were secured against both wet and cold. Glass they had none; Chinese silk, strained on to small frames, formed the windows, and rough doors were made out of bark. Logs of wood were their seats, and dried fern their beds. In this way the men were soon housed, and their dwellings furnished.

“Much, however, remained to be done; wood had to be collected for their winter fuel, and this could only be obtained in the upper glens, whence it was difficult to transport it: a supply of game had also to be provided for their daily consumption. Luckily for them the whole region abounded with animals. Deer were exceedingly numerous on all the lower ranges, while the maral (a large stag), and the argali (wild sheep), were found in all the higher regions. A large party of men were constantly employed hunting, and both venison and wild mutton were plentiful in the camp. As the season advanced, the upper regions became covered with snow, causing the animals to descend to the lower valleys. The men now began to lay in their winter store. The officer told me that he had often shot the maral and deer from the door of his hut, showing how completely unaccustomed they were to the sportsman and to his rifle. . . .

“Before the end of October the winter came upon this little band in the mountain

* Atkinson's “Upper and Lower Amoor,” pp. 191, 192.

gorge; their stony dwellings were covered with snow, and their usual occupations were stopped. Their horses were in a valley at some distance, access to which was impossible, in consequence of the deep new-fallen snow. They were, however, under no apprehension about them, as a thick forest of cedars skirted the foot of the mountains, and under these they would find shelter. As time passed on it became more dreary, till the snow was sufficiently hardened; then the chase afforded the usual excitement.

"In the early part of November bourans began to blow, that lasted two and three days at a time, during which the men could not proceed twenty paces from their dwellings. This was but a foretaste of what was in store, for on the morning of the 23d it began to blow a gale, which gradually increased to a hurricane, sweeping the snow into clouds like flour, and rendering it almost dark at midday. During the night and the following day it became worse, and the roaring of the wind, as it swept up the gorge, was appalling. Already their huts were covered deep with snow, and almost as soon as passages were made from one to another they were filled up. At length each party became prisoners in their dwellings, from which they could not proceed five paces. They had now great difficulty in cooking, and those most distant from the kitchen found it a constant labour to keep up a communication with that necessary establishment. When the snow became deep enough a gallery was formed in it, and then they passed to and fro without difficulty.

"This bouran continued till the 4th of December—eleven days, without intermission—after which came calm weather, with 20° Reau. of frost. Immediately the storm had ceased a party was sent up to the valley to look after the horses. On reaching the spot they were found completely sheltered in the thick forest, where but little snow was lying on the ground. It also had afforded them a good pasture. These fearful bourans were of frequent occurrence during the months of December and January. Before the middle of February their fatal effects were visible on man and animal, for thirteen of the men died, and fifty-seven horses perished in the snow.*"

Kopal is said to contain, at present, "11,000 inhabitants, and will gradually increase as commerce extends into these regions. Not-

withstanding the defective position of the place, wealth will be acquired here, and population is sure to follow. A considerable number of Tartar merchants are established in Kopal, and carry on a most profitable trade with the nomade tribes, as well as with China." Encouraged by its rapid growth, the Russians have formed another settlement on the Almatee, or Apple river, about 200 miles to the south-west of Kopal, where the town of Vernoje has been commenced.

Atkinson's description of the Karatau and Alatau mountains, and of the Kirghis tribes which he met with amidst their recesses, and the surrounding steppes, are vivid and interesting; but we cannot pause now to tarry amidst the souls of the nomades, or examine the craggy fastnesses, the ravines, and waterfalls, with the higher summits rising far above into the regions of eternal snow. Our object is to map out the country by a reference to the towns and connecting routes, in order that the advance and present position of the Russian frontier, and our own relation to it, may become clearly perceptible.

From Sempalâtinsk to Kashgar, lat. 39° 25' N., and long. 74° 5' E., there is also a route. It branches off from the westerly route to Kulja, at Boura-kol, the most westerly point of the Karatau. Crossing the Tchoulæ mountains into the valley of the Ili, and passing that river, it turns south-east into the valley of the Tcharin, which flows into the Ili. Following this river nearly to its source, it advances a little to the west of the Khan-Tergear mountain. Descending into "the extraordinary basin of Issa-kool to Sara-Tologui, near which there is a Cossack picquet," "the route continues along the north-west side of the Mustau for about 100 miles, and then crosses this great chain, over a pass said to be 14,000 feet above the sea. The crest of this chain is indicated by Russia as the boundary of her empire. About eighty miles from this the route joins the Chinese road to Kashgar."

Thus, from Kopal on the east to Fort Akmechet on the Syr Daria, the Russian frontier describes a curve of 800 miles, the most southerly point of which reaches the Mustau range. Along this vast arch forts and picquets are disposed, which command the region as far as the 39th parallel of north latitude, and threaten a further advance towards the south, so that, ere long, we may "expect to see Cossack picquets near Kashgar."

At three distinct points on the continent of Asia the Russian boundary has approached

* Atkinson's "Upper and Lower Amoor," pp. 90—95.

or overpassed the 40° of N. lat.; in the territory intervening between the Black and Caspian seas; in the steppes and mountain regions appropriated by her in the direction of the Chinese provinces of Syan Shan Peloo, and Syan Shan Nanloo, and reaching southward as far as the Mustau range; and again, in her new acquisitions on the Tartarian coast, to which the attention of our readers was directed in our last Number. The mouth of the Tumen, the Mustau range, and Constantinople, lie in about the same parallel of latitude.

"The first attempt of Peter the Great to interfere in Asia was in 1717, when he sent a mission to the Khan of Khiva to negotiate a commercial treaty. The whole embassy was assassinated. Meanwhile the trade which he had hoped to attract was flowing in the opposite direction through the warehouses of the British East-India Company. Checked for the moment there, Russia cast her glance on Tartary, and in 1734 the empress Ann succeeded in formally enrolling the middle and little hordes of the Kirghis Cossacks, of whom Atkinson has written so fully, as her subjects. Aboulkhair, the leader of the Kirghis, ever oscillated between Pekin and St. Petersburg influence, and, with the assistance of the former, possessed himself of Khiva. He was driven out of that city by Nadir Shah. By means of exciting one tribe against another, Russia maintained her power over the hordes, till, in the reign of Catherine, she obtained the two great objects of her policy—the establishment of forts and trading stations like Semipalatinsk among them, and the inviolability of caravans. At this time 22,000 tents of the middle and little hordes, and a large portion of the great horde, alternately subject to Pekin and Khokan, established themselves within the Russian frontier, and have remained peaceable subjects ever since. They are called 'Inorodtsi,' and thus defined—'subjects of Russia, without being Russians, or being confounded with the general population of the empire;—colonists constituting colonies of their own, with their own regulations. They are half-savage nations, to whom the empire, interested, no doubt, but always benevolent, allows the advantage of its enlightened protection.' They live in aouls, or hamlets of 170 tents. Ten of these constitute a voloste, and fifteen or twenty volostes a division. The aouls are governed by 'Starchines,' publicly elected every three years, the volostes by hereditary sultans, and the division by a chamber of administration called Prikaz, which consists of a president, or Starchi-sultan, two Russians, and two grantees elected by the Star-

chines. The Starchi-sultan ranks with a major, and, if twice elected, becomes a nobleman of the empire. Each official is under the control of Russia."*

In the regions south of the Balkash the same system is being pursued, and every effort is made to reduce the independent tribes under the influence of Russia.

"The whole regions around the Issa-kool and the Mustau mountains beyond are occupied by the descendants of those Kalmuck tribes," who, on the 5th of January 1771, "left the banks of the Volga, with their prince, Oui-bach, to return to the land of their ancestors in Chinese Tartary. Amidst the continued hostility of the Kirghis tribes, amidst dangers and disasters, the winter bourans, and the sand-storms of the summer, this vast multitude of 600,000 succeeded in gaining the southern end of the Balkash, and finally reaching "a country prepared for them by the Chinese emperor, Kien Long," on the banks of the Ili, and near the mountains of the south. "From that period to the present these people, now called mountain Kirghis, have occupied this region." With these daring mountaineers Russia studiously sought to establish friendly relations, and her victories over the Kirghis of the great horde, when, on the completing of the fort of Kopal, they attacked the garrison, and the ease with which her artillery put them to flight, decided the mountain Kirghis to lend a favourable ear to her proposals, and they are now said to be "the subjects of His Imperial Majesty."†

But, besides these Kalmucks, there are the Kara Kirghis, inhabiting a vast mountain region, which, commencing towards the upper valley of the Ili, extends to the south-west, around and far beyond the Issa-kool. These people are so named "on account of the dark colour of their skins. They are a brave and warlike people, the men athletic and well-proportioned, with fine faces, large black eyes and jet-black hair, quite a distinct race from the Kirghis who inhabit the plains." They are much dreaded by the Kirghis of the steppes, on whom they rush down from their mountain pastures, committing terrible ravages, "sometimes carrying their marauding expeditions far into the middle horde," whose country lies to the north of the Bal-

* "Overland Friend of India," October 22, 1860.

† Atkinson's "Upper and Lower Amoor," p. 297.

‡ Ibid., pp. 299.

kash lake, and "then skilfully retreating with their captives and plunder." Atkinson observes—"I have no doubt whatever that these people are, at the present moment, the subjects of His Imperial Majesty. Their chiefs can muster 40,000 cavalry, which, when brought "under proper command, will be the most formidable body for mischief of any in Central Asia."

Thus there is here an iron organization which, year by year, is leavening the whole of the hordes of Central Asia. Russia is moulding them to her will, and, when the time comes, will not fail to use them for her own purposes.

"Khiva and Persia are now the objects of Russia's ambition. The former, though the most savage of all the States of Central Asia, has an army estimated by Abbott at 108,000 men. Its revenue is 300,000*l.*, and its population 2,500,000. Khiva is in the latitude of Rome, but colder. By stirring up Bokhara or Persia to hostilities with it, she might attain her object. Once there, she would hang like a storm-cloud over Persia, whose northern provinces of Ghilan, Mazanderan, and Astrabad, she has once before made an attempt to seize, and whose ports on the Caspian her fleet commands. Only recently she threatened to withdraw her ambassador from Teheran, where he has been for the last twenty-two years, if Persia would not consent to stop an expedition being sent against the Turcomans. To us the independence of Persia is all important, and more so than ever since Sir H. Rawlinson has ceased to represent our interests there, and the Syrian outbreak has roused the spirit of the East. The Russians do not conceal their designs. More than once has Mouravieff said, 'Masters of Khiva, many other states would be under our rule. The possession of it would shake to the foundation the enormous commercial superiority of those who now rule the sea.' The object is not to invade India, but to form a vast protectorate of all the Central Asian States and Tartar hordes, and to overawe China, so as to undermine the power, the commerce, and the prestige of Britain in the East."*

In a future article we propose to transfer ourselves to the British side of the Himalaya, and from thence review what has been done, or is proposed being done, in order that England may be known, and her influence more felt, in these interior countries. Surely the influence of British India ought to extend far beyond its territorial boundaries, and

the colder waves from the north be modified, or, if necessary, counteracted by those of a higher and more genial temperature from the southern latitudes. We need that the counteracting influence of English civilization should be powerfully exerted, our laws and merchandize attracting to intercourse with us the traders from Bokhara, and Khiva, and China, and Christianity embracing the opportunity of making itself heard and known. In no way can the ambitious schemes of an exclusive despotism be so effectively counteracted as by the prompt dissemination of those wholesome elements of improvement which will place these tribes in a position to conserve their independence, and so keep them from being absorbed into the vast agglomeration of Russian power.

But for the present we shall confine ourselves to the regions north of the Himalaya, and proceed to complete our acquaintance with the routes which exist in those portions of the Chinese empire which lie more immediately to the south and west of Russia's new frontier in Tartary, and which, stretching through the heart of Mongolia, bring us back to the districts of the Baikal, from whence we first started on our journey down the Amoor.

From Kashgar to Yarkand, 38° 30' N. lat., and 75° 50' E. long., there is easy transit. "Yarkand is a large town, containing, according to information obtained by Atkinson, nearly 14,000 houses, the population being estimated at from 85,000 to 95,000 in 1852; by some of the merchants at 100,000. There is also a Chinese garrison of 5000 men. It is a place of considerable trade, and a great number of Chinese, Tartar, Bokharian, and Cashmerian merchants reside there. Formerly Persians were also numerous, but now there are but few to be found in the city. The bazaars are three miles and a half in length, and on market-days present a busy scene. Rich silks and porcelain are conspicuously displayed, also embroidered Kanfa kalats, for which the Kirghis chiefs give twenty and thirty horses in exchange: brick tea appears in vast quantities, as well as printed calicoes from Kokhan. The loom of Cashmere contributes its quota to the mass of manufactured goods."

Shortly after leaving Yarkand, the route crosses the river of that name. This river has its principal sources in the Karakorum mountains, the sources of the Indus lying on the other side of the ridge. Crossing the Kashgar river, "it follows its course for more than 200 miles over a fertile country, till it reaches Karatal, where it crosses the Acson,"

* "Overland Friend of India," Oct. 22, 1860.

these three rivers, together with the Khoten from the south, uniting to form the Tarim or Erghew, which flows in an easterly direction, until it enters Lob Noor. Passing various lesser places it "turns due north to Koutche, town containing between 5000 and 6000 inhabitants, besides the Chinese garrison. To the north of this place is the Mussoor-Daban, or pass in the Syan Shan mountains, on the way to Kulja, and the great volcano Peshan is on the east." Running along the foot of the Youl-dooz mountains, the road "reaches Kalga-man, at the western end of Bosteng Noor, and then proceeds to the town of Kara-shara. About forty miles to the north rises the Bogda-Oula, the highest summit in this part of Asia. It is a stupendous object, its dark precipices rising 7000 or 8000 feet above all the surrounding summits, while its canopy of ice and snow seems to pierce the skies." Kara-shara is said to be a large town, containing a population of 30,000; "the whole region to the north being densely populated with nomades, who possess vast herds of cattle." Tourfan is the next town of importance, twenty-five miles north of which is the volcano Ho-theou, which, in 1852, was in a state of ebullition. Beyond Pidgan the route ascends the first ranges of Kongor-adzirgan, and, crossing the chain, joins the route from the Tarbagatai and Tchoubachak, and reaches Barkol or Tchín-si, a large town, having a population of 10,000, and a garrison of 5000 men. Traversing 200 miles of grassy steppes, where the Mongols find good pasture, a sandy plain conducts the traveller to the southern slopes of the Khangai-oula, and, crossing the chain by a pass, strikes the Orchon, a tributary of the Selenga, and follows its north bank for more than 100 miles to its junction with the Tola. "This river runs from the east, having its rise on the western side of the Khin-gan mountain, while on the eastern face of the chain is the source of the Keroulun, the longest affluent of the Amoor. Turning due east, for about 130 miles the route "joins the road between the Chinese towns of Mai-ma-tchin and Ourga," at a point "sixty miles from the latter town, and 120 from the former." Crossing the mountains to the north-west, Mai-ma-tchin is reached after eight post stations.

"This town is what its name implies, 'The place of trade,' and stands on the edge of a plain that stretches out to the south to a chain of wooded hills, extending to the east thirty or forty miles, nearly to the river Kiran, which falls into the Tche-koi, while to the west it runs up towards the Selenga. At a

few hundred yards to the north of the Chinese town is Kiachta, the Russian town, and three miles beyond this is Troitska-selo, standing among hills."*

"The town of Mai-ma-tchin is composed entirely of wooden buildings, and is surrounded by a wooden palisade having two gates, one on the north facing Kiachta, and the other opening to the south on to the plain. A narrow street runs straight through the town from one gate to the other, the distance being between 500 and 600 yards. Parallel to this are other streets on each side, and a space of about thirty yards in width extends from the houses to the palisade. Other streets run at right angles, and thus they divide the town into numerous blocks. At the intersection in the centre of the two principal streets there is a square edifice, standing on four square pillars, that form openings into the four streets. It contains three stories, and the upper ones diminish in size like a Chinese pagoda. The angles of the roofs are ornamented with Chinese dragons and other monsters; in each face of the upper stories there are openings filled in with highly-decorated trellis-work, cut in wood, with balconies and an ornamented balustrade beneath. The walls are curiously painted in red with green monsters, and other allegorical figures. A small staircase winds up in one of the pillars, and this leads into the observatory of Mai-ma-tchin."†

"During my numerous rambles in Mai-ma-tchin I visited the dwellings of most of the Chinese merchants: they resemble each other so much that a description of one will be sufficient. Each has its courtyard, and is enclosed within its own fence. The wealthier merchants have their abodes along the line of the principal streets; those of a lower grade are in the narrow lanes nearer the palisade. The courtyard is entered by a pair of folding-doors from the street; and immediately the visitor has passed the threshold he finds convincing evidence that the establishment is kept with great care and cleanliness. The courtyard is twenty-five feet wide, and forty feet deep: on the right hand are several private apartments, about ten feet square, and in the centre of this front there is an altar to Fo. The windows are filled in with mica: some are highly ornamented. On the left hand are the kitchens and rooms of the domestics.

"At the end of the court is the magazine,

* Atkinson's "Upper and Lower Amoor," p. 358.

† Ibid, p. 362.

with a doorway in the centre; and the roof over this part of the establishment is decorated with dragons and other monsters of Chinese invention. It extends to the width of the courtyard, and the rooms on each side; is twenty feet in width, and divided in its length into two rooms, one being about twenty feet by fifteen feet, and the other thirty feet by twenty feet, with a large opening between them. At the extremity of the large room there is a raised platform ten feet wide and two feet nine inches high. A small stove is constructed beneath this in brickwork, with an opening in the centre for the fuel: the other part forms a large air chamber, heated by the stove, that maintains a warm current which is diffused through the rooms. This platform has a boarded floor, extending the whole width of the room, and on it the inmates sleep.

"The walls are tastefully decorated with silk and Chinese paintings, and here the merchant has his choicest wares; silks of great variety and beauty, embroidered Kanfa kalata, jackets, and various other articles of costume; porcelain vases of most exquisite workmanship and great value—various dinner and tea services, some of them exceedingly costly—ornaments in jade—and groups of flowers formed in various-coloured stones, showing the patience of the Chinese workmen. Window screens are articles on which they bestow great labour: some of them are most minutely carved in ebony, on others they execute foliage and flowers in green and white jade. One piece of wood-carving was shown to me, about six feet high and four feet wide; the centre was covered with a multitude of flowers and fruit in amethyst, beryl, chalcedony, and jade. The price of this was equal to 600*l*. It had remained several years without a purchaser, and now was about to be returned to Peking.*"

Between Kiachta and Mai-ma-tchin free intercourse is permitted from sunrise to sunset, when the Chinese shut their gate, and the Cossacks stop all egress. No one is allowed to reside in Kiachta except the officials, and the merchants through whom the trade with China is conducted, several of whom have become "exceedingly wealthy by acting as agents for those in Moscow and other parts of the empire." At Troitska is the custom-house, where all merchandize, whether from China or Russia, must be deposited in the Government warehouses, and

where the barter is actually carried on. The exports from China consist principally of tea, rhubarb, and silks, but tea is the principal item, the importation of which has reached near "six millions of Russian pounds, no portion of it being cheap or common tea." Until recently the trade was merely an exchange of commodities, the exportation of the precious metals being totally prohibited by Russia, and the Chinese being compelled to take Russian manufactures. But the restriction was evaded, gold and silver, rudely wrought by the Russian merchants into the form of plates, cups, and spoons, serving the purpose of a currency. A certain proportion of the goods purchased may now be paid for in money.

Mai-ma-tchin is about 1000 miles from Peking, and has been hitherto regarded by the Chinese as the great outlet of commercial intercourse with Russia. At Chang-kea-kow, just within the limits of the great wall, their merchandize is collected, and thence transmitted "across the desert to Kiachta in small carts drawn by one horse or a bullock." On the other side Kiachta is some 4000 miles distant from Moscow, and the transit trade through Siberia is necessarily one of great importance, "affording employment to a vast number of horses and men. The best time for conveying the goods is in winter: besides the sledge being of easier draught, the rivers, the passage of which often occasions great losses, are crossed without risk."

The new treaty between Russia and China establishes perfectly free-trade between the subjects of both empires, and to Russian merchants is conceded the privilege of travelling in China at all times on commercial business. "An experimental trade is to be opened at Kashgar," the Chinese Government undertaking to grant land for a factory and a church. Already the Russians, with their usual energy, are availing themselves of these advantages. The correspondent of the "London and China Telegraph" writes thus from St. Petersburg, under date of July 20th—

"Accounts have been received here from Irkutsk to the 12th June, stating that active measures are being taken to organize a commercial club, and establish an exchange in that city, the want of which was becoming deeply felt from the daily-increasing traffic with China, and the necessity for which will become still more obvious when the frontier custom-house is removed from Kiachta to Irkutsk as contemplated. A Mr. Yourganoff, a merchant of Kiachta, who lately went

* Atkinson's "Upper and Lower Amoor," pp. 366-368.

to Ourga with an assortment of goods for sale to the Chinese, had returned and expressed himself perfectly satisfied with the result of his expedition, no impediments having been thrown in his way. On the contrary, he states, that on his arrival at Ourga the authorities sent a deputation to welcome him, had the best apartments in the hotel prepared for his reception, and treated him with the utmost consideration and politeness. The Mongolians at first exhibited much apathy in their purchases, though many of them had come on purpose from great distances, some as much as 500 wersts; but they afterwards made up for it to such a degree, that there was but a poor assortment left for the Chinese to select from, and he has received some large orders for future delivery. Before his departure Mr. Yourganoff was asked by the authorities whether there were any sums still due to him on accounts not yet settled, inquiring also, with evident interest, whether other merchants would soon visit them. At his departure Mr. Yourganoff bought some horses without difficulty, and hired a string of camels, spontaneously offered him by the Mongolians, to carry the brick-tea and other commodities he

had purchased as returns, and which he took with him from Ourga to Kiachta.

"A fourth caravan, belonging to the house of Paramanoff, started from Kiachta on the 6th of June for Ourga, the beasts of burthen having been hired of Mongolians at the very moderate rate of 35½ copecks per pood of 40 lbs. for the whole distance.

"A letter of the 21st of May, from Selenghisk, mentions, as a fresh instance of the advantages arising out of the treaty between Russia and China, the arrival in that town of Hasanday, the head partner and manager of the great Pekin firm of Kynhe-Sine-Ty, who came from the Chinese capital to pay a visit to his old friend Startzoff, and concert measures with him for realizing his most ardent wish of proceeding in person to Russia, to acquaint himself practically with the way in which business is conducted in this country, with a view of introducing it into China. He stated that several other merchants of Pekin entertain similar views, and that their arrival may shortly be expected."

Russia is energetic and persevering. Are we prepared to surrender to her the ascendancy over Central Asia? If not, what are we doing on our side of that great continent?

NEW ZEALAND.

"THE intelligence from New Zealand is most gloomy. Sedition is spreading among the natives. The Governor has issued a proclamation, demanding obedience." Such is the startling telegram, dated Melbourne, June 25th, which appeared in the daily papers of Monday, Aug. 19. We had hoped it would have been otherwise—that we should have been told that the storm had lulled, that the waves of native feeling, which had run so high, were rapidly subsiding, that peace was about to revisit the land, and to inaugurate a new era of colonial and native prosperity. We had hoped it might have been so, although it is true our hopes were mingled with serious doubts and fears.

We shall place before our readers the issue which had been attained at the date of the last despatches.

In the middle of last March our troops were actively engaged in the reduction of the native stronghold at Te Arei. The difficulty of the operation may be understood by the amount of artillery employed. In front of the pah we find in position two 8-inch guns, two 8-inch and two 10-inch mortars, as many colboms, one 24-pounder howitzer, and a 12-pounder, and one 9-pounder field piece.

"One would think that this much artillery would be sufficient to annihilate any thing in the shape of earthen defences that were ever constructed, and the fact that the Maoris, without a single gun, could hold out, even for a few days, against the play of such a powerful ordnance, is a proof of their formidable position, and shows also that the New Zealander, though a savage enemy, is by no means a contemptible warrior." What a pity, then, to have such men as foes, when a considerate Christian course, patiently yet firmly pursued, would have rendered them our fast and faithful friends, whom nothing would have alienated, and who would have stood by us in the hour of danger! Nothing but the extremest necessity could ever have justified our drawing the sword against the Maori, a necessity obvious and incontrovertible, lying altogether beyond the limits of uncertain or debatable ground, on which there could be but one opinion. Such a necessity never has existed. The war might have been avoided, and, had truth and justice governed the decision, never would have been enkindled.

On March 19th, the day but one after the first anniversary of a war that for twelve months had been inflicting loss on New Zea-

land, diminishing its already scanty population, and arresting emigration, a white flag was hoisted on Te Arai flagstaff, and Mr. Chief Commissioner M'Lean, District Commissioner Parris, and a number of friendly natives of distinction, prepared themselves to go and meet the insurgent chiefs, and, on the appearance of a white flag near the skirt of the forest on the right, proceeded to a conference. They were received with a hearty cheer of welcome, and, after an interview of some hours, the most distinguished of the friendly chiefs, and a few followers, went up to Te Arai to spend the remainder of the day and the night with their friends in and about the pah. The next day, at a very early hour, the Waikatos, in considerable numbers, departed for their homes, as they gained the hills on the opposite side of the valley, discharging repeatedly a double barrelled musket from the top of a steep cliff facing Pukerangiora. A small party of Kingi's natives were conducted into the camp, and were received amicably and frankly by the colonel in command (Wyatt). "The soldiers grouped around, eager to get a view of their late antagonists, offering them such fare as the camp afforded, with soldier-like hospitality, and vying with each other in making them presents of pipes, tobacco, and other little things prized by the Maoris. The natives looked well, and were remarkably cheerful. Their heads were decorated with white feathers, in token of amity, and they would occasionally take out one, and present it to an officer as a mark of respect."

"It was an agreeable sight to behold men, who but three days previously were endeavouring to shed each other's blood, now shaking hands in friendship, as free from any feeling of vindictiveness from past injuries as if all the evil of the last twelvemonths were but a dream, for both soldiers and subordinate natives felt that they were not the causes of this unhappy and inglorious war."* Some of the Maoris invited the soldiers to go for fruit a short distance, where their cultivations lay, beyond a karaka grove. On the way they found the grave of private M'Kindry, 65th, who was taken away from No. 1. redoubt in January: it was neatly paved in, a small flagstaff was at the head, and the day, month, and year, in which he was killed, were painted or carved on a slab. The 65th also found Ramsay's grave, of the 40th, who was killed on the 10th of September 1860. The Maoris, then, are no longer cannibals. Even in war they respect the bodies of the slain, and are careful to give them

honourable burial. We suggest that men who act thus ought no longer be called savages.

Thus, so far as the Ngatiawa, Kingi's tribe, are concerned, the war is at an end. The conditions on which peace has been conceded to them will be stated before the close of this article. They had not been accepted by Kingi, who had left Waitara for Waikato, with a small number of followers. But, with this exception, all had submitted. The Ngatiawa were coming into the settlement without exhibiting the least shadow of irritation or distrust, and were being treated with kindness and consideration.

Happy indeed should we feel to be able to announce that the termination of this ignoble struggle was the restoration of peace to the land. We have, however, before us but too palpable evidence that this is not the case. The local conflagration has ignited one of a far more extensive and dangerous character, and, so far as we can see, England at this moment stands committed to a war with the great bulk of the Maori people, her own adopted children; a people whom she has raised by benevolent efforts from the depths of barbarism; who, under a happy sense of the good they had received, by a voluntary act became the subjects of Queen Victoria; and to whom solemn pledges have been given that they should be regarded as British subjects, and cared for and protected.

The day in which we live seems to be characterized by insane wars. That which now rages between the Northern and Southern States of the great American Republic is one of them, and Englishmen deplore that it should be so, and regret that excited passions should hurry men into so calamitous a procedure; but we have an insane war on our own hands. In the islands of New Zealand, where there are vast tracts of unoccupied and uncultivated land, amidst a magnificent heritage of sixty millions of acres, of which from sixteen to nineteen millions are in the hands of the natives, and the larger proportion the property of the Colonial Government and colonists, two fragments of races, numbering together not 130,000, have been involved in a deadly struggle, originating in a dispute about the right and title to a paltry block of land of 600 acres. We do not say there were no difficulties in New-Zealand affairs, no conflicting interests to be adjusted; but they were such as might have been overcome by a wise and able administration, firm, yet conciliating. In the settlement, by a colonial race, of a country already to some extent occupied by a native people, proud, sensitive, brave, yet generous, collisions were

* "New-Zealand Spectator," of May 8th.

certain to occur. Yet Christianity had done so much for the native race, that Christian men at home, the well-wishers of both sections of population, felt persuaded that, under the same powerful influence, the natives would rapidly accommodate themselves to the imperative necessities of new circumstances, provided only that the Governor, in whose hands the sword of royal authority had been placed, could firmly withstand all solicitations to hasty and intemperate action, and unwaveringly refuse to unsheath the sword, except in cases where the offence was such, and the danger so plain, that his doing so should carry with it the concurrence of all right-thinking persons, whether native or colonial. It is with deep regret we say, that, in this important requisite to the peaceful settlement of New Zealand, there has been a grievous failure, and that the employment of the sword by the Governor, against the advice and remonstrances of the bishops and clergy of the Church of England, and of the most able, experienced, and disinterested colonists, has involved us in a war, which, unless God in his providence interfere in some unlooked for way, after inflicting protracted and grievous sufferings on the colonists, must end in the extermination of the natives, and the repetition of those barbarities which have hitherto stained and disgraced the history of European colonization : a dark history, indeed, to which at one time we had hoped New Zealand would form a bright exception.

We must, as briefly as possible, refer to this Pandora's box of the Taranaki complications, and that in order to substantiate the assertions we have made. As to the proceedings in which originated the Taranaki war, we never had but one opinion—an opinion which we believe to be universal amongst all persons who have given the subject fair consideration, namely, that they were precipitate, and unbecoming the dignity of the British nation. Let us consider. Two men take opposite views of a question agitated between them, it may be in regard to right of property and the ownership of some field. One is comparatively a weakly man ; the other burly and of great muscular power. Each endeavours to persuade the other, but unsuccessfully. The proper course of proceeding, under such circumstances, is to refer the matter to some tribunal, whose competency is unquestionable, and whose decision should be final. If, on that decision being given, the party to whom it is adverse is still refractory, then, and not until then, the law must resort to force to vindicate its authority. But what shall we say, if, despising

such a process as tardy and unsatisfactory, the strong man should take advantage of his superior strength to pummel his opponent, and thrust him out of possession ? This is precisely what has occurred at Taranaki. The Government wished to purchase a block of land : the chief, Wiremu Kingi, claimed a right to put a veto upon the sale of it to the European. That such a right does very frequently vest in the Maori chiefs—that of prohibiting the sale of land away from the tribe of which it is considered to be the common property, although on this communal basis individual tenancy and cultivation be permitted—is indisputable. Mr. Forsaith, the member for the city of Auckland, in his place in the House of Representatives, New Zealand, openly asserted the existence of such a law amongst the Maories, so that “cases often occurred in which the consent of an individual native or chief was absolutely necessary to confer a valid title and secure undisturbed possession, even though he made no claim, as an actual proprietor, to share in the payment.” He specified instances which came under his own personal observation. He had been engaged in the purchase of a piece of land. “Preliminaries were all settled and prices arranged, when opportunely I had a visit from a friend who had been longer in the country than myself. Hearing of my intended purchase, he advised me, before parting with the payment, to question the sellers closely on this point, whether they knew of the existence of any native whose consent to the sale would be necessary to secure my quiet possession.” Eventually it was found that the consent of a woman, living at some distance, the wife of a respectable chief, was necessary. On arriving at her residence, she said, “I am glad you came to me : I shall give my consent ; but if you had bought that land without asking my permission, I should have gone and turned you off.” The chief Commissioner, M'Lean, under whose advice the Governor acted in the matter of Te Teira's sale, has himself admitted the existence of such a right. On the occasion of a commission issued by the Governor in 1856, he was asked, “Has a native a strictly individual right to any particular portion of land, independent of the tribal right over it ?” to which question his reply was in the negative. Such a law or custom, as prevailing amongst the natives of New Zealand, was one of those seigniorial rights which, in the treaty of Waitangi, were guaranteed by the British Crown, in the sense that no force should be employed to break it, and that it should not be altered except with the consent of the

natives themselves. If found undesirable in its working, and injurious to the welfare of either race, and therefore of both races, little doubt existed that a people who, under the influence of Christianity, had given up so many deep-rooted customs, would, with increasing intelligence, be persuaded to the surrender of this also.

This power Kingi claimed to exercise. His reasons for doing so we shall hereafter state. The question was, whether such a right belonged to him. The Government officials asserted it did not; other, and at least equally reliable testimony, because given by persons who had no direct interest in the question, affirmed that he had the right. It was a doubtful point, involved in uncertainty, and so regarded by that able minority which, in the House of Representatives, unanswerably convicted the Government of wrong, and yet vainly endeavoured to persuade them to the adoption of just and temperate measures. We quote from a speech of Mr. Forsaith, Aug. 3, 1860—"I do not stand here as the advocate of William King; I will not even assert that he has a claim to the land at Waitara; but in my opinion there are facts and circumstances to be elicited from the documents furnished by the Government, and on which they rest their cause, and from other sources to which I shall presently refer, which, when linked together and presented to the mind in a connected form, do furnish, if not evidence, yet strong presumptive proof, that the question of W. King's title was open to doubts on both sides."* Mr. Carter, another hon. member, speaks advisedly to the same point—"In the Wellington Provincial Council I voted for a resolution supporting His Excellency in a vigorous prosecution of the war; and while I rejoiced at the spirit of His Excellency in taking up arms, as he said, in a just cause, I assumed three things: first, that W. King had no right to interfere in the sale of the Waitara land; . . . but from what I have heard in this house, I have now my doubts about this."†

Thus unhappily, as we now perceive, for its own dignity and independence of action, the Government being in the market as a land-purchaser, a question arises in connexion with a block which they wished to buy, having express reference to those rights of chieftainship which, in our original compact with the natives, we had promised to respect.

A chief, claiming the right to do so, vetoed the sale. What was the obvious mode of proceeding under such circumstances? Suspend further proceedings until this preliminary question had been decided. It was just one of those questions which required to be discreetly dealt with, and every possible care taken that the proceedings of the Government should be placed above suspicion. In order to effect this, it ought to have been referred for investigation to some third party competent to decide upon the subject, and in whose impartiality every reliance might be placed; and if no such tribunal existed, then the necessity of such a reference had become obvious, and the matter ought to have been stayed until the defect had been supplied. It was a question of law and custom to be decided by inquiry and adjudication, and not by force. Instead of this, the Government, forgetting itself to be an interested party, took upon itself to decide the question, and without even a form of justice, or examination of witnesses, decided it summarily in its own favour. In a despatch to the Duke of Newcastle, dated March 22, 1860, explaining his reasons for the line of action to which he had committed himself, Governor Browne says—"I have insisted on this comparatively valueless purchase, because, if I had admitted the right of a chief to interfere between me and the lawful proprietors of the soil, I should have found further acquisition of territory impossible in any part of New Zealand. Even if the right of 'mana,' viz. of feudal superiority without proprietary interest in the land,* exists at all, William King could neither possess or exercise it, Potatau, the chief of the Waikatos, having obtained it by conquest, and sold all his claims at New Plymouth to the New-Zealand Company."† The Governor ruled that King had no right to interfere, on two grounds, which subsequent ventilation has proved to be untenable: first, that no "mana" existed; and, secondly, that if such a custom did exist, it had been voided, so far as King was concerned, by the conquest of the Waikatos. That the "mana" power does exist, is undoubted; that the Waikato conquest had not superseded the rights of the original occupants, the Ngatiawa, who had never entirely abandoned the country, and after some years returned and took possession of their old homes, is proveable in a variety of ways, but, amongst others, by

* Blue Book, p. 367.

† Ibid, p. 430.

* We dispute the accuracy of this interpretation of the "mana." The true explanation has been already given. See p. 212.

† Blue Book, p. 17.

this—that the purchase of the disputed block by the Government was from Te Teira and others, who were not Waikatos, but Ngatiawas.

The Government having thus decided in its own favour a question in which it was itself a litigant and interested party, proceeded without hesitation to possess itself of this Naboth's vineyard. A first instalment of the purchase-money was ordered to be paid. This was done in December 1859. On that occasion King appeared in person, and protested. In a letter to a friend he describes this part of the transaction. "I said to him, 'Mr. Parris, friend, keep your money.' He answered, 'I will not.' I replied, 'There will be no land upon which your money can alight.'"—The word in the original is very significant—"taunga." It means the fluttering of the bird over the spot upon which it is about to perch.—"Upon which Mr. Parris answered, 'This is wrong: when the Governor comes, it will be very wrong.'—It is difficult to say whether there is not an implied threat here. The original might, perhaps without violence, be rendered thus: "This is very wrong, and so you will find out when the Governor comes."—"I replied, 'Beit so: it is for you to bring me the wrong,' i. e. you must be the aggressor."*

On January 25th, 1860, an executive council was held at Auckland. It was then decided to advance a step further, and the survey was ordered to be proceeded with. Now this proceeding has ever been regarded by the natives as equivalent to taking possession. A premature attempt of this kind to survey land which the natives did not mean to sell, led to the fearful massacre of Wairau, when Captain Wakefield and several other gentlemen lost their lives. The survey, as might be expected would be the case, was obstructed, but in the mildest form possible. The principal parties employed by Kingi are said to have been old women. Mr. Parris' account of the transaction is as follows—"Having been instructed to proceed with the survey of the land, I appointed the 20th of February for the commencement, and informed William King accordingly. This having been generally understood by the settlers, a number of them were intending to accompany us; on hearing of which I went to his honour the superintendent, and requested that a notice be published cautioning them against doing so, as it was highly objectionable. On arriving on the

ground with a surveyor, two chainmen, and one native, Henri Pataka, one of the sellers, we were met by a party of seventy or eighty waiting for us. On placing the surveying instruments on the ground, they were seized: a struggle ensued, when Henri Pataka struck one to the ground. I exerted myself to prevent any further collision, and requested the surveyor to retire. Shortly after, we returned to town." Divested of official language, the facts appear to be, that certain women pulled up the pegs, an audacity which was duly resented by Mr. Parris' native friend, who struck one to the ground. Who these women were is now known: they were the wife and two daughters of Te Patukakariki, and other women with them; this Patukakariki being the chief of Te Teira's hapu, and having proprietary rights in the block, which he had never agreed to alienate, and for which he had received no payment, whereas Te Teira, was only an ordinary freeman, or tutua, who had no power to alienate.

The probability of an obstruction to the survey had been anticipated, and provided against by the executive council. They had decided that, should this occur, the sword should be drawn, and military force employed. The minutes of council (Jan. 25th, 1860) directed, that "should William King, or any other native, endeavour to prevent the survey, or in any way interfere with the prosecution of the work, in that case the surveying party be protected during the whole performance of the work, by an adequate military force, under the command of the senior military officer; with which view, power to call out the Taranaki militia and volunteers, and to proclaim martial law, be transmitted to the commanding officer at New Plymouth." We cannot conceive any decision more reprehensible than the minute by which the Governor in council proceeded to place the colonist in martial array against the native, and thus, upon a question of disputed land-title, to accelerate that which it was his special duty, by every means consistent with the honour and dignity of the British Crown, to prevent—a collision between the races.

But more than this: an instrument had been prepared and forwarded, bearing date Jan. 26, 1860, proclaiming martial law throughout the province of Taranaki. It runs as follows—"Whereas active military operations are about to be undertaken by the Queen's forces against natives in the province of Taranaki in arms against Her Majesty's sovereign authority, now I, the Governor, do hereby proclaim and declare that martial law will be exercised," &c. The natives in arms!

* Speech of Mr. Forsaith in the House of Representatives, August 3, 1860.

Where were they?—the women of Patukariki's hapu "in arms against Her Majesty's sovereign authority," that is, with their naked arms pulling up the pegs which Parris, the District Land Commissioner, without asking their permission, had fastened down in their own land, with a view to surveying and purchasing that which they had never sold, and did not mean to sell! Why, if it had been the men instead of the women of the hapu, it would have been resistance, not to Her Majesty's sovereign authority, but to a grievous abuse of that authority. The Governor, placed in a position to protect the natives, uses that authority to oppress them, and because they do not tamely submit, but venture to remonstrate by sending their women to interrupt the survey, pronounces them in arms against the sovereign authority of the Queen, and orders out the military. This certainly was to terminate the controversy by the employment of superior force—the strong man taking advantage of his superior strength to overpower and despoil the weaker. Could any measures be conceived more calculated to irritate the natives, and goad them into rebellion?

But precipitate and dangerous as was the Proclamation, it was made still more so by the Maori translation of the original document. As presented to the natives through the medium of their own language, it stood thus—

"A Proclamation: By the Governor, Colonel Thomas Gore Browne, Principal Chief, &c. &c., by the Governor of this colony of New Zealand is this Proclamation. Whereas the natives of the Queen are just about to begin their work against the natives of Taranaki, who are disobedient and fighting against the Queen's authority. Therefore I, the Governor, do proclaim and publish abroad this word. The law of fighting is now to appear at Taranaki, and remain in force until countermanded. Given by my hand, &c."

We know not what bungler, through the medium of a wretched translation, distorted the original document, and made it more dangerous in its aspect than it need have been; but to the Maori, as thus presented to him through the medium of his own language, it could only read as a declaration of war against the natives of Taranaki. As a fiery meteor it suddenly glared forth in the political firmament of New Zealand, and filled men's minds with sad forebodings.

Amongst the native population the excitement was intense. They looked upon it as a declaration of war on the part of Govern-

ment against all the natives of Taranaki; nay, more, "the law of fighting was now to appear;" that is, the question was to be decided by an appeal to arms, and whoever was strongest was to win the day. That was quite in accordance with the old Maori customs: it was the old law of fighting which had prevailed in the land. And as in those ancient feuds each party gathered to himself all the help he could, so the Maori Proclamation appeared to legalize a similar proceeding; and although, wherever there was an Englishman sufficiently conversant with the English and Maori to whom the natives could apply for information, these misapprehensions were corrected, yet there were many places where there was no such opportunity, and the restless spirits of the native population, of which there are more or less in every community, hailed with delight the inauguration of a new era, when the law of fighting was to be once more the law of the land.

The officer in command at Taranaki appears to have had a just perception of the very serious consequences of which this document, even in its original form, would be productive. In his reply to the authorities he speaks of the possibility of "protracted operations," and "the uncertainty as to ultimate results," and prays to be reinforced without delay. Anxious also to prevent the effusion of blood, he addressed the following note to W. King—

"WILLIAM KING—It has given me much pain to hear from Mr. Parris that the Government surveyors sent down to survey the land purchased from Te Teira were stopped by your people. This is rebellion against the Queen. I am most anxious that no harm should come to any Maoris caused by your conduct, but I must tell you plainly, that the Governor has ordered me to take possession of the land with soldiers, and I must obey him if you continue in opposition. As I wish to keep every thing peaceable between the Europeans and the natives, I will wait till four o'clock to-morrow afternoon for your answer whether I am to go or not.
G. F. MURRAY, Lieut.-Col."

The chief's answer is as follows—

"FRIEND COLONEL MURRAY,—Salutation to you in the love of our Lord Jesus Christ. We received your letter about two o'clock. On its arrival we were all absent, and did not see it until the evening. You say we have been guilty of rebellion against the Queen, but we consider we have not, because the Governor has said he will not entertain offers of land which are disputed. The Governor has also said that it is not right for one man

to sell land to Europeans, but that all the people should consent. You are now disregarding the good word of the Governor, and adopting a bad law.

"This is my word to you. I have no desire for evil, but, on the contrary, have great love for the Europeans and Maoris. Listen : my word is this : you and Parris put a stop to your proceedings, that your love for the Europeans and the Maoris may be true.

"I have heard that you are coming to the Waitara with soldiers, and therefore I know that you are angry with me. Is this your love for me, to bring soldiers to Waitara ? This is not love : it is anger. I do not wish for anger : all that I want is the land. All the Governors and the Europeans have heard my word, which is, that I will hold the land. That is all. Write to me. Peace be with you."

This is precisely the letter which we might suppose would be written under the circumstances—the letter of an aggrieved man, called upon to surrender, under threats, that which he considered to be his right, involving a public trust confided to his care, which he could not conscientiously give up, and who thus found himself, in whatever way he decided, exposed to unpleasant consequences, from whence, were it possible, he would gladly have escaped.

There is an expression in the letter of the Maori chief which requires explanation—"The Governor has said he will not entertain offers of land which is disputed." He here refers to an address delivered by the Governor to the natives on the occasion of his visit to Taranaki, March 8, 1859, which contained the following declaration—that "he never would consent to buy land without an undisputed title." Had he adhered to that wise determination, the present evils might have been avoided ; or at least, if a collision with disaffected natives became unavoidable, the great mass of the Maoris, on the occurrence of such a crisis, would have been found loyal, William King, we doubt not, among the rest, and, like Heke's rebellion, any attempt at insurrection would soon have been trodden out.

Affairs at Taranaki had now reached a crisis ; so much so, that the superintendent of the province, on February 21, addressed a letter to the Governor, in which he states that persons most experienced in native affairs "were divided in every possible way as to the turn the business might take," so that "the future was sealed to any thing like confident speculation ;" and therefore, under such circumstances, it was "prudent to anti-

cipate the worst in our preparations." He prayed, therefore, for reinforcements, and a visit from His Excellency in person.

The alarm among the settlers was indeed great, and an inrush into the town of New Plymouth for protection had commenced. But the proceedings of the Government officials were not stayed. On February 24th, a deed of sale was executed—"Know all men . . . we, chiefs and men of New Zealand, whose names are hereunto subscribed, in consideration of 600*l.* paid to us by Parris, on behalf of Queen Victoria, consent to sell, surrender, and convey to Queen Victoria, and to all the kings and queens her successors, and to her assigns, all that piece of land," &c.

This is signed by nineteen persons, of whom six were females. But were these all who had proprietary rights in that block of land ? Far otherwise. They constituted but a fragment of them. There were many claimants. Archdeacon Hadfield, in his evidence before a Committee of the House, said there were a hundred claimants who asserted rights to that land, it having been the land of their ancestors. The same statement is made by Dr. Featherstone in the House of Representatives—"I have a list given me by Te Purie of claimants residing at or near Wellington, and I hold in my hands a map showing the allotments, with the names of the owners, some fifty or sixty in number, most of whose rights have been ignored. This plan was drawn by a native of Waikanae, about seventy years old, who lived some forty years at Waitara."

This block of land was indeed a most unhappy property to be selected by the Government for purchase, inasmuch as, in consequence of the vicissitudes to which the Ngatiawa had been subjected during their past history, so many of the proprietors were absentees. Past experience, moreover, had it been consulted, would have dissuaded from purchases in this quarter. They had been attempted many years before, and had led to complications. Colonel Wakefield, in 1839, bought of the Waikatos, as the conquerors of the Ngatiawa, large tracts of land ; the Ngatiawa, some of whom had never left the district, and others of whom had returned from the south, disputed the justice of this sale, and asserted, that as the Waikatos had never settled in the lands, their rights as original proprietors never had been voided. On that occasion William King and other Ngatiawa chiefs addressed a letter to Governor Fitzroy, dated June 8, 1844, in which they say—"This is the determination of our people. Waitara shall not be given up : the

men to whom it belongs will hold it for themselves."*

The question came for adjudication before Commissioner Spain, and he decided in favour of the sale and against the Ngatiawa. On the occasion of that judgment being given, the excitement among the natives was great. Mr. George Clarke, the native advocate, in a letter dated June 27, 1844, stated what would be the result of thus setting aside the claims of the original proprietors—"One false step now must plunge us sooner or later into ruin—perhaps bloodshed; the natives never will give up tamely what they consider to be their just rights. If the Government are determined to put the settlers in possession of lands, which we cannot convince the natives or ourselves honestly that they have alienated, they must do it at the point of the bayonet; and if they once resort to violence, it must end in the extermination ultimately of the natives throughout the length and breadth of the island, but only after a sacrifice of life too horrible to contemplate."† That catastrophe was for the time averted, by the wise decision of Governor Fitzroy, who, on the occasion of a large meeting of English and natives, assembled at New Plymouth, August 1844, declared, "that he did not take the same view of the question as Mr. Commissioner Spain, and that he should not confirm the award of that gentleman, however conscientiously weighed and delivered. . . . He would immediately cause further investigation to be made as to the various claimants to particular portions of the land. He would then endeavour to make especial arrangements with those claimants, and he would allow in all their integrity the claims of those of the Ngatiawa tribe who were not parties to the sale in 1840."‡

Thus the history of the past, had it been studied, imposed the necessity of caution with reference to land at Waitara. A previous attempt to purchase it had nearly caused a collision between the races. Why then tamper with it? This is a point fairly open to inquiry—Whence the necessity for the purchase of this particular block? What was there in this Naboth's vineyard which rendered it so valuable, that the peace of New Zealand was to be imperilled for the sake of it? The Governor, in a despatch to the Duke of Newcastle, dated March 22,

1860, declares it to be "a comparatively valueless purchase." Why, then, the persistence in obtaining it? These are questions to which the country has a right to expect a satisfactory answer. There are items of information dispersed throughout the Blue Books, which, put together, would, we think, supply the answer; but we cannot enter into this point now.

But if it pleased the Government officials to select for purchase land so circumstanced, proportionable diligence ought to have been used to seek out all the claimants, that no man's property should be alienated from him without his knowledge and consent. Express directions, indeed, had been issued by the Governor to that effect—"It is His Excellency's wish to have a separate investigation of the claims of absentees instituted at the places where they reside, when they will be settled with, in proportion to the relative merits of their claims." Now, then, the question is, Was this done? We have evidence on this point. Riwai Te Ahu, a native ordained by the Bishop of New Zealand several years back, and intimately known to Archdeacon Hadfield for twenty years, a man whose character stands high among natives and Europeans, a near relative of Te Teira's, and a distant one of King's, addressed a letter to the superintendent of the province, dated June 23, 1860, from which we give some extracts—"We never imagined that this Governor would adopt a course different from other Governors. They, failing in their endeavours to obtain that land, desisted. Now we are altogether perplexed, and exclaim, 'Alas! this is a new proceeding on the part of our Queen.' But we think the Governor must have been deceived by Teira and those acting with him and the Land Commissioner of Taranaki, and that is the reason why he was so hasty in sending his soldiers to Waitara to frighten the men and women who turned his surveyors off their own pieces of land, and land belonging to us, in order that he might seize those lands. For instance, Mr. C. W. Richmond writes, Taranaki, March 1860 (which has been heard by everybody), 'Teira's title has been fully investigated, and is perfectly good: there is no one to deny his title.' Yes, his title is good to his own pieces, within the boundaries of that land, two or three pieces. Our title is equally good to our own pieces: some have one, or two, or three, or four, within that block. William King stated this; but he has been misinterpreted. . . . Information was not sought from us. If inquiries had been made on both sides of the question, if

* Blue Book, p. 212.

† Remarks on a pamphlet by J. Busby, Esq., on the Taranaki question, by G. Clarke, printed for private circulation only at the request of Governor Browne. 1861.

‡ Blue Book, p. 218

what they (W. King's party) had to say had been heard, and their inquiries had likewise extended to us at Waikanae, it would have been evident that Teira and his party were in the wrong, and they would have exclaimed, 'Well, their pieces are dotted about amongst those persons who refuse to sell, and amongst those who dwell here.' The Land Commissioner of Taranaki seemed to imagine that Teira and his party are the only members of the Ngatihinga and Ngatituaho: they did not seem to know that Wiremu Te Patukakariki is the chief of that hapu, besides Nopera Te Kaoma and others who are of those hapu who did not consent, and whose objections were not listened to by the Land Commissioner at Taranaki."*

It may be observed that this Patukakariki was not amongst the consenting parties who affixed their names to the deed of sale. Yet the Chief Commissioner, in his evidence before the Committee, admits that he was aware of his claiming a share in the joint tenancy of the land, and had addressed to him, as well as other chiefs, a letter, inviting them to come in and prove their claims. Yet in the absence of his signature the deed of sale was executed.

Thus we have here another and important view of the subject: not only was King's right to interfere overruled without investigation, but a piece of land, shared in the way of joint-tenancy by a number of persons, was purchased by the Government from a minority of the co-partners, the rest being either ignorant of, or not consenting to, the transaction.

Besides the letter of Riwai Te Ahu, there is another addressed to the superintendant of the province by the Waikanae claimants, and signed by eleven of them. They say—"We wish to declare these words in the presence of the Governor. We have portions of land at Waitara, within the boundaries of the land which Teira wrongfully sold to the Governor: this land belongs to us, and to those who have been driven off that land; and belonged to the ancestors of us all. . . . We have heard the justification, put forth in defence of Mr. Parris' wrong act in reference to our portions of land. It is as follows—"A long time was allowed to elapse; no objections were made to the sale of the land. Mr. Parris, Land Commissioner at Taranaki, carefully inquired, in order to ascertain who were the owners of the land offered to him. Mr. Parris made inquiry, and was satisfied as to the right.' We presume this state-

ment is put forward that all men may wonder at the carefulness of his proceedings; that people may be led to believe that he did really make inquiries. Listen. We are living at Waikanae—one at Otaki. Mr. Parris never came to make inquiries of us as to whether we had lands there or not, nor did any of his fellow-Commissioners come to make inquiries. He did not even write to inquire. He did not, during the whole of that year, advertise in the newspaper his wish to ascertain what claimants there were to that land. He did nothing of the kind. One of the Land Commissioners inquired of some persons in Queen Charlotte's Sound; but he passed by us, and made no inquiries of us."

Mr. M'Lean, in his evidence before the House in Committee, admits the accuracy of this statement—"Notice was given publicly at the time of the purchase to such absentee claimants as were known to have a right to the soil." But, as we have seen, the Commissioner's knowledge, through want of proper diligence, was imperfect, and was not comprehensive of all those who had proprietary rights. On this point, during the course of his examination, he was thus pressed—"You have spoken of a notification of the sale being given to the southern natives. Have you a copy of such notification?" "I have a copy; I cannot produce it now, but shall be able to do so." "How, and when, and where, was such notification published?" "I communicated by letter. It was not in the shape of a published notification. I addressed letters to those persons whom I believed to be claimants of the land in question." "Then, if there were any claimants of whom you have not heard, such notification may probably not reach them?" "I believe it to be an utter impossibility for them not to have known of the sale." "You are aware that King and five hundred of the Ngatiawa resided at Otaki and Waikanae for twenty-one years, and, when they left, many of the tribe remained there. Did you ever send your notification to, or visit those places, to notify the intended sale of Waitara then; and did you ever investigate any claims, or inquire whether there were any there?" "At Waikanae I did not personally investigate claims. I sent a copy of the Governor's speech at Taranaki to Otaki in the first instance. I am not so sure of having sent to Waikanae. I sent several copies to Otaki." "That was not a notification of Te Teira's sale?" "It was not a notification of Teira's sale, but of the Governor's speech at Taranaki."* Mr. M'Lean's evidence, therefore,

* New Zealand Papers, p. 329.

* Blue Book, p. 343.

is confirmatory of the declaration of the Waikanae claimants that they had been passed by, and no inquiries made of them. They then proceed to say—"The first we heard was the payment of money to Teira. But we had no doubt or anxiety about our lands: we had no fear that we should lose them, because we were distinctly informed of William King's determination to keep possession of our lands, being the chief to *protect* our lands there."

This, then, was one of King's reasons for refusing his consent to the sale of the land. He was acting, not from personal motives, but in the discharge of a public duty, as the representative of absent proprietors, who looked to him, as their chief, to protect their lands, and we find him at a very early period expressly declaring that he was acting for others. In a letter to the Governor, dated February 11th, 1859, he says—"Friend, the Governor. Salutations to you. I have a word to say to you and to Mr. M'Lean. Do you hearken to our runanga respecting the land. Do you hearken. These lands will not be given up by us into the Governor and your hands, lest we resemble the sea-birds which perch upon a rock. When the tide flows, the rock is covered by the sea, and the birds take flight, for they have no resting-place. . . . It is said that I am the cause, but it is not so; it is the men persist: they have heard, yet they still persist."*

There was also another reason which induced William King to interpose his veto on the sale of Te Teira's land, namely, that his father, Reretawhangawhanga had solemnly charged him, in the pah at Waikanae, so early as the year 1840, not to sell the Waitara to the pakeha, a charge which he reiterated until his death in 1844, when he left a strict injunction that his wishes should be adhered to.

The purchase, then, of this land, of which the Government by force possessed themselves, had never been properly carried out. It was a fictitious and not a real and *bona fide* sale of property. Advantage was taken of the absence of a large body of proprietors to complete the sale without their knowledge. The deed of sale was in itself an usurpation on the part of the few of the rights of the many, to which the Colonial Government, by its acceptance of the deed, become a consenting party. Justly might Dr. Featherstone, in the House of Representatives, avow—"The question at issue is not merely whether W.

King, in virtue of his chieftainship, having the tribal rights, and from having individual claims to some portion of the land offered by Teira, was justified in forbidding its sale. The simple question is this—Was the Government justified in ejecting, *vi et armis*, certain chiefs and their people from lands of which they are the rightful owners, and which they have inherited from a long line of ancestors? Government may change their position as often as they please. They may say at one time that they have plunged the colony into war, in order to prevent W. King interfering with the right of his tribe to dispose of their lands; they may at another say that they are fighting on account of the murders that have been committed at various times at Taranaki; at another, that they are defending the Queen's supremacy: but depend on this, when the question is thoroughly sifted, and all irrelevant matter got rid of, the simple issue is what I have stated—Is the Government justified in ejecting, *vi et armis*, certain chiefs and their people from lands of which they are the rightful owners, and which they have inherited from a long line of ancestors?"

This deed of sale, then, as a legal testament, is worthless. It would not be tolerated in a British Court of Justice; and in the House of Representatives, New Zealand, the whole proceeding was held up to the contempt which it justly merited. On the debate of August 15th, 1860, Mr. Fox observed, "that though the war had been raging for many months, the purchase was not yet completed: if it had, why were not the title-deeds on the table?" When the following singular conversation ensued—Mr. Richmond: "They were in the possession of the Chief Commissioner." Mr. Fox: "It was very strange that they had been left out of sight." Mr. Richmond: "The Governor had not completed the purchase when he ordered the survey. The purchase-deed was not usually made out till after the money payment had been made. In this case it had been thought prudent to make it out sooner." Mr. Fox: "Then it appeared they had executed a deed before the purchase was completed." Mr. Richmond: "Because, in that state of disorder, it was quite possible that some of the claimants might be killed." Mr. Fox: "Then it came to this—the Government had made the purchase in expectation of the war." Mr. Richmond: "No; it had been completed since the beginning of the war." Mr. Fox: "In no case had the Go-

* "Literally that which affords shade or protection, as the Rata tree to the underwood beneath it."—*Blue Book*, p. 224

* The Minister for Native Affairs.

verment made a legitimate purchase. It was generally considered that a survey was taking possession. . . . The hon. member was playing fast and loose with them in an extraordinary manner. First they had a deed, then they had not a deed. First there was a survey, and then there was not a survey.”* . . .

The admissions of the native minister are certainly of a remarkable character, and may well excite attention. According to his confessions, the land was attempted to be surveyed, and the deed of sale executed before the purchase had been completed; nay more, the Government occupied with troops land which, according to their own confession, was not theirs, for they had not completed the purchase of it. Well might Mr. Fox rejoin—“It is evident the title was not of that indisputable character required by the Governor’s pledge. . . . The Governor’s act was a rash one, and must have led to war.” Whether the authorities were fully aware of what they were doing is another question: they had opportunities of knowledge, and were responsible for the use of them; but viewed in itself and on its merits, the occupation of that land by soldiers was a positive act of spoliation, violating all the pledges given by the British Government to the native chiefs as to the recognition of their land-tenure and rights, a change from a just to an unjust policy, and necessarily subversive of all confidence on the part of natives. No act can be conceived better fitted to disturb men’s minds, and to spread far and wide the seeds of distrust and disaffection. That it was regarded by the natives as a change of policy on the part of the Government, as a new thing, is undoubted; and we shall have occasion to show that it really was as they regarded it, such that it was designed to be, the inauguration of a new policy in contravention of those principles by which the New Zealanders had hitherto been governed. The King movement occupies the prominent position at the present moment, as an effort which, at any cost, must be crushed. But who invested it with a dangerous tendency? It had no such aspect originally. The Governor himself, in a memorandum dated April 27, 1860, admits this to be the case—“The first proposal for the erection of a separate native state, under the Waikato chief, Te Whero Whero, now generally called Potatau, seems to have been made as far back as 1854. There was first considerable diversity of opinion among the promoters of the movement, and

great consequent uncertainty as to its precise objects. Many well-disposed natives seemed to have joined in it without any thought of disaffection towards the British Government, and purely, or principally, with a view to establish more powerful control over the disorders of their race, than the Colonial Government has found it possible to attempt. But there are others whose objects from the beginning have been less loyal. These men have viewed with extreme jealousy the extension of the settled territory, and the increase of the European population. Various influences have combined to augment the effect in their minds of this natural feeling. The lower class of settlers, sometimes wantonly, sometimes under provocation, have held out threats of a coming time, when the whole race will be reduced to a servile condition. Of late a degraded portion of the newspaper press has teemed with menaces of this kind, and with scurrilous abuse of the natives, and all who take an interest in their welfare. False notions respecting the purposes of the British authorities have been industriously circulated by Europeans inimical to the Government, and whose traitorous counsels enable them to retain a lucrative influence over their credulous native clients. And there may have been some few honest friends of the Maoris, who, looking only to the better side of the agitation, have given countenance to a movement, which, in their opinion, promised to promote the establishment of law and order, and the advance of civilization, and to afford a beneficial stimulus to the languishing energy of the Maori people.

“The Government at one time entertained a hope—a hope now deferred but not abandoned—that the good elements in the King movement might gain the ascendancy, and become the means of raising the native population in the social scale. It must, however, be admitted, that the agitation has of late assumed a most dangerous phase.”*

And what, then, is it which of late has caused the movement to assume so dangerous a phase? Undoubtedly the most unhappy proceedings adopted by the Government in the case of the land at Waitara. The settlers might have threatened, and the newspaper press abused; but so long as the Maoris had confidence in the paternal character of the Government—that the Governor was their father, and would not fail to protect them if wronged—the disaffected would have remained as they had been, few in number: but the

* “Blue Book,” p 405.

* Blue Book, pp. 40, 41.

late unfortunate proceedings have shaken the confidence of the native race, and filled them with distrust; and if the language of many throughout the Maori tribes resembles now the language of the tribes of Israel of old—"What portion have we in David? Neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse. To your tents, O Israel: now see to thine house, David;" it is because, like Rehoboam, the British authorities have refused to listen to their just remonstrances.

But let us complete the history of leading events connected with the Taranaki struggle, the first act, we fear, of a deep tragedy.

In compliance with the wishes of the settlers, the Governor arrived at Taranaki on March 2d, and immediately transmitted a message to William King, desiring him to come and see him, and giving him a promise of safe conduct. But the chief had now become apprehensive as to his own personal safety. In a letter to a friend dated the previous July, he said—"I am to be taken prisoner because I withhold the land, inasmuch as the withholding of the land is, in their estimation, the greatest of offences, and for this reason has appeared (or is reported to me) the opinion of all the Europeans that I am the worst of men. I am not able at this time to discover my guilt. . . . If I had taken any land belonging to the Europeans, then my fault would have been proved; or if I had assaulted any European, then my accusation would have been just. But they are bringing guilt to me." His answer, therefore, to the Governor, was as follows—

"FRIEND GOVERNOR,—I received your message, requesting me to come to town to see you. It may be right for me to do so, and this is my word to you. Listen. Days gone by, things were different from what they are now. I could then have gone to town to see you, but now I am afraid of your force, because you have brought soldiers with you to the town, and therefore I think you are angry with me. This is my word to you: I do not wish for evil: all that I wish for is friendship with Europeans and Maoris. Listen. The reason we have gone to the bush is, because the settlers have gone to the town, and therefore we suppose you were the cause of it, inasmuch as they have left their lands and houses. That is all about it. This is my word to you: would you not be willing to come to the Kaipakopako on Monday, where we can see each other? If you consent to this it will be good. It is for you to write to me.

"From your loving friend,
"W. KING."

This communication, proposing a place of meeting which would obviate the necessity of King's visiting the town, whither, on account of the angry feeling entertained towards him, he was afraid to come, was entirely disregarded.

The Governor did write, not to King, but to Colonel Gold,* directing him to "take military possession of the land purchased from the chief Teira," &c.

So soon as the troops had occupied the land, King proceeded to show that he was resolved not to cede his right, by erecting, during the night, a pah, commanding the road to the town, and stopping, the next morning, a Queen's escort. Informed that if they did not leave it in twenty minutes they would be fired upon, the natives evacuated it, and proceeded to construct another pah, on which, by the direction of the Governor,† the troops opened fire, and the war commenced. "Truly the beginning of strife is as the letting out of water," and the breaking down of amity and confidence between the natives and the British crown has been entirely the act of the Governor and his council.

It is not our intention to enter into the distressing details of the Taranaki war. The Ngatiawa have laid down their arms after a twelvemonths' struggle and grievous loss on both sides, all which might have been avoided. The terms on which the Governor accords peace are as follows—

"HAPURONA AND NGATIWA,—For twelve months you have been carrying arms against Her Majesty the Queen and the authority of the law; you have now laid down your arms and expressed your desire for peace. Believing you to be sincere, I have come from Auckland for the purpose of stating the terms upon which it will be granted, and upon which Her Majesty's gracious pardon and protection will be extended to you.

"They are as follow—

"1. The investigation of the title to, and the survey of the land at, Waitara to be continued and completed without interruption.

"2. Every man to be permitted to state his claims without interference, and my decision, or the decision of such person as I shall appoint, to be conclusive.

"3. All the land in possession of Her Majesty's forces belonging to those who have borne arms against Her Majesty to be disposed of by me as I may think fit.

"4. All guns belonging to the Government to be returned.

* Governor to Colonel Gold.

† Blue Book, pp. 16, 17.

"5. All plunder taken from the settlers to be forthwith restored.

"6. The Ngatiawa who have borne arms against the Government must submit to the Queen and to the authority of the law, and not resort to force for the redress of grievances real or imaginary.

"7. As I did not use force for the acquisition of land, but for the vindication of the law, and for the protection of Her Majesty's native subjects in the exercise of their just rights, I shall divide the land (which I have stated my intention to dispose of) amongst its former owners; but I shall reserve the sites of the blockhouses and redoubts, and a small piece of land round each, for the public use, and shall exercise the right of making roads through the Waitara district.

"On your submission to these terms, you will come under the protection of the law, and shall enjoy your property, both lands and goods, without molestation. In conformity with the declaration made on the 29th of November 1859, the rights of those who prove their title to any part of the piece of land at Waitara will be respected."

There are expressions in the above document which will not bear to be tested by facts, such, for instance, as the assertion—"I did not use force for the acquisition of land, but for the vindication of the law." Our readers have now an opportunity of viewing these words in the light of the analysis which we have presented to them in the preceding pages, and deciding for themselves who was guilty, in the first instance, of violating the law, the Governor or William King. The Governor admits, in the wording of these terms, that the investigation of title, and the survey of the land, were both incomplete. Occupation of land, so circumstanced, by an armed force, and the forcible ejection of those who claimed an interest in it, but whose claims had never been examined nor decided upon, by any impartial and competent tribunal, was an illegal proceeding.

We close this paper by an article from the "New Zealand Spectator," of April 17th, which, confirmatory as it is of what we have advanced upon this subject, will show that there are those among the colonists of New Zealand, who, equally with ourselves, are convinced of the injustice of this war—

"The terms of peace offered by the Governor to the Ngatiawa virtually acknowledge the insufficiency of the previous investigation of the title to Waitara, and promise to enter more fully into the claims of the proprietors. This is the main point we have insisted upon;

this investigation is what the natives have demanded; this is what Renata and all his party have all along been aiming at; this is what Sir W. Martin proved so incontrovertibly had never been granted; this is what the Bishop and clergy have been asking; this is what Dr. Featherstone, and all the members of the General Assembly who sided with him, claimed as just; and now we congratulate them and ourselves on the success of our efforts thus far. There may be some hitch still about the peace; there may be some difficulties in the actual terms offered to Hapurona; there may still be greater difficulties in dealing with the Waikatos; and there may be the greatest of all perplexities in coming to terms with the Ngatiruanui, and the tribes that committed the murders at Omata. But still the one great fact remains, come what may, and it alone justifies the course we, and those that have felt with us, have adopted. The Governor and his ministers allow that the investigation was incomplete: they offer to proceed with it; and they thus acknowledge, what we have been all along maintaining, that they rushed hastily into a disastrous war, and not only did not refer the case to a fair tribunal, but did not even take care that it had been properly investigated by their own single official, the Assistant Land-Purchase Commissioner. We are satisfied, therefore, that we did our duty in exposing the inadequacy of the investigation, and we rather suspect that the Home Government have taken the same view as we have, and have ordered a better investigation to be instituted. If we could but see the public and private despatches from home that have been of late so carefully suppressed, we might be able to account more easily for the change that has come over the Governor and his ministers. However, be that as it may, we are thankful that they have acknowledged their error, and we will not scrutinize their motives. Whether the actual terms of peace now offered are accepted or not (we sincerely hope they will be accepted), the great point is gained. The English public, both here and elsewhere, will see that the natives had just ground of complaint; that their natural advisers, the Missionaries, were justified in asserting that no adequate investigation had been instituted; that the members of the House of Representatives who opposed the Government have done their duty to their country, because they have demanded, and now seem likely to obtain, justice for their fellow-subjects who had been treated as aliens upon their own soil."



HINDU GOOLIES IN THE MAURITIUS.

THE MAURITIUS.

In prosecuting the great work of evangelization, the selection of suitable localities is of primary importance. The initiative points ought to be capable of becoming in due time commanding centres. Beacon-lights are erected on chosen spots, where they may be seen most readily by the sailor when in the dark and cloudy time he looks out for some well-known landmark. In strategy the struggle is for those keys of position which are available alike for defensive or aggressive operations. On the memorable day of Waterloo, when, amidst the crash of contending armies, and a prodigious sacrifice of human life, that long peace was inaugurated, during the many years of which modern Missionary effort so remarkably extended itself, the fight was most intense around the chateau of Hougomont, and the farm of La Sainte Haye, either of which, if wrested from the English, would have afforded their antagonists a terrible advantage. In all his undertakings, man, if he be wise, will endeavour so to act as to carry with him the influence of circumstances, and to place himself in such a position as shall tell for him and not against him. The Indian about to light up the prairies with a mighty conflagration, looks to the point from whence the wind blows, and ignites the spark, which the breeze soon fans into a flame. Let us, in the great Missionary work, be prompt to avail ourselves of favourable conjunctions of time, and place, and circumstances. Of all human undertakings it is the noblest and the grandest; the most philanthropic, and therefore the most difficult. It needs proportionable wisdom—wisdom in the selection of places, and in the maintenance and prosecution of the work; but a wisdom which is divinely promised—"If any man lack wisdom, let him ask of God, who giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not, and it shall be given him."

Centres of population are usually commanding points. Populations are more dense towards the centre, more sparse as you approach the circumference. Moreover the lines of communication lie in that direction: it is with and through the centre that intercourse is carried on, and an interest excited there is more easily felt in all directions towards the extremities. Abbeokuta and other cities in the Yoruba country may be regarded as a specimen of this kind of Mission.

Confluences of races and languages are of primary importance, particularly if the

mingled elements sustain intercourse with the parent stocks from which they originally came, so as to reflect back upon them the Christian knowledge they have received.

Of this class we find many in the record of the Society's stations and labours. Such are Sierra Leone, Peshawur, &c.

There is one little spot of this kind of which we would speak in this article, a tiny speck in the midst of the ocean waste, yet important as a commercial entrepôt, as a midway halting-place for vessels in their long sea-voyage between India and England, and as a place of confluence where diverse races meet, and men from Europe, Africa, India, China, &c., are brought into communication with each other.

The place of Mauritius Island in the Indian Ocean is in 20° 15' S. lat. and 56° 40' E. long. It is volcanic in its structure, and is protected from the ceaseless fret and waste of the great ocean, from the depths of which it has been upheaved, by that natural breakwater, so often and providentially afforded to islands similarly circumstanced, a coral reef, with eleven breaks or openings, through most of which vessels of considerable burden may pass. Its appearance, on approaching from the sea, is very striking and romantic, intersected as it is by chains of mountains, most of which are covered with verdure to the summit, and often terminate in most fantastic peaks. "Sometimes the peaks of Peter Bott and Pouce are seen from an immense distance at sea, more especially when the lower parts of the island are covered with vapours. The mountain tops then assume the form of eyries, perched aloft amongst the clouds."*

"The harbour of St. Louis is capacious and secure. The town is situated at the head of the bay, and is enclosed on the east, the north, and the south, by mountains at no great distance from the shore. The highest of these is the Pouce, a mass of ancient volcanic rock, which rises immediately behind the town at an elevation of 2800 feet, and from this a range of volcanic mountains extends towards the sea in a south-west direction, terminating in a high steep point, on which the signal-station, announcing the approach of vessels to the port, is fixed. A sort of spur of the Pouce stretches in a line towards the head of the bay, and is surmounted at its western extremity by the citadel, which overlooks the harbour and the

* Beaton's "Creoles and Coolies," p. 1.

town. Another mountain range, behind which the summit of the Peter Bott is seen, extends to the north-west, and thus includes, as in a semicircle, Port Louis and its picturesque environs.*

This harbour, affording as it does safe and ample anchorage to ships of the largest burden, is of great importance in those seas. These parts of the Indian Ocean, at a certain season of the year, from December to April, are subject to the action of cyclones, or hurricanes. They are said never to extend to the northward of 10° or 12° south latitude, but the islands of Mauritius, Bourbon, and Roderique lie in their ordinary track; and to vessels which have had to battle with these dangerous phenomena, Port Louis affords a convenient shelter, where they may refit. "Two patent-slip docks have been erected, in which the largest vessels can receive repairs." "It is no unusual thing, after a hurricane at sea, for the harbour to be crowded with English, French, and American ships, undergoing, or waiting for repairs."

On landing, the European finds himself amidst the types and costumes of various Oriental races. "Gangs of coolies are toiling, and sing in a low monotonous tone, as they empty the barges or lighters that lie along the edge of the wharf, and deposit their contents under large sheds on shore." "These swarthy Orientals, so thinly clad, are the muscles and sinews of the Mauritius body-politic. They are the secret sources of all the wealth, luxury, and splendour with which the island abounds. There is not a carriage that rolls along the well-macadamized chaussée, or a robe of silk worn by the fair Mauritian, to the purchase of which the Indian has not, by his labour, indirectly contributed. It is from the labour of his swarthy body in the cane-fields that gold is extracted more plenteously than from the diggings of Ballarat."

But the eye of the stranger is arrested by other nationalities. "He sees Arabs from the shores of the Red Sea, whose dress, features, and language have undergone little change from the friction of forty centuries; who retain, in the midst of civilized life, something of the freedom of the desert; and who cherish the reminiscences of their former nomad life, by surrounding themselves with the horses of their native land. He sees haughty Mohammedans, descendants of a race who conquered India before the English flag was ever unfurled on its shores—men tall of stature,

muscular in build, with regular features, lofty brows, bull-like necks, and flowing beards. He sees Indians from the burning plains of Hindostan, weak and effeminate in frame, soft and gentle in expression, fawning and servile in address, with their dark, curling locks, longer and glossier than those that adorned the heads of the Roman youth during the reign of the later emperors. He sees Chinamen from the Celestial Empire, attracted to the abode of the barbarian by the *sacra fames auri*—a grotesque-looking race, with long faces, wide mouths, flattened noses, high cheek-bones, and curious eyes, and abjuring long locks, save a single one on the crown of the head, plaited and pendulous, or twisted round the head, according to the taste of the wearer. He sees dark descendants of Ham, of all types and countries inhabited by that servile race: ex-apprentices, fast sinking into the grave, often halt, and lame, and maimed, bearing in their decrepid, toil-worn bodies a stronger argument against Slavery than ever issued from the eloquent lips of Wilberforce or Brougham; free negroes, the offspring of slaves, plump, shiny, and good-humoured, but devoid of ambition, foresight, honesty, and truth; Malagashes, of two different nations; the one agreeing in physical organization with their African brethren, except that the skull is smaller and the lips thinner—the other a fine, bold, athletic race, with complexions as light as the Spaniards of the south, and little of the usual negro characteristics in their features—faithful, affectionate, and grateful if kindly treated, but turbulent, passionate, and revengeful when smarting under a sense of injury; Mozambiques, short, broad-chested and muscular, with features expressive of coarse sensuality, and indifference to every thing save the gratification of their immediate wants; and here and there an Abyssinian, tall, erect, and handsome, with aquiline features, approaching nearer to the European type than those of any other of the dark races of Africa. Besides the Hindus, he sees other stray specimens of the Asiatic races—Lascar seamen, with round caps, and cotton petticoats resembling in shape a Highlander's kilt worn over the trousers; Batavians, dwarfish, but muscular, with features a compromise between the Hindu and the Chinese; Armenians, with bushy black beards and olive complexions, wearing conical caps of sheepskin with the wool worn outside; Singhalese, differing little, but still discernible, from the Hindus; and Parsees from Bombay, fair, sleek, and intelligent, with flowing robes of snowy white,

* Ellis's "Visits to Madagascar, &c."

and conical caps reclining rather than worn on the back of the head—a fine race, the mercantile aristocracy of India and the East. Europe also has added its contingent to swell the motley assembly: bronzed Frenchmen, stray specimens of Italian and German patriots, English merchants, officers and soldiers, heads of civil departments, grave men, bearing the burden of the State upon their shoulders, and conscious of its weight. Other stray waifs of humanity complete the picture, the effect of which is still more heightened by the mixture of Creoles, composing the coloured population, with more or less of African blood in their veins—a distinct class, forming a sort of *imperium in imperio*, equally removed from the pure black and white population, with whom they neither marry nor are given in marriage. Such is the picture presented to the eye by the mixed and motley population of Mauritius—a picture unique in itself, such as no other country in the world can supply.”*

“Few places, perhaps, of equally limited extent, present a population so perfectly cosmopolitan as that of Port Louis. The streets of the town which are, many of them, wide, cross each other at right angles, and are in some places cooled by water-courses, and shaded by trees. . . . Many of the shops are well fitted up and furnished. . . . Most of the craftsmen and stalled workmen of the place are Creoles, or ex-apprentices, with the exception of the cabinetmakers, of which a large proportion are Chinese, who are industrious and frugal, though said to be addicted to gaming. . . . The habitations of the more respectable or wealthy classes in Port Louis, and almost all except those in the central and crowded parts of the town, are of stone, coloured white or yellow, and protected from the sun by verandahs or lattice-work. They stand within enclosures, opening by wide and ornamental gateways into the principal streets. These courts are planted with flowers, and shaded by the most rare and beautiful of tropical trees. . . . The trees and flowers of the tropics, as well as those of more temperate climes, appear to thrive well; and, while they produce on the mind of the stranger some of the most agreeable impressions he receives, must also, in the cool refreshing shade of their dark, dense foliage, and the variety of colour, and fragrance of the flowers, prove a perpetual source of enjoyment to the inhabitants, such as few other places can supply.” In the Mauritius may be seen, side by side on the same table,

“the rich, luscious-looking mango of India, the litchi of China, the custard-apple of South-America,” and the strawberry and raspberry of Europe, exemplifying thus the fitness of this island to be a great rendezvous where men from the east and west may live, and find in its climate a congeniality with their respective constitutions.

An excursion into the interior well repays the fatigue incurred by the hilly character of the road. The scenery is beautiful, and many objects of novelty and interest present themselves. “In some places, stately groves or avenues of mango-trees lead from the road to a large and respectable house: at others, the rudely-thatched hut of the Indian or Creole vendor of fruit or beverage stands under the shade of a tamarind-tree, by the side of the dusty road. In some places, tall bamboos grow most luxuriantly on both sides of the road; and, uniting their slender, elastic, and gracefully-foliaged stems at the top, form a naturally-pointed arch of peculiar elegance and beauty. At other times, the sides of the road are covered for a considerable distance with the agave, or American aloe, of gigantic size, and in every stage of progress towards flowering; in some instances interspersed with the more slender and graceful forms of the fourcraa and other smaller species. On the right, sugar plantations, covered with tall, green, waving canes, stretch away four or five miles towards the sea; and on our left, at the distance of from three hundred yards to a mile, the dark-brown sterile or wooded mountains tower, often in fantastic forms, high up into the bright blue sky.”*

Sometimes the stranger is conducted on an excursion to the thumb-shaped summit of the Pouce. The base of the mountain is woody. Openings in the trees afford “views of the rich valley, with its villas, cottages, and gardens; the citadel, the town, the port, and the batteries which guard its entrance; the lines of stately shipping ranged along the sides of the harbour, with the wide blue ocean stretching far away beyond.” The path is overhung by “bold, steep piles of dark ferruginous volcanic rock, diversified along its different strata by tufts of grass and stunted shrubs.” The forest cover being passed, the bare, steep side of the summit presents itself, terminating in a flattish space, about four feet wide, and twelve or fourteen feet long.” There, as the excursionist sits down at a height of 2847 feet above the sea, the whole island is spread out like a map beneath him,

* Beaton's “Creoles and Coolies,” pp. 12—15.

* Ellis's “Visits to Madagascar.”

"its fertile central plains, and its mountains rising in clusters, at unequal distances from the coast all around. The broad blue waters of the apparently boundless ocean, seen through the openings between the mountains, and reflecting the rays of a vertical sun, present one of the most grand and magnificent panoramas it is possible to imagine."

The island is subdivided into districts. Moka, Plaines Wilhelms, and Vacoas districts occupy the central plains of the interior. The Pamplemousses district constitutes the north section, having to the south-west the Port-Louis district, and to the south-east the Flacq district. Along the western coast lies the Black-River district; along the south-eastern, the Grand-Port district; while along the south coast extends the Savane.

Mauritius, with the neighbouring island of Bourbon, was discovered in 1505, and the whole group was named Mascarenhas Islands. "The Portuguese took formal possession of it in 1545, but appear to have formed no settlement. In 1598, the Dutch surveyed it, and gave it its present name, in honour of Maurice, the stadtholder of the Netherlands. They did not, however, settle in the island until after they had formed an establishment at the Cape in 1640; and then they fixed themselves at the Grand Port," on its south-eastern side, a harbour sufficiently capacious, but intricate in its entrance, and open to the quarter from whence the hurricanes blow; whereas Port Louis, near the north-western extremity, is sheltered from them, and there, as they generally blow directly out of the harbour, they are accompanied with very little sea.*

"In 1710, from causes not known, the Dutch abandoned the island, and from this time up to 1721 its only inhabitants were a few poor negroes, who had been brought there by the Dutch as slaves, and who, having escaped from their masters, concealed themselves in the mountain forests. In that year the French took possession, and formed a settlement at Port St. Louis, giving to the island the name of the Isle of France." In 1810 it was wrested from them by the British, in whose possession it has since remained.

The aggregate of population at the present time amounts to 305,046, which may be thus subdivided—The general population, exclusively of Indian immigrants and aliens, 96,526; the immigrant population, 201,979; and the alien population, chiefly Chinese, 6541.

The first of these classifications, the general

population, divides itself into white and coloured. Again, the white element divides into a Creole population of French descent and the British population. The white Creole population are either planters or inhabitants of St. Louis. The planters are described as "a fine, frank, hospitable race, characterized by much patriarchal simplicity. Often four or five families live on the same estate, all bound together by the closest ties, and, though occupying different pavilions or cottages, meeting together daily, and dining at the same common table." The feeling of nationality among them is strong, and yet there is among them a growing consciousness of the advantages they enjoy under the British flag.

The British population has been hitherto limited in numbers. Besides the military, it consists of the Government employés, merchants, planters, professors of the Royal College, Government school teachers, and "a considerable number of old soldiers, who have left the service, and settled in the colony in different capacities," many of whom have married coloured wives.

Between these constituent elements of the white population of Mauritius, the French Creole and the ascendant English, there is not yet that *entente cordiale* which is so desirable.

The coloured population is greatly in preponderance over the white, and of this, as to its origin and characteristics, it may be necessary to speak more fully.

The Dutch introduced slavery, and the French followed it up. The East-India Company of France sanctioned the sale of slaves to the inhabitants. They were procured from Madagascar, the various devices of iniquity, which are usual with slave-traders, being resorted to for the purpose, and with a full measure of human suffering, of every five negroes embarked at Madagascar, not more than two being found fit for service in Mauritius. "The rest were either stifled beneath the hatches, or starved themselves to death, or died of putrid fever, or became the food of sharks, or fled to the mountains, or fell beneath the driver's lash." "From first to last Mauritius has been the tomb of more than a million of Africans." So grievous was the oppression to which they were subjected, that La Bourdonnais, the first French Governor, to alleviate their sufferings, drew up the Code Noir. A brief glance at this will suffice to show what must have been the condition of the slave, when a code of this nature, justly called the Code Noir, was regarded as an interposition in his favour. "The fugitive slave, absent for a month,

* "United States' Japan Expedition," p. 107.

counting from the day when his master has denounced him to justice, shall have his ears cut, and be marked with a *fleur de lys* on one of his shoulders ; and if he commits the offence during another month, counting in the same way from the day of denunciation, he shall be hamstrung, and marked with the *fleur de lys* on the other shoulder, and the third time he shall be punished with death." Yet, notwithstanding such fearful penalties, they fled whenever they could. Sometimes a few would seize on a fishing-boat, and make for Madagascar, 500 miles distant, or trust themselves to the uncertain deep in a canoe hollowed out of the trunk of a single tree. Can we wonder at it, when, "on the commission of the most trivial offence, they were tied hands and feet to a ladder, when the overseer approached with a whip like a postilion's, and gave them fifty, a hundred, or perhaps two hundred lashes upon the back. Each stroke carried off its portion of skin. The poor wretch was then untied, an iron collar, with three spikes, put round his neck, and he was then sent back to his task." "The dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty." True, and no places are more dark, or more rife with cruelty, than those places where nominal Christians hold their fellow-men in slavery.

"After the capture of the island by the British, the importation of slaves was prohibited under severe penalties." But as the authorities of the island were entrusted with the execution of the law, its provisions were evaded, and the slave-trade continued to be as brisk as ever. They were first taken to the Seychelles, and then to the Mauritius. At length came the glorious act of emancipation, which put an end to slavery throughout the British dominions, and the planters of Mauritius were compelled to manumit their helots, numbering 66,343, receiving as compensation from the British Treasury the sum of 2,112,632*l*.

The descendants of these slaves are free negroes. "They are the mechanics, the shopkeepers, the fishermen, the coachmen, and the market-gardeners of the colony," but to field labour they are averse. "You ask me," said a negro, whose father and mother had been slaves, "why I will not work in that field. I will tell you. In that field my father worked as a slave, and was lashed as a slave, and do you think I would work on a spot that I cannot think of without pain."

The coloured population is inclusive of all in whose veins there is an admixture of European and African blood. "Their existence dates from the origin of the colony.

The pirates from Madagascar brought with them their negro wives and coloured children. Their example was followed by others, and a third class arose, of which it may be said, "the face is the face of Japhet, but the skin is the skin of Ham, varying in colour from the darkest ebony, where the regular features mark a mixture of European blood, to the purest white, where tradition alone preserves the remembrance of the presence of African blood." But in the estimation of the white population, the slightest admixture of African blood constitutes a stigma of the most degrading kind. "A man may have wealth, learning, official rank, all that elsewhere can command respect, and yet, let there be but three drops of African blood in his veins, tradition will preserve the remembrance of them, and point to these as the plague-spot, the touch of which would be pollution." Thus "between the white and coloured population there exists a feeling of bitter hatred, the result of long years of domination and insult on the one hand, and subjection and suffering on the other." Still, however, white men continued to form the same connexions with coloured women, in many instances bequeathing their property to their coloured children, until it has been calculated that "three-fourths of the immoveable property in the colony has been transferred from the white to the coloured population." In politics, as in other matters, these two sections of the population are opposed to each other, the white French having strong leanings to the land of their forefathers, while the coloured population are loyal to the British Government, which has granted them "enjoyment of equal rights, and immunity from previous wrongs."

Over the Creole, coloured, and free negro population, Romanism is, so far as profession goes, decidedly in the ascendant. The vast majority of the Creoles is nominally Romanist, but sceptical opinions, originally introduced from France, "have taken deep root, and produced their natural fruit of irreligion and immorality." Romanism numbers amongst its professors not only the white French Creole, together with the great proportion of the coloured population, but the free negroes likewise. At the time of "the abolition of slavery," so powerful were the feelings of gratitude which the negro and coloured population entertained towards their benefactors, that, having no religion, they were prepared to receive any form that Great Britain might have offered them ; but no effort was made, the golden opportunity was lost, . . . and they accepted, rather than chose, Roman-

ism, as the only form of religion within their reach. Many of the negroes are still strongly attached to their ancient superstitions, and have no connexion with the church of Rome, beyond an occasional attendance at her gorgeous ceremonies, which are calculated to make a profound impression on the African mind. The priests, of whom there are thirteen, all salaried out of the colonial treasury, besides a Roman-Catholic bishop, are indefatigable in their efforts to bring the people over to them. At the time of the capture of the island by the British, there were only two Roman-Catholic churches in the colony, one at Port Louis, the other at Pamplemousses. "At the present moment the whole island is studded with chapels, some of which have been erected by a tax levied on Protestants and Roman Catholics without distinction. The churches at Mahebourg, Plaines Wilhelms, and Poudre d'or, are very handsome buildings. Wherever a few negro huts are gathered together, one of them is erected into a chapel, which differs from the others only by the cross at its extremities. Occasional services are held there, and no effort is spared by the priests, under the guidance of Dr. Collier, their bishop, to bring the black and coloured population within the pale of their church."* "There are now in Mauritius thirteen priests, who receive from the colonial treasury an average salary of 200*l.* each, and a Roman-Catholic bishop, who receives 780*l.* This is done in accordance with the stipulation entered into when the island capitulated to the British in 1810, 'that the established religion should be preserved.'" Such a stipulation is to be regretted. A Protestant nation is not at liberty to charge itself with the maintenance of that which it has itself repudiated because it believed it to be erroneous. Toleration is always assured under the British rule, and for false religions that ought to suffice. The stipulation, such as it is, has been met with no niggard hand. In 1810, when there were no coolies or aliens in the island, a population of 80,000 was provided with four priests, at a cost of 100*l.* per annum each. Now there are a bishop and thirteen priests for a general population of 96,526. If, then, Romanism in the Mauritius yields to the power of a superior, because a truthful faith, it can never be alleged that the Government starved it.

To administer beneficially and satisfactorily to themselves the government of a population so constituted is by no means a facile undertaking. The difficulties are many.

For instance, "the very imperfect knowledge of the English language which is possessed by most persons in the colony, where French is commonly spoken by the upper classes, and Creole by the lower, has always made it a difficult matter to furnish the public offices with clerks whose knowledge of English was at all accurate, or even passable." Nor did the difficulty lie merely in difference of language, but in the general neglect of education throughout the colony. The proportion of educated to non-educated children is said to be "less than 14 per cent. The proportion of the whole population that can read and write, to those who do not possess this advantage, is about 8 per cent. In this estimate no account is taken of the Indian population. The Coolie immigrants are, on the whole, a better educated class than the Creoles."* But this is not all. Of the 14 per cent. who are receiving instruction, the children of the lower classes form a very small proportion.

Various measures have been adopted with a view to promote the important object of education.

First, there are Government schools. The principles on which the system is founded are stated in the following paragraph—

"Lady Mico's Charity, the object of which was to extend the advantages of religious and moral instruction to the negroes and coloured population of the British colonies, included Mauritius within the field of its useful labours. A large proportion of the limited number of those who can read and write, among the negro and coloured population, are indebted for this advantage to the schools in connexion with Lady Mico's Charity. These schools have been given up, and the Government schools, founded on a different basis, and supported by the colony, have been erected in their stead. The exclusion of all religious instruction is one of the rules most stringently enforced in these schools. The teachers are permitted to read a portion of Scripture in the morning, but they are prohibited from explaining, or making any remarks upon the portion they read. At one time an order was issued from the Colonial Secretary's office, prohibiting the reading of the Scriptures, but it was immediately suppressed. The object of this restriction in regard to the explanation of the Scriptures is to avoid exciting the prejudices or fears of the Roman-Catholic priests and parents; and this attempt to secure their goodwill by the sacrifice of Protestant principle has been

* "Creoles and Coolies," pp. 269, 270.

* "Creoles and Coolies," p. 256.

about as successful as the endeavour to secure the loyalty of the Brahmins in India by ignoring Christianity. So long as the teachers in these schools are Protestants, the priests cannot but regard them with distrust, and look upon the restriction about the explanation of the Scriptures as only a blind to conceal the proselytizing spirit by which they are actuated. The priests, therefore, on this ground, are opposed to these Government schools, and have dissuaded their adherents from allowing their children to attend them. They could not well do this without providing other schools, under their own direction, where the children could be instructed without the danger of imbibing Protestant error. Accordingly, they have done so in some of the country districts, and their influence in one or two cases has had the effect of nearly emptying the Government schools. As a general rule, the Church of Rome is not favourable to education. The blind credulity which she demands from her adherents can only flourish in the soil of ignorance; but, Proteus-like, she can change her outward form according to circumstances, and appear as the advocate or the enemy of education, just as it may suit her interests. She holds the coloured population of Mauritius too firmly in her grasp to dread the relaxing effect of a small dose of education administered by her own priests.*

The Grant-in-aid system is also in action in this colony. A note on popular education, drawn up by direction of the Governor, and appended to his Annual Report for 1859, gives us the result of these educational appliances for a period of three years.

"The schools, which had increased from twenty-seven in 1857 to forty-four in 1858, increased in 1859 to fifty-three. . . . Of these, twenty-three are Government schools, and thirty assisted by grants-in-aid: of these thirty, eight are schools for Indians."

It may be observed, that during the three years referred to in the above paragraph, the increase was entirely in the grants-in-aid schools, the number of Government schools remaining at the same figure, twenty-three. In these twenty-three schools, there was, in December 1859, a decrease of attendance as compared with December 1858. The increase in the grant-in-aid schools was in this proportion—In 1857, there were only seven grant-in-aid schools, all in connexion with the Church of England. In 1858, there were twenty-one grants-in-aid schools, of which three were in connexion with the Roman

Catholics, and eighteen with the Church of England. Of the thirty grant-in-aid schools of 1859, eleven are "Roman Catholic and nineteen Protestant."

As to the measure of efficiency in the schools supported by Government, we are informed that "the average state of advancement of pupils is not high. Most in the upper classes, seldom over a small proportion of the entire pupils, can read and translate English and French tolerably; but they are usually deficient in writing either language from dictation, and are imperfectly acquainted with grammar." Except in the Port-Louis schools, and about a third of those in the country, where there is some knowledge of the compound rules of arithmetic and fractions, "little is known beyond the simple rules; and even these are pretty often not known with accuracy."*

It must be confessed that education in the Mauritius is not in a flourishing condition; and yet, by an ordinance of the Legislative Council in 1857, it was rendered compulsory on all classes. The practical results, as we have placed them before our readers, are not recommendatory of such compulsory enactments. And this we can understand. The people of Mauritius are not yet alive to the value of education. Any attempt to coerce them to the acceptance of it is the surest way to increase their disinclination.

From the operation of the Compulsory Education Ordinance, the Indian children are exempted, the Indian Government having insisted on this, on the ground that it was no part of the engagement of their parents, when they migrated to Mauritius, that their children should be educated. That it should be so, the Governor regrets, thinking that the free action system, from special difficulties, will not succeed. These supposed difficulties are fully stated by the Superintendent of the Government schools, in his note on popular education—

"The state of education among the Indians offers no subject for congratulation. The ordinance for compulsory education has not been allowed as regards them; nor is it by any means probable that, had it been otherwise, it could have been made to work successfully. A law more in the nature of that for the education of factory children in England is essential, when, as is the case of the Indians of Mauritius, both parents and employers are, as the general rule, opposed to the educational interest of the children under

* "Creoles and Coolies," pp. 260, 261.

* Note by the Superintendent of Government Schools, Blue Book.

their care or influence. The voluntary system hitherto has proved a failure, nor is it likely to prove otherwise, unless, indeed, some religious body, such as the Christian brothers (whose schools, however, are for boys only), should attempt it. Hitherto I am not aware of any efforts having been made on behalf of the Roman-Catholic church for the instruction of the Indians. None of their clergy in Mauritius, I am informed, are acquainted with any of the Indian languages; and even if they were, the demands upon their time by their numerous congregations would prevent them from attending to other matters. This is to be regretted, as there would be a greater likelihood that efforts on behalf of the Roman-Catholic church would meet with cordial support on the part of the planters than those in connexion with any other religion the planters, as the general rule, being Roman Catholics, at least in name. But though their adhesion to that religion may be nominal, their opposition to any other Christian form may be strong, for they are apt to look upon such as an emblem of the dominant nation, and visit it accordingly with the feelings of ill-will they entertain towards the latter. This may help to account for the slender support which the Indian schools in connexion with the Church of England have met with, and may be expected to meet with. Few pupils attend them; and those who do come so irregularly that it is not possible they can make any thing like satisfactory progress. But on this subject it is unnecessary to dwell at greater length in a note on education intended to be brief. The question of the moral position of the Indian population here is so important, and so much beset with difficulties, that any attempt to discuss it with advantage would swell the note to the dimensions of an ample report.*

The experience of our Missionaries is subversive of these remarks. We shall refer to their reports and despatches before the close of this article, and it will then be seen that they have met with no feelings of ill-will from the planters, nay, that, on the contrary, they are kindly and considerately treated, and facilities afforded them for the instruction, as well of children as adults. We cannot, therefore, join in the regrets of the superintendant, that no effort has been made by the Roman Catholics for the instruction of the Indians, and we consider it very providential that none of the priests of that body in the Mauritius are acquainted with any of the Indian lan-

guages. We have, moreover, full confidence in the persuasive influence of Missionary action, and consider it a most happy circumstance, that, in their efforts to benefit the Indian children, the Missionaries are unimpeded by any compulsory ordinance.

A very seasonable proof of the justice of these remarks is presented to us by the Governor, in the very happy reference which he makes to one educational institution, in which scriptural instruction is afforded without reserve or restriction, namely, the Orphan Asylum at the Powder Mills. We shall introduce this portion of his despatch, as it is deeply interesting—

“My limited experience teaches me that there are no children in the world more quick in their perceptions, more anxious to learn, and more easily taught, than the Indian; and if a single example will prove this, I need only refer to the Orphan Asylum lately established at the Powder Mills, in which are now collected upwards of one hundred Indian orphans, who live upon the premises, under the able charge of a Missionary and his wife, who are not subject to the capricious interference of parents or friends, who are disturbed by no conflicting Christian creeds, and who have already made such progress in their education—English education chiefly—as surprises and delights all visitors, while their industrial occupations (in which they are also instructed through the instrumentality of employed artisans) are actively prosecuted, and their whole appearance and demeanour indicate the care, comfort, and contentment which they enjoy. These boys are likely to turn out valuable members of our social community. They are instructed in the art of every trade or handicraft they may think proper to select, and are destined to be more fully instructed in the trades of their choice when the proper time arrives, while the girls are educated in needlework, and in all domestic and household occupations, and are destined, in due time, to become equally useful in their own sphere.

“To show the beneficial effect of examples that are furnished by institutions of this sort, and to prove that it is not ‘compulsory’ but ‘persuasive’ education that should chiefly be relied on as the means of inducing Indian or other parents to give the benefit of education to their children, it may be stated, that after a few Indian women, who had been previously known to the superintendant Missionary and his wife, had been allowed to visit this institution, and to witness the care, comfort, and education bestowed upon the children, and the useful employments to which they are

* Note by Superintendant of Government Schools.

trained, applications, on the part of Indian parents, for admission of their children, were numerous ; but as it was foreign to the objects of the institution to receive any but orphans, these applications were refused, notwithstanding the desire expressed by the parents, in many cases, to give up their children altogether to the establishment, for educational purposes.

"I hope that this humble but useful institution will be the means of introducing others of an educational and industrial character, for the benefit of Indian children ; but so long as these children depend on the control of their parents, and are sent to or kept from ordinary day-schools, as caprice or convenience may dictate, I entertain but little hope of accomplishing any steady march in the progress of education.

"The following extract from a report I have lately received from the Protector of Immigrants shows what progress has taken place in this humble asylum since its formation, now only nine or ten months ago—

"I have the honour to report that I visited the Powder Mills Orphan Asylum at the end of last month (April 1860), with the view of ascertaining what progress had been made by the pupils of that establishment, and with the further object of inquiring into the present wants of that institution.

"I am happy to be able to say that I witnessed a remarkable advancement in the reading and writing classes of both sexes, as well in English as in Tamil and Hindustanee, and that the most advanced of the pupils answered questions set to them in English on the addition table with great facility and accuracy.

"The industrial classes may also be considered to have made satisfactory progress, allowances being made for the deficiencies in their organization, which have hitherto been unavoidable.

"The present industrial training comprises the following branches—

- "1. Cart-making,
- "2. Carpenters' work.
- "3. Basket-making,
- "4. Tailoring,
- "5. Blacksmiths' work ;

"A small spring cart, twenty-four bedsteads, the greater part of the school furniture, a large quantity of rattan baskets, and the whole of the clothing worn by the pupils, have been already made, either by the pupils themselves, or with their assistance.

"The results hold forth a promising prospect, not only of the work that may in future be performed at the asylum, but of the *skilled*

labour that may thence be issued, when the institution will have attained a more advanced age.' **

Several of the pupils as the result of the Bible instruction they have received, have been led to desire baptism, and, after due examination, thirty-eight of them were baptized at St. Barnabas Church, Pamplemousses, on August 12th of last year. †

There is one educational institution more to which a special reference is needed. "The Royal College" was founded with a view to the education of the children of the upper classes. To conciliate the priesthood of Rome, the religious element is excluded, just as, in the Government schools of India, the same exclusion of the same great element of true education and improvement is persevered in to please the priests of Vishnu and Siva. At one time, under a French rector, the pupils numbered 400. At present they are below this figure. An attempt to introduce discipline has offended, it is said, the "*amour propre*" of the Mauritius Creole ; "boys and professors resisted, *pères de famille* listened to the tales of their children, and resented the supposed offence ; anonymous scribblers filled the newspapers with their complaints : editors readily admitted them into their columns, and people as readily believed them ; an angry feeling spread through the colony, and pupils were removed, until at length the numbers that filled the lists at the end of 1858, were reduced to one-fifth, or thereabouts, at the end of 1859." ‡

We must confess that this issue does not surprise us. To conciliate the priesthood, religious instruction is excluded. But in excluding this, the school authorities deprive themselves of the very influence which of all others is most promotive of good order and subordination ; and when, irrespectively of this, they come to enforce discipline, it is not surprising that they are met with opposition and rebellion. Moreover, when teachers of schools consent to forego the great duty of religious instruction, we have no security for the wisdom and good temper of their proceedings.

As, in educational matters, difficulties present themselves, so likewise in the government and administration of the colony. "The community," observes the Governor, "in its English, French, Creole, African, and Asiatic varieties, is too mixed, and the Creole popu-

* Blue Book: Report exhibiting the state of Her Majesty's Colonial Possessions, pp. 103, 104.

† See a full account of this in the "Church Missionary Gleaner" for November 1860.

‡ Government despatch, Blue Book, p. 103.

lation have been too long accustomed to the old *régime* of dependence on Government, to render any great change at all desirable at present ; and their tastes, habits, or predilections are not sufficiently English to enable them thoroughly to understand and appreciate what English people know and admire as free institutions, &c."*

Evidently there is some binding element needed to be introduced into the midst of this disunited population, so as to give them common interests, and dispose them to co-operate in the attainment of objects conducive to the general prosperity. We know of but one such element—Gospel truth in its purity, cleansed from the adulterations of Rome. This needs to be introduced like leaven into the mass. In the presence of so great a duty, we are thankful that there is on the spot an English bishop, characterized alike by clear views of Gospel truth, by undoubted personal piety, and zeal tempered with wisdom and love. We trust that the earnest wish of his heart may be answered in the increase of an effective and devoted Church-of-England ministry, and that funds will be placed largely at his disposal for the opening of Scriptural schools, and the employment of such agencies as he may consider most suitable to the circumstances of the colony. We are well aware of the difficulty of his situation. Controversial action is likely to embitter and irritate ; and yet, so far as Romanists are concerned, without something special to awaken attention, simple Gospel preaching is too often disregarded. Christianity in the Mauritius requires some special introduction to the attention of these mingled populations, unlike in other respects, but too much resembling each other in carelessness about their souls.

Now it appears to us that Missionary efforts among the immigrant population of Mauritius will present Christianity precisely in the light which is most desirable, and afford to it the very recommendation that is needed.

We have already stated the reluctance of the free negro to field work. The same temper may be traced in the emancipated population of our West-India islands, and is the necessary reaction from a condition of compulsory labour. It is one which will continue to produce its inconveniences, until the impressions of former wrongs have become less vivid, and lost somewhat of their sharpness of outline. From these difficulties originated the idea of importing free labourers, not from Africa, but India, where the masses live on as their fathers did before them, with-

out improvement in their temporal circumstances, receiving the lowest wages, and depressed to a scale of existence little superior to the irrational creation. So commenced the importation of coolies. The planters of Mauritius needed their bone and muscle ; the peasantry of India were willing to come in the hope of bettering their condition and receiving higher wages than their home market was capable of affording them. The British Government stepped in, by wholesome regulations so to direct and guide the experiment that it should be without injury to either party, and that its entire distinctiveness from every thing which should savour of slave-trading operations might be throughout preserved.

It is evident that the character of the proceeding mainly depends on the reliability of the transacting medium ; that it be one which can intervene with authority, and which will not fail to use impartially the power which it has to prevent evasion of engagements on the part of the coolies, or injustice and oppression on the part of the employer. Where such equipoise can be introduced, the immigration of free labourers into lands whose productive powers are locked up from the want of hands to till them, may be pursued without the system degenerating into a disguised slave-trade. But we fear that the instances are rare in which an intervention of this kind, alike powerful and loyal, can be secured. If a Government, engaging in transactions of this kind, is, after all, nothing but an agency for the planters ; if its promises of protection are mere deceptions to ensnare the native the more easily ; then scenes may be expected to ensue of the same stamp with those which have accompanied the progress of the open and avowed slave-trade. British authority may be depended upon in this matter, the more so as the coolies of India, as well as the planters of Mauritius, are alike subjects of the British crown : and if, at any time, unjust acts should be permitted, the voice of public opinion will make itself heard on behalf of the oppressed.

The following points may be referred to, as exhibiting the care which is taken in carrying out the system. The annual importation is regulated according to the real wants of the colony, so as to guard against overcrowding. Government agents are appointed in the chief towns of the three Indian Presidencies, so as to prevent kidnapping, such as has been practised in the Isle of Bourbon, the coast of China, and other places. "These agents explain to intending emigrants the terms of their engagement, procure ships for their

* Government Despatch, p. 108.

conveyance, and superintend their embarkation.* Improvements, such as experience dictates, are being introduced from time to time. Last year new regulations came into force. Engagements between the planter and the labourer had been prohibited, except upon the shores of Mauritius or within the limits of the colony: they may now be entered into, under proper control, in India; and numbers of coolies leave the dépôts there as the engaged labourers of planters with whom they have already made the binding contract through the safe medium of Government agency. And thus the immigrant has now two courses open to him. He may come under an engagement, made in India, to serve a particular master in Mauritius; or he may come under an engagement to the Government, but free to select his own master on his arrival.

With respect to the voyage, "the number of the Hindus embarked is proportionate to the tonnage of the vessel. Two children count for one full-grown man. When the stranger reads that the "Akbar" has arrived at Mauritius with 277½ coolies, he must not imagine that the unfortunate Goolab or Ramosamy has left the half of his body behind him. There is an odd child on board, that is all."

On the arrival of the vessel at her destination, and her being able to show a satisfactory bill of health, "the Government Protector, or his representative, goes on board, and conducts the immigrants to the Bagne, a large building situated near the shore, and used as a dépôt for their reception." Otherwise, the ship is placed in quarantine. The necessity for such precaution is obvious. Ships constantly arrive with cholera or small-pox on board. In February 1859 there were no fewer than 2314 immigrants simultaneously under quarantine for small-pox.

In connexion with this feature, improved regulations are being introduced. Greater caution is enjoined in the care and examination of intending immigrants prior to their embarkation; while, on the Mauritius side, more ample accommodation is provided at the lazarettos.

Mauritius has benefited by coolie labour. The increase on its produce has been marvellous. It yielded of sugar in

	French pounds.
1812 . .	969,260
1851 . .	137,373,519
1852 . .	140,000,000
1858 . .	237,108,958
1859 . .	247,463,245

* "Creoles and Coolies," p. 169.

The coolie population in the colony amounted

In 1847, to 55,187

In 1859, to 201,979.

It is to this increasingly large population that the attention of the Church Missionary Society has been directed, as affording a suitable field for Missionary effort. The immigrants are in circumstances which render them much more accessible than in their own country. There, amidst the dense masses of population, the old superstitions are being continually enacted before their eyes, and the ideas connected with them are being ever reproduced in the mind, so that it becomes proportionably difficult to escape from them. They are present in every direction to the eye, and the ear is filled with their sounds. But in Mauritius the coolies are an isolated body. There is nothing from without to reflect back upon them the old idolatrous notions, and maintain their existence in the mind. If they are to live on and influence the man, they must be upheld from within. External circumstances are no longer promotive of idolatry, but disconnected from it, and adverse to its continued action. If it is to live on and rule, it must draw upon the man himself for its sustentation, and be strong in the force of principle and conviction. Idolatry, shorn of its external aid, the force of sympathy, and prevailing opinion, its feasts and scenic representations, and thrown for support on whatever hold it has on the understanding and the heart, soon fades. The Hindu finds he can do without it; that he can neglect its ritual without prejudicing his own position. This growing indifference subjects him to no caste penalties which he cares for. His employment is not interfered with; his wages come to him regularly; he is exposed to no persecution that is of any moment; he is free to take his own way, and pleasure himself after his own inclinations. The old faith becomes enfeebled, and the trammels of the old tyranny relax. The result is such as might be expected—"the coolies can scarcely be said to have any religion." "The Hindus have no regular place of worship, and it may be affirmed without exaggeration, that the great mass of Indians in the colony are without religion of any kind." Even the Mohammedans grow enfeebled in their fanaticism.

There is one great religious festival observed once a year by the whole Indian population. It corresponds with the Mohurram, and is known in the Mauritius as the Yamseh. "Originally it was celebrated only by the followers of Mohammed, but now it is

regarded as a sort of general festival, in which all may take part. It is the rival of the Fête de Dieu in extravagance and absurdity, and is generally known as the Indian Fête de Dieu, to distinguish it from that observed by the church of Rome." Contributions are levied on all classes by a begging procession, the money thus collected being expended "in the construction of the gouhn, a species of pagoda made of bamboo, and covered with tinsel and paper of different colours. It consists of three storeys, each of which seems to rise from the interior of the other, the one at the base being the largest. The services of the most skilful workmen among the Creoles, Indians, and Chinese are secured for its construction, which sometimes occupies four months." The great procession takes place in the evening time, when the gouhn is borne on poles resting on the shoulders of Mozambique negroes, who are hired for that purpose.

"It is not without a sort of barbarous magnificence. The gilt and coloured paper, with which its sides are covered, is lighted up within by lamps suspended from the roof, and without by paper lanterns attached to every angle and pinnacle of its pointed architecture, like the lights attached to the branches of a Christmas-tree. These lanterns are shaken by the movements of the bearers, and their flickering light is reflected from the gilt sides of the gouhn, giving it at times the dazzling appearance of a temple of solid gold. It is preceded by a sort of torchbearers, who carry at the end of long poles illuminated lanterns of glass, representing the sun, the crescent, and certain of the stars. The procession moves with slow and solemn step, regulated by the monotonous dirge-like chant of the mollahs.*"

In this procession the destruction of the gouhn was wont to be an essential part of the religious rite. Lighted at its four corners, it was dropped into water, the lower part submerged, while above the flames spread from storey to storey; "but of late years it has been rescued from fire and water, and reserved to take part in the procession of the ensuing year."

Thus separated for a season from the great mass of Indian population, the coolies of the Mauritius are peculiarly accessible to well-directed Missionary operations. They are quite open to us. "But unless a strenuous effort be made by the Protestant church at home to send Missionaries to instruct them in the simple truths of the Gospel,

like the coloured population of the Mauritius, at the time of the emancipation, they will fall into the hands of the priests of Rome. That church has done nothing for them as yet: she has had her hands full with the Creole population, which had a prior claim on her attention." Let, then, the pernicious action of that system be anticipated. A successful Missionary work amongst this people will be productive of results the most important as regards themselves: this is manifest. At present they are steeped in moral degradation. "The grossest social disorders are practised without shame." But what a reaction for good on others would not a powerful work of evangelization amongst them be productive of? How it would tell on the shores of India! "No doubt India is the stronghold of heathenism, before which the battle of the cross must be fought and won; but Mauritius is one of those outposts, the capture of which would contribute much to the final overthrow of that stronghold. The coolies in Mauritius come from the different parts of the three Presidencies, some of which are so remote as to be beyond the pale of Missionary enterprise. After the expiry of their engagement, many of them return to the places of their birth."

There is constant intercourse between Mauritius and the continent, and "almost every ship that sails for India conveys immigrants to their native land." In what condition shall they return—instructed and evangelized, or as ignorant and more demoralized than when they left? They must exercise an influence for good or for evil; for having in their travels acquired wealth, they will command a certain amount of respect among their countrymen. How valuable they might prove! They might be so dealt with, that on their return to their own land, they may be as leaven introduced into the mass. Fragments of nations have often been used for this purpose. Broken off by adverse circumstances, political changes, and convulsions, from the masses to which they originally belonged, or going forth in a spirit of adventure and commercial enterprise, they have been transferred to some new country, and have come within the reach of that Christian teaching and instruction which was not to be found in their own dark land; and becoming there recipients of the Gospel, and undergoing a happy transformation, they have gone back to be messengers of mercy to the parent stock at home. This is the process which has been going forward in Sierra Leone, and in this consists the importance and value of that Mission, that individuals have been brought

* "Creoles and Coolies," p. 186.

there from inaccessible localities, to which they may eventually return, no longer as heathen, but as Christians. Why should not the free coolie immigrants be regarded in the same light? Brought together from various parts of the peninsula, they are far more easy of access than at home. Untrammelled by caste, they are more free to act, and are not afraid to receive the visits of the Missionary.

It was, so to speak, incidentally that the attention of the Church Missionary Society was directed to the immigrant population of Mauritius. The Rev. David Fenn, connected with the North-Tinnevely Itinerancy, visited Mauritius in 1854, for the recovery of his health. He found at Port Louis a little congregation of Tamilian Christians, under the instruction of Mr. Taylor, an agent of the Madras Bible Society, and he aided him in his work. His letters first awakened the attention of the Parent Committee to the importance of Mauritius as a field of Missionary labour; and two Missionaries, transferred from India, one from the north and the other from the south, are diligently occupied in spreading abroad the knowledge of the Gospel in the Bengalee and Tamilian languages.

The encouragement in this undertaking, so far as it has progressed, has been beyond our expectations. "In almost every instance," observes the local Committee in its report, "the employers of the Indians have expressed not only a willingness to authorize their visits to the camps, but a lively satisfaction in witnessing the endeavour that is made to enlighten the gross darkness of their labourers. A more convincing proof could not be desired of the earnest desire of these gentlemen to promote the welfare of the Indians than the welcome thus given to the ministers of religion aiming to impart to them the instruction needful for reasonable and immortal beings. It refutes the reproach, that the masters look upon their servants only as if they were cattle, requiring nothing else than to be well housed and fed. Some instances in which the reception of the Missionary has been most cordial and courteous are those in which they have introduced themselves to proprietors to whom they were entire strangers. Not less gratifying, generally speaking, is the hearing they gain from the Indians themselves. Extensive visible results are not to be immediately expected, and even if long delayed, it is no just cause for discouragement. The seed sown in the earth germinates in secret, concealed beneath the soil, before even the tender blade appears

above the surface; and the word of God in human hearts has been compared to such seed by One to whom all hearts are open, and from whom no mysteries are hidden. Instances, however, might be cited of evident good effected by these labours."

In the journals of the Missionaries themselves there is much to verify these observations. Our Missionary to the Tamil immigrants, the Rev. Stephen Hobbs, speaks of one estate to which he had been repeatedly invited by the proprietor, to see what could be done for the spiritual benefit of the labourers. From him he received a most cordial reception. He conducted him round the camp in the cool of the evening, taking a lively interest in all that passed between the Missionary and the people. He wished that a school should be commenced. Mr. Hobbs' reports teem with like instances.

"Nov. 20, 1859.—Set out on foot for A——. I found the proprietor (an entire stranger to me, and I had come without an introduction), and immediately stated my object. Nothing could exceed the courteous and cordial kindness of his reply. 'A Missionary is truly welcome, Sir, on my establishment, and I have the greatest pleasure in requesting you to pass wherever you wish on your excellent business, and to return as often as you find it convenient and desirable.' He begged me to sit down, and pressed me to take refreshment, and regretted that, as he resided in town, his means of hospitality on the spot were not very superior, assuring me that, such as they were, I was always welcome to them. After expressing myself as well as I could in indifferent French, as he could not speak English, I repaired to the camp, which is very large, and abounding in Tamils, but the time was too far spent to allow of my fully enjoying the occasion. A sirdar placed a chair in a place shaded from the declining sun, which was still warm, and I had a nice conference with a few, who grouped round me for a short time. A Roman Catholic, amongst the rest, questioned, and listened with great eagerness, and hoped I would come often to instruct him, and remind him of the things he had formerly learned.

"Dec. 16—Passed in the morning to R—— B——, where I had not been since the change of proprietors. Found Mr. — in the sugar-house, and introduced myself, briefly explaining my object. I meet with a kind reception almost everywhere, but never did and never shall enjoy a richer profusion of courteous hospitality than on this occasion. It was a favourable moment, as the breakfast bell for the

labourers was just about to sound, and I had a pleasing interview with many of the people, though a hurried one, as they have but little spare time out of the hour allowed them for breakfast. It is one of the largest assemblies of Tamil people I know in the island, and the sight of numerous children running about revived the strong desire I had often expressed to the former resident proprietor to see a school provided for them. I found there a Brahmin, highly educated, who told me his father had held a situation of high rank in Tinnevely. He did not wish to be a school-teacher, but said, if a school were opened, he would gladly attend to it, and put the master into the proper way of teaching. I felt truly humbled that the Lord, notwithstanding my many imperfections, should indulge me with such accumulated proofs of his gracious acceptance.

Dec. 17—Before taking leave of Mr. W—, I mentioned to him a plan I had devised for the formation of an endowment fund, to be in no way connected with my Mission, but to be left to accumulate until a sufficient sum was invested to support a resident clergyman in the district for English and French duties. He entered warmly into the plan, and headed the list with the liberal contribution of 100*l*."

The Rev. Paul Ansorgé, our Missionary to the Bengalee and Hindustanee-speaking people, bears similar testimony—

"I have also made several excursions to the districts Pamplemousses, Rivière du Romport, Flacq, and went once with the bishop to Black River. Whenever I have gone to Indians, I must say that they usually receive me friendly. They bring soon any sort of seat, and if it be nothing but a basket turned upside, I have soon ten or twelve, sometimes a larger number, around me, listening attentively to my address. On other estates I have had sometimes almost all the men of the camp attending, and been enabled to put before a good number our Saviour's love for poor sinners. As I get more and more boldness to speak in Hindui, I feel that my sphere of labour extends itself more and more. Here I meet a Bengalee, there a man from the Northern Provinces, and he is delighted to hear me speak to him in his language. On another occasion I meet a Mussulman, who is well pleased when I read to him in his Hindustanee a few passages of Scripture. I find in general a much greater hardness of heart among the Mohammedans than among Hindus. I got from Calcutta, some months ago, a number of Hindustanee, and a few Hindui tracts, for which I have

been very thankful. On my visits I very often meet in a camp some one supplied with a copy of a part of Scripture. Now and then some Indians show their friendly feelings towards me by asking me to accept something to eat; and on several occasions, when I did not accept this, they offered me a shilling, or a rupee. Only a few days ago, when I was speaking to some women, who were sitting before a hut, and preparing for their meal, one of them, when they had listened very attentively, asked me to accept a sixpence. She said she would gladly give me more, but she had no more. I first declined taking it, but she urged me to accept it. I took it then, and told her I would use it for the poor. There came lately some Indians to me, asking for a Gospel. I inquired where they lived, and visited them frequently. I had much hope that they would follow our Lord, but on my last visit I found that they had gone to some other place, but I did not hear where to. On my excursions I meet with the greatest kindness and hospitality, as well from Roman-Catholic as from Protestant proprietors. I have now so many places where I am sure to find friendly reception, that without difficulty I can go about."

But we must refrain from further extracts, however interesting.* Enough has been said to show that the work is most encouraging, whether viewed in relation to the planters or the people. The proprietors welcome the Missionary, and give him ready access to their people: the people also welcome him, and are willing to be taught. What more can we require? If we have the seed and the field before us, ready prepared, in which it is to be sown, what remains but that we should go forward and do the work?

We regard the immigrant population of Mauritius as a field ready prepared for the seed, from which a rich harvest in due time may be expected. And will not this react for good on the general population of the island? As to the great mass of them, a nominal Romanism covers over an indifference to all religion. But is not this easily to be accounted for? They have been neglected even by their priests. Now the Church of Rome is labouring zealously to transmute them into bigoted and prejudiced Romanists; but she has not yet had time sufficient to accomplish this. It is then just the moment for scriptural Christianity to step in and assert its claims. In what way can it do so effect-

* For interesting details of this Mission see "Church Missionary Record" for Oct., 1859, Nov. 1860, and Oct. 1861.

tually as by these unobtrusive, disinterested efforts for the conversion of the poor heathen coolies? These gentlemen planters and others must hear what the Missionaries teach, and they are observant of the results; and when these results appear—when they see the heathen moved, and coming forward to be instructed and baptized, and little groups of Christians raised up, who unite in worship on the Lord's-day—what proofs have they not here of the truth of Protestant Christianity, proofs better than a thousand arguments! Let an unmistakeable work of evangelization be wrought amongst these heathen coolies, and all Mauritius will be aroused. It will be a new thing amongst that mingled people, one unprecedented in the history of their islands. A realized Christianity, one whose energy for good is demonstrated by the effects that it produces, this is what they need, and this we trust is about to be afforded them.

Only let us, as a Missionary Society, address ourselves with determination to the work. This immigrant population, of upwards of 200,000—more than double the Maori population of New Zealand—is not only important, from its numbers, but still more so from the relation which it bears to India, and to the general population of Mauritius. It is well worthy of special attention. It is well to have there two experienced Missionaries, and three native lay agents, but we require more. There are other languages to be dealt with besides the Tamil and the Bengalee: we read of Mahratta and Telugu. In short, in the Mauritius there is congregated a people representative of many of the tribes and races of India. What a locality for a strong Mission, effectively worked—one, the results of which will not fail to tell back on the various Presidencies of India. And then, besides the people from India, there are between 6000 and 7000 Chinese, and also Magalashes and East Africans of various races.

Captured slavers are occasionally brought in to the Mauritius, and the Africans found on board, as on the Western Coast, are liberated. These victims of the East-Coast slave-trade, brought from countries lying far in the interior, to which Europeans have yet had no access, become thus an important element on which Missionary effort may be brought to bear, if so be, in in due time, like their brethren on the West Coast, they may become messengers of mercy

to their countrymen. Some fragments of a letter* from the Bishop of Mauritius bring out with much force of interest the tie thus formed between Mauritius and the continent of Africa.

"To-day I have made a discovery in which I rejoice very much.

"Yesterday I inquired particularly into the history of the poor liberated Africans, and found an interpreter with them, who had come to the place, five years ago, from the Macqunas country. His description of the sufferings of which these children had told him was very heartrending. Until the interpreter came, no one knew what was the matter with the poor children. 'Amai, Amai,' was their one cry. When he came he said it meant *mother*. Then followed accounts of how they had been torn from their mothers.

"This morning a body of Africans came early to see us. After prayers, I sat down and talked with them. They described their country, &c. I told them of my visit to their countrymen yesterday. When I mentioned the name, Macqunas, they said 'That is our country.' 'Do you know the language?'—'Yes.' 'What is the word for mother?'—'Mayaga.' When I look to the Polyglotta† given me by the Committee nine years ago: on turning to the map, I see Matatan along the Mozambique territory; and on referring to Matatan, p. 19, XI. 5, I see that Amai and Mayaga are names for mother. This gives me a clue. I question them fully, and make them give me equivalents in Creole for words in Matatan. Poor old men! they laughed most heartily at my knowledge of their language; and I felt most thankful for this additional connexion with East Africa. Their recollection is quite wonderful, and the accuracy of the book most satisfactory. May it please God to make this discovery a means of preparing us here to help on the evangelization of that dark region of the earth!"

In concluding this article, we may be permitted to ask one question. Who will help to kindle up a light in the Mauritius, the bright reflection of which shall fall westward on Madagascar and Africa, and eastward on India and China?

* May 4, 1861.

† "Polyglotta Africana," by the Rev. Dr. Koelle.

ENGLISH MOVEMENTS TOWARDS CENTRAL ASIA.

In previous Numbers we have directed attention to the increase of Russian influence in Central and Eastern Asia, her absorption of new territories, and the remarkable and rapid extension of her frontier. Each mail brings out new facts, and shows with what energy she is working out her plans. The Shahs of Kokan and Bokhara are at open enmity; and as both have solicited the aid of Russia, she has the opportunity of intervening to her own advantage. The Russians are reported to have concluded an alliance with the chief of Tashkend, and to have occupied that city with troops. Such is the news from Cabool. Further, the correspondent of the "Delhi Gazette" in Cabool, reports that "an ambassador from the king of Kokan arrived in Cabool on the 5th of June, on his way to Peshawur, where he intended to ask the aid of troops from the British authorities. If his proposals were not favourably received, he was to go to Constantinople. The Ameer was informed that a treaty has been concluded between Russia and China, by which the former obtains charge of seven cities of the Chinese, situated near the boundaries of Yarkund and Kashgar, close to Turkistan, and leave to quarter troops in any of the cities. The Russians are also said to have agreed to assist the Chinese with troops against the British and Kokanees when needful. Whatever truth there may be in these reports, it is evident that Central Asia is at present in a very excited state."

It is also evident, that if England be disposed to let Central Asia alone, Russia will not do so. What is to be done under such circumstances? Shall we content ourselves with strengthening our frontier lines, and permit Russia to consolidate her power over the steppes and mountain ranges of those vast territories; or if her influence is to be checked, how shall it be done? Assuredly it will not answer for us to remain indifferent: these aspirations must be checked, but it must be done by commercial, and not by political competition. We must meet, not as military rivals, but as merchants, in the markets of China, Thibet, and Turkistan. We, too, must have our exploring expeditions, which shall penetrate through intervening territories, and open up new lines of communication and new markets to our British and Indian merchants. The moment is most opportune for such movements: the necessity of extending our influence into Central Asia is obvious and recognised, and,

we may also add, the great effort has commenced.

In the direction of China, the treaty of Tien-tsin has opened doors as well for the merchant as the Missionary, of which instant advantage should be taken. "The port of New-Chang is to eastern Tartary what Kurachee is to Afghanistan, and through it we should export the rich fleeces of Manchou-ria." It is true some discouraging reports have been put in circulation respecting it. It is described as situated in a low, flat, swampy country. Standing on a creek, eight miles from the main river, and eighty from its mouth, it is approached by a very tortuous stream, which is full of sand-banks, yet there are traces of traffic and intercommunications with the countries beyond, which may render it worth while to investigate more closely the capabilities of the place. About fifteen miles below New-Chang, the river forms into two branches, one of which, called Wy-leaou-ho, runs on about 330 miles to Lemun-tun, a place of great trade, while the other, called Le-leaou-ho, goes on to Mardia. There is a large junk trade, the Tien-tsin and Shantung junks loading at Tai-tze, and those from Ningpo and Shanghai at Yenke, the exportations consisting of peas, beans, tobacco, peacake, oil, and drugs. No doubt our woollens here would find a quick demand, nor should enterprising men be deterred by Yenke being "a filthy place of mud-houses built in a swamp, and the streets full of uncleanness," all which may be true, yet no one thinks of regarding Wapping as a specimen of the rest of England.

We are happy to find that the Rev. Joseph Edkins, of the London Missionary Society, has recently removed from Shanghai to Tien-tsin. Wherever our troops or merchants go before, our Missionaries should at least follow. He found there the American Missionaries referred to in a previous Number. "Tien-tsin lines the Peiho and Grand Canal for four miles, and is at present in a flourishing condition. It is, after Pekin, the largest city in the province of Chili, and it is said to contain half a million of people. It has grown up within two centuries on the new land formed from the sea by the Peiho river, and it appears likely to increase in size. It is garrisoned by French and English troops, and will be held for at least another year, probably longer. Among the English officers and men there is a band of zealous and faithful Christians. Besides the regular services

conducted by the army chaplain, there is a meeting every evening in an upper room."

The opportunities of usefulness in Tientsin itself are encouraging. Mr. Edkins observes—"I find that public preaching in the temples here is remarkably well received. The last two Lord's-days I had good audiences at the north and west gates, where the temple courts are well suited for gathering a congregation of passers by." The position, moreover, is exceedingly important, as affording a centre of operations in the province of Chili. "Two branches of the Peiho enter it here, and, besides, there is the Grand Canal, which terminates here by joining its waters to those of the Peiho." Peking is not accessible, the British Ambassador declining as yet, for political reasons, to issue passports for that purpose. If the object be to coax the Emperor back from Tartary, we do not think it will be attained. He is reported to be building at Zehol. Meanwhile this delay in using a treaty-right may be interpreted by the Chinese as a surrender of it, and when it does come to be acted upon, new complications may arise.

Looking from north to middle China, the great Central Provinces are beginning to be opened up, and Europeans are penetrating into the interior. An exploratory trip of much interest has recently been accomplished by some gentlemen from Canton to Hankow, and thence by the great river to Shanghai.

"The travellers, R. F. Thorburn, Esq., Dr. W. Dickson, and the Rev. Messrs. Beach and Bonney, left Canton on the 11th of April, in native boats, with passports and other requisites for travelling through the interior provinces, their main object being to learn as much as possible of the country and its inhabitants.

"It will be seen, by reference to the maps of China, that the Tung-ting lake, the greatest in the empire, occupies a central position, so that the city of Yoh-chau, near the Great River, at the mouth of the lake, is about equally distant from Canton and Shanghai, nearly due north from the first, and west by south from the latter city. Europeans have, in many instances, travelled over the Meiling Pass, through Kiangsi, across the Poyang Lake, and on the Great River, but seldom, if ever before, have they taken the more westerly route through the province of Hunan. The whole trip was performed without any serious accident, or any interruption by imperialists or insurgents, the people and officers everywhere showing themselves civil and obliging, with one or two exceptions to be noticed in the sequel.

"Passing up westward from Canton, by Fahshan, the travellers took the north branch of the river, and ascended it till they crossed the northern frontiers of the province and reached I-chang Hien, the first city in Hunan on their route, a distance of 357 miles in nineteen days. From I-chang they proceeded, by land, through a valley to Chin Chau, thirty miles in two days; thence onward by river in boats, which brought them across the Tung-ting Lake, and down the Yangtze to Hankow, 756 miles in eighteen days: there they embarked on the Saginaw, and arrived at Shanghai.

"Up through the province of Canton the progress was slow, the boatmen rowing, or poling, or tracking nearly all the way against a strong current, and not unfrequently, in the upper part of their course, over rapids and through deep gorges. The face of the country was exceedingly diversified: low and level, and subject to the ebb and flow of tides at first, then hilly, and soon high and rugged. Here were to be seen rich and extensive fields of grain and the mulberry, there lofty ridges of mountains, and almost everywhere villages, hamlets, or farmhouses, and occasionally brickkilns, limekilns, dépôts of salt, &c. Some of the mountains were covered with forest-trees, such as the pine, camphor, &c. At one place they saw ox-carts carrying coal from the mines to the river-side, where it was put in boats for Canton.

"Between the southern and northern watersheds the travellers found the country, not high and rugged, as might have been anticipated, and as it is at the Meiling Pass, but low and smooth, and the road broad, flagged with large stone, and crowded with coolies and mules carrying merchandise. Their own party was increased by a score of chair-bearers, and a still larger number of baggage-coolies. While on their land trip, some popular excitement was got up on two occasions; first, by a crowd of people pressing into their upper room at an inn, when the floor broke from under the intruders; and again, as they were entering a hotel at Chin Chau, when the soldiers and people came into collision, and our travellers 'thought it best to rest on their arms for the night.'

"Downwards, through the province of Hunan, their progress was less slow and more easy than it had been on the southern declivity of the mountains. As they passed on to the north, marked changes were visible, both in the general aspect of the country and in the character of its inhabitants. The people seemed more 'tame,' and of a smaller stature, and so the face of the country seemed

less bold, and the products of the soil less luxuriant. Instead of granite and limestone rocks predominating, red sandstone was more abundant. Coal was plentiful and very cheap; and as they advanced down the river, the Lai-kiang, cities, towns, and villages became more and more frequent and populous. Tea and hemp were among the grand staples.

"From the time they took their boats at Chin Chau, fourteen days brought the travellers to Yoh-chau, at the mouth of the Tung-ting Lake, near the centre of the Hu-kwang, the two lake provinces, Hunan and Hupeh.

"These two provinces together have an area of more than 144,000 square miles, with a population, ten years ago, of more than 45,000,000; and though the one now traversed by the foreigners may be less fertile than the other, yet it is of greater extent. If Hupeh is the 'granary of the empire,' Hunan is not less rich in its natural products. Its mines possess gold, silver, and probably other metals, with abundance of coal; its quarries afford beautiful specimens of granite and marble; its highlands are well stocked with wild game; its lakes and rivers teem with waterfowl and fish; while its fruits and vegetables are not few, nor of inferior qualities. The western parts of the province are inhabited by independent mountaineers—the many and various tribes of Miautsz, 'children of the soil,' or aborigines.

"How far the rivers of Hunan will be found practicable for steam navigation is yet to be ascertained; the great Tung-ting Lake, and many of the rivers that flow into it, will probably afford easy navigation for boats of light draft.

"Through the whole trip, from Canton to Yoh-chau, no part of the country was found occupied by rebels: in many places, however, traces of their devastations were still visible, especially in the temples and altars of the pagan deities.

"Taking it all in all, this first journey through the southern, central, and eastern parts of China Proper must be regarded as a good move in the right direction, and the gentlemen may well be congratulated on account of their good success, which no doubt will stimulate others, not only to take the same course, but also to travel into regions beyond, and to more remote, yet not less inviting regions of 'the flowery land.'"

Hankow is now the seat of a British Consulate. The yamun selected by Mr. Parkes for the Consul's use is situated at Wuchang;

but, in consequence of the threatening aspect of the rebel forces in the neighbourhood, that city is under martial law, and the various yamuns are occupied by imperialist forces. For the present, therefore, the Consul remains at Hankow.

"He landed with a guard of marines and two constables on the 26th April, and took formal possession. The building he occupies is nearly in the centre of the city. The foreign concession is at the eastern end of the city, with a fair proportion of water-frontage. Vessels of the largest draught can lie alongside, the bank having eight fathoms close to. Hankow Reach is an extremely fine one; its extent from the Middle Shoal to the Han-yang Shoal being about six miles, and from one mile and a-quarter to three-quarters across. Plenty of room for turning, and good anchorage throughout. The present anchorage is a little beyond the river Han.

"The towns of Han-yang and Wu-chang are both walled; the latter large enough to deserve the name of a city. Both have, within the walls, hills from 100 to 300 feet high, while Hankow is perfectly flat.

"The Braves are of the lowest rabble from the surrounding country. They seek opportunities to create a disturbance, and annoy foreigners. The tradespeople are glad to see the foreigners amongst them, and conduct themselves respectably, but with inordinate inquisitiveness, as might be expected amongst those who have seldom seen any foreigners, and never one of the fair sex."

The availableness of Hankow as a commercial entrepôt becomes increasingly evident. It lies 145 hours steam from Shanghai, while for the descent some sixty hours suffice. Its occupation is seasonable and important, and is calculated to give a new direction to much of that commercial enterprise which has hitherto been endeavouring to find an outlet, by the Mongolian steppes, to Ourga and Kiachta.

The Yang-tze-kiang, the River, as it is termed by the Chinese, or the Great River, as in the last treaty, is the great artery of China. "Its size and mercantile importance will best be realized from the fact that it is twice the length and breadth of the Ganges, and is the second largest river in the world. The Ganges, with all its windings, is only 1500 miles from its source to its mouth: the Yang-tze is not under 3000 miles, and is navigable to a point 1100 miles from Shanghai by large steamers: for some hundred miles above that there is deep water, to which

* "North-China Herald," June 1, 1861.

* "North-China Herald," May 1, 1861.

the removal of an obstacle, much less than that in the Godavery, would allow steamers to penetrate. Unlike the Ganges, the whole volume of water does not lose itself in tidal creeks, but pours out into the Pacific in one vast stream sixty miles wide. By a ship which has once made the trip, no pilots are required. Rising in the snows of the Kuen Lun mountains, it enters China Proper, not 300 miles from Suddya in our province of Assam. Up to this point it is believed to be navigable by boats, for vast rafts of timber, laden with hill produce, pass down. It is to be regretted that Captain Blakiston's expedition left the river at a point 1200 miles from Shanghai, to proceed overland to Ching-too, the capital of Szechuen, the most westerly province, and thence to Lassa. Our only chance now of proving whether China cannot be most easily entered from India by the Berhampooter to Suddya, and thence to the Yang-tze, rests with Captain Smyth; and we trust he will not leave the matter undetermined. Down these 1100 miles, from I-chang to Shanghai, the river rolls through provinces of virgin fertility, whence proceed the teas and silks which find their way to Canton and Shanghai, and which, on the other hand, our cottons and woollens slowly reach, both imports and exports being subjected in transit to the 'squeezing' of the mandarins. Till the anarchy caused by the invasion of the rebels, and the folly of the imperialists, ensued, the plain of the Yang-tze was the garden of China. From it there runs north, to Tien-tsin, the Grand Canal, up which used to float the whole supplies of Northern China. At a point higher up, the great trunk road from Peking to Canton crosses the river. Where the Yang-tze flows past the Poyang Lake, it receives several navigable streams, which run through the black-tea districts to the west; while those from the eastward open up the green-tea districts. The Shanghai merchants who accompanied Admiral Hope's expedition, describe the Poyang lake, and Kiu-kiang, the chief town, as the centre of a most extensive network of river and canal communication. What Kiu-kiang is at this point, Hankow is still more, 200 miles farther up. It stands on high banks at the junction of the Han and Yang-tze rivers, a little below the Tungting Lake. There the expedition found that the treaty had been published, and the merchants were eager to trade. There, at Kiu-kiang, and at Chin-kiang, between Shanghai and Nankin, we have established Consuls, and trade is already brisk. At Hankow, our *yamun* stands at the eastern end, with large river frontage. Vessels, we are told, of the

largest draught can lie alongside in eight fathoms of water. The description of the reach, stretching for six miles in length, and about a mile and a half across, shows that it far surpasses Calcutta Garden Reach.

"In all our past commerce with China, we have been confined to the produce of three sea-coast provinces, inhabited by sixty millions of people, or only a sixth of the whole population, on the most moderate calculation. Yet, under all our difficulties, we have created a trade of 60,000,000 sterling in less than twenty years. In 1857, the trade of Shanghai alone was about 27,000,000. To what will it not grow in other twenty, when it becomes to the Yang-tze what Calcutta is to the Ganges? It will be the wealthiest city in Asia, the emporium of a river traffic unprecedented. Already its merchants are bringing out their river steamers."*

An able analysis of our trade with China was delivered by Colonel Sykes at the recent meeting of the British Association, Manchester, from which we introduce one passage—

"In 1814, the total amount of imports and exports on British account was about 5,750,000*l.* In 1826, the value exceeded 7,000,000*l.*; and, for the last five years of the East-India Company's monopoly, the average value of the Company's, and the private trade in which they permitted their servants to engage, approached 10,000,000*l.* Since the Act of 1853, which deprived the Company of their monopoly, a rush of competing interests has increased the trade fully fourfold. In 1856, the value, independent of the opium trade with India, amounted to 17,526,198*l.* The exports exceeded the imports by nearly 4,000,000*l.*, which must have been paid to China in silver; but as the balance of trade between India and China has always been in favour of India, the silver from Europe found its way to India, through China, in payment for opium; and this fact assists to account for the silver which pours into India annually, and does not leave the country again."

Colonel Sykes, in the above *resumé*, adverts to the fact, that the balance of 4,000,000*l.* which was against us, had been met by the sale of opium.

If that unhappy article of opium had not interfered, we are persuaded that the cottons and woollen goods of England, if honest and well selected for the Chinese market, would have sufficed to turn the balance in our

* "Overland Friend of India," July 4, 1861.

favour. But the opium injured legitimate commerce, not only by distracting the minds of the people, but by impoverishing the customer, undermining his health, and in every way unfitting him for healthful and economical pursuits. Had the opium been unknown, the issue of the trade would have been altogether different. Instead of India being paid for opium, England would have been remunerated for her fabrics; we should have avoided expensive wars; and our position before God, and China, and the world, would have been far otherwise than it is at present. But we have hope for the future. It would seem as though the article of opium was about to be eliminated from our trade with China. Indian opium does not meet with the same demand that it used to do on the coast of China, and has fearfully gone down in value.

The Bengal opium has fallen in price "from 240*l.* a chest, at which it sold two months ago, to 140*l.*, which it hardly realizes now. The visit of the members of the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce to Hankow, the great commercial mart of the Yang-tze-kiang, revealed the fact, only before suspected, that indigenous opium is largely cultivated, that it sells below the price which excise opium commands in India, and at just one-half the rate fetched by the Malwa drug. In the face of this fact it is most unlikely that the Indian Government will add the increased export duty of 10*l.* a chest to the Malwa opium as they announced months ago, or that the large quantity of both Malwa and Bengal opium which is this year expected will make up for the decrease in price. Instead of opium realizing this year 6,107,561*l.* as expected by Mr. Laing on the supposition that it would bring, as it did last year, 175*l.* a chest, it is doubtful if it will yield five millions."

The diminished sale for it in China may be accounted for in a variety of ways—the desolation and impoverishment caused by the civil war, the determinate opposition of the Taepings to the use of opium, confirmed as that fact is by the fresh testimony of Missionaries on the spot, and the growth of opium by the Chinese themselves. We entertain hopes, therefore, that the Anglo-Indian authorities will abandon its cultivation, more especially as a new demand on the industry of India has arisen which it will require all their resources and energies to meet, namely, to take up the position which has been hitherto occupied by the cotton states of America, to raise cotton for the English market, and yield that by free labour which has hitherto been forced by slave labour. Our commercial position, as a nation, has been hitherto

anomalous and painful. We have, by raising a revenue from the growth and sale of opium, fed the opium mania on the coast of China; we have, by the admission of slave-grown sugar into our ports, without any differential duty, encouraged the planters of Cuba to prosecute the slave-trade, and import fresh cargoes of Bozals; and we have, by our exclusive reliance on slave-grown cotton for the supply of our factories, upheld the domestic institution, and encouraged Virginia to breed, and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, &c., to buy and work the slave. Let us trust that the elevation of India into an important field for the growth of cotton, will disembarass us of these *mésalliances* in the east and west.

But, looking above Hankow, on the upper waters of the Yang-tze-kiang, we are reminded of the overland party referred to in a previous paragraph, which, after parting from Sir James Hope's expedition at the entrance of the Tung-ting Lake, had gone up the stream with a view of reaching Tching-too, the capital of Szechuen, the most westerly province of China, and proceeding thence to Lhasa. Major Sarel, one of the party, has communicated to the North-China branch of the Royal Asiatic Society the following description of the great river from Hankow to Kwei-Chau-fu, 1300 English miles from Shanghai—

"From Hankow to Yoh-chau, at the entrance to the Tung-ting Lake, we were taken in tow by Admiral Sir James Hope; and as that part of the river was surveyed by the naval officers, Capt. Blakiston did not commence his chart until we left Yoh-chau.

"Nothing remarkable was met with between Hankow and Yoh-chau: this town is situated at the entrance to the Tung-ting Lake. I consider it well located for a trading port, as more merchandize apparently comes into the Yang-tze by the lake than by the upper part of the Great River. There is water conveyance from it through the lake by a canal, which joins the river about four or five miles above King-chau: this is a shorter route than by the river, but we travelled by the river in order to make a chart of it, so that I can give no information of the country through which the canal passes. The boatmen said there was not sufficient water in it for steamers. After leaving Yoh-chau, the river becomes very tortuous. (I ought to mention that at Yoh-chau we observed a great number of sheep grazing: this is the only place we have seen them on the river, and very few cattle have been seen.) The country on both banks is flat; and immense sand spits reach into the river, which are

uncovered with water at this time of year : the land is cultivated everywhere with wheat and beans.

"King-chau is a flourishing town, and a great number of Sze-chuen junks come there, bringing salt, tea, sugar, and tobacco, and taking back cotton, raw and manufactured. Coal is brought by way of the lake and canal from Hu-nan. The town is populous, being inhabited by Tartars and Chinese : the numbers given us were absurd. It is five days by land from Hankow. I give the value of different articles as follows (1 Mexican dollar = 1000 cash)—tea, 140 cash per catty ; charcoal, 1800 cash per picul of 100 catties ; flour, 29 cash per catty ; these were the prices we paid, so that the articles are probably cheaper.

"From King-chau to Itu the country is flat and cultivated as below. At Itu mountains first commence, and continue to I-chang, or Y-lin, as it is called on some old maps. The current is here not so rapid as lower down, and wherever we got soundings we never found less than four fathoms in mid-channel. At I-chang a great number of junks were collected, but they were generally full of Braves, who were being sent to Sze-chuen to put down the robbers that have lately become very troublesome there. There is not much indication of trade. We met a fleet of about 200 junks with Tartar troops on their way to Hankow to oppose the rebels.

"About two miles above I-chang the hills contract to a precipitous gorge, about eighty yards in width : the current becomes here much stronger, and shortly after the rapids commence, and between I-chang and Kweichau Fu we had to ascend seven or eight of them. At this time of the year they would not be practicable for steamers. From the marks on the faces of the cliffs, the water at times rises seventy or eighty feet, but in a place where the rocks are almost vertical, I should think the current would increase so much that no steamer could stem it. Except close to the rapids, there are generally strong eddies which the country boats take advantage of, and might be of service to steamers ; but as these rapids extend almost the whole way from I-chang to Kweichau, such a break (supposing the river to be navigable above) would present a serious obstacle to navigation. In a great number of places, in the gorge between I-chang and Kweichau, coal is worked in galleries driven into the hill sides close to the river : it is worked into bricks with water, and sent in boats down to I-chang, which place they reach in a day.

"About Kweichau the poppy is cultivated,

and opium made : we were asked nearly four dollars a catty for it, but the prefect of the district said that its proper cost was little over two dollars. Raw silk was seen in some shops. Mexican dollars have always been current at 1000 cash : we have no more, or they would probably be current here. We got yesterday seventeen hundred and twenty cash for a tael of silver."

"NOTES.—On the maps of the Jesuits, as given in Du Halde, folio edition, London, 1738, the latitudes and longitudes of cities are laid down from *Pekin*, and also from *Paris*. According to that authority *Pekin* is east of *Paris*,

by Gaubil, 113° 51' 30"

by Koegler, 114 20 00

by others, 114 00 00

"From Greenwich, as given in the 'Chinese Repository,' vol. II. p. 433, *Pekin* is east long. 116° 45'. In both these authorities, the latitude of *Pekin* is the same, viz. 39° 55' N. With these figures, the position of the cities named in Major Sarel's paper may easily be determined.

"Yoh-chau Fu, lat. 29° 24' 00", long. 3° 34' 05" W. from *Pekin* ; King-chau Fu, lat. 30° 26' 40", long. 4° 23' 40" W. from *Pekin* ; I-chang Fu, lat. 30° 49' 00", long. 5° 18' 10" W. from *Pekin* ; Kwei-chau, lat. 30° 57' 36", long. 5° 50' 27" W. from *Pekin* ; Kwei-chau Fu, lat. 30° 09' 36", long. 6° 53' 30" W. from *Pekin*.

"All these cities above Yoh-chau, namely, Kingchau, I-chang, Kwei, and Kweichau, stand on the left bank of the river ; Itu (or Ee-too Hien) stands on the right bank, about equally distant from Kingchau and I-chang."*

Other letters convey similar information that below I-chang Fu, 364 geographical miles above Hankow, and 948 by the river, or, in round numbers, 1100 English miles from Shanghai, the Yang-tze is navigable for steamers of considerable size, but that at the distance of about three miles above that city it suddenly, and altogether changes its character, and "narrowing to less than one-half its former width, rushes with a strong current through a long gorge, with stupendous cliffs rising on either hand. At fifteen miles above I-chang the first actual rapid exists at this season (April 12th), and from thence upwards, as far as we now are, about eighty-three miles above I-chang, its course is through a continuous mountainous country, passing through several more gorges, and obstructed occasionally by

* "North-China Herald," May 25, 1861.

rapids. But there is no want of water, for the river is very deep in these narrows.*

It does not, however, appear that these rapids will necessarily preclude the ascent of steamers at other periods of the year, when the waters rise.

That spirit of enterprise and exploration which marks British action on the side of

* Since the above was in type intelligence has reached this country that the overland expedition through China and Thibet has been unable to carry out its object, and has returned to the coast. The particulars are as follows—"From Kweichau-fu they proceeded to Wan, from whence, being unable to obtain coolies or animals, they continued their course by the river to Chun-king, which they reached on the 28th of April. Here the Tartar General refused to see them; and the French bishop, who had been a resident in the Province of Se-chuen for twenty-five years, warned them that there was a plot on foot to murder them. However, through his assistance, they were enabled to procure a guard; but no assistance whatever was rendered them, and they were compelled to submit to great extortions. It appears, that in this part of the country nothing had been heard of the treaty.

"They now passed several large cities, all more or less closed from fear of the rebels, and arrived at Sui-chow on the 18th of May. Here they found an army of Braves encamped outside the city, nominally for its protection; but such was the insubordination of the soldiers, that they were actually fighting among themselves, and the gates were closed against them. The travellers, too, could not gain admission, but were informed by the prefect, that if they wished to see him they would have to be pulled over the walls in baskets, an honour which they declined. To add to the unpleasantness of their position, the prefect informed them that they could not possibly proceed either by land or by water, as the whole country was in the hands of the rebels.

"Their only chance now was to reach Ping-shan, and to find some outlets from thence; but on arriving at that place on the 25th of May, they could neither obtain coolies, animals, or boatmen; and on requesting permission to remain there until they could receive a reply to a letter they had despatched to the Viceroy at Ching-tu, relating to their difficulties, the people declared that if they did not clear out within a certain time they would fire on them. The next day they returned them the letter to the Viceroy, which they would not forward, and carried their threat into execution, without, however, doing any damage. That night the city was attacked by rebels, and the travellers were fired at. They then retreated to Sui-chow; and finding the obstacles to their journey insuperable in the present disturbed state of the country, they returned to Shanghae, which they reached on the 9th of July.

"The object of the expedition has not, therefore, been accomplished; but there can be no doubt that much valuable information has been acquired, which will turn to good account in the future, and we shall wait with considerable curiosity a longer and fuller account of this important expedition."

China is also, we rejoice to say, beginning very decidedly to manifest itself along our great Indian frontier; and there is an increasing conviction that the time has come when, opening new routes of communication with Western China, Thibet, and Tartary, we should penetrate through the passes of the Himalaya, and extend English influence amongst the nations beyond.

Pegu, in this respect, assumes an attitude of importance. Attention has been directed to the practicability of communication with Western China by ascending the Irrawaddy, and penetrating through the Burmese territory to Bamo. Much difference of opinion prevails on this subject. The Messrs. Spry have applied themselves for a series of years to collecting and studying all attainable information of each route by which inland China Proper can be approached by traders from the west—native, British, or Russian. The lines of road and passes from India, over the Himalaya mountain ranges and across Thibet, from the Hindu Coosh, in the extreme north-west of our territory, to Barmah on its extreme east, including the routes of Nepaul, Sikkim, Bootan, and Assam, were especially studied. These gentlemen are fully convinced of the practicability of the eastern Pegu route. Colonel Phayre has addressed himself to a practical solution of the question, by directing a route survey to be made of the line to Esmok. Meanwhile Christianity is illuminating the mountain tops of Pegu and Barmah. It is spreading from tribe to tribe of Karens. Availing itself of the agency of a willing and devoted people, it seems as though it would outstrip the spirit of commercial enterprise, and be first to reach Yunnan.

Through Nepaul and Sikkim communications may be opened with Thibet. From our frontier at the foot of the southern region of the Himalayas to the Thibetan frontier by Katmandoo is about 236 miles, transit across which, by bullocks and coolies, occupies twenty-four days, exclusive of halts. From the Nepaulese frontier to Lhasa there is a distance of 399 miles, capable of being traversed with merchandize in 30 days. Thus from the point where water-carriage is left in India, namely, Govindgunge, at the foot of the southern region of the Himalayas, to Lhasa, there is a total distance of 635 miles, requiring fifty-four days for the conveyance of goods. This is a short distance when compared with the Russian routes in Central and Northern Asia. Sikkim, lying to the east of Nepaul, presents a shorter route to Lhasa, although throughout there are the same mountain difficulties. Sikkim is "a narrow

strip of territory, which has on its north-east frontier the Chumulhari Peak, rising 24,000 feet above the sea, and on its north-western frontier the more lofty Kinchin, which rises full 28,000 feet above the sea level. The pass from Sikkin into Thibet is by the ravine of the Lachen stream, under the latter peak. From that pass the route to Lhasa is also *via* Shigatzé, which is distant from the pass about ninety-five miles." The treaty with the Sikkin Rajah is thus valuable, as opening an important route of communication with Thibet.

On the practicability of these passes, and the necessity of using them, the following observations, from Mr. J. D. Hooker, of Kew, are of importance—

"India, it is believed, will eventually become the greatest tea-producing country in the world. Central Asia, from Thibet to Siberia inclusive, is the largest tea-consuming area in the world, but it does not produce a leaf of tea. Sixty miles only intervene between Thibet and the British tea-plantations in Sikkin, but all the tea consumed in Thibet comes from China, 1000 miles to the eastward, and over numerous chains of lofty mountains.

"The Russians are as great tea consumers as the Asiatics, and they are rapidly pushing their outposts southward and eastward, towards the Himalaya; but neither does Russia contain in all her vast dominions one acre of tea-producing land.

"I have spent many months among the Thibetan people in North Sikkin and Nepal, and can testify to the eagerness of the natives to procure good tea, and even bad tea, for I could offer them no more acceptable present than a few spoonfuls of leaves from my mouldy stock of Assam congou; this was because the only tea they have is what was the sweepings of the manufactories of China, softened with bullocks' blood, and pressed into moulds, with all sorts of impurities, which composition, as 'brick tea,' is their most dearly-prized article of diet, affording meat and drink, and serving as the current coin of the country. The Thibetans are, further, most eager to procure broadcloths, cutlery, and a great variety of English wares and Bengal produce, for which they barter shawl-wool, salt, borax, musk, flour, gold-dust, amber, turquoises, copper, sheep, and ponies of a breed which is invaluable both in the plains and hills of India.

"With regard to the alleged difficulties of the passes, it is enough to state that every bit of wood used in house-building in Thibet goes across the Himalaya, and that in one day I have counted several hundreds of yaks,

mules, ponies, sheep, goats, dogs, men, women, and children, crossing a pass upwards of 18,300 feet high; every biped and quadruped loaded, according to its powers, with planks of wood, rice, millet, Indian corn, sugar, tobacco, spices, bamboos, rattans, cotton and silk stuffs, and numberless other products of the Himalaya valleys, to be bartered for brick tea, Chinese crockery, and the articles I have enumerated above.

"Again, no circumstances that came under my observation in India so surprised me as the fact that upwards of 1000 continuous miles of British frontier were closed to British trade and enterprise; a frontier, too, that divided countries more diverse as to their physical characters, their natural products, and, consequently, as to their several wants, than any other two on the face of the globe. I have never ceased to urge, when opportunity offered, both in India and England, the importance of opening up this frontier by a route through Sikkin, believing, as I do, that the trade in tea between India and Thibet will eventually do more to benefit the latter country, than, perhaps, any other whatever."*

In the same strain writes the "Friend of India" of May 16, 1861—

"In India, our frontier marches save a few breaks, continuously with that of China, from the Brahmapoetra to the Indus. Down the passes of the Himalayas, at all our settlements, at Darjeeling, Almora, Mussoorie, Simla, and the Indus, the productions which are now carried by toilsome marches thousands of miles over deserts and mountains to Russia, ought to flow; while our hardware and broadcloths ought to take the place of the inferior and expensive articles which are fabricated in Russian factories. At the close of the first Sikh war, which so extended British influence in Thibet, the Government of India asked Sir John Davis to induce the Emperor of China to send deputies to Ladakh for the purpose of conferring with us on the best means of opening the trade. We despatched commissioners to wait their arrival from Pekin, but the second Sikh war broke out, the conference was postponed, and Vans Agnew, one of our representatives, perished at Mooltan. On the conclusion of the war, commissioners were sent from Simla to Ladakh a second time, but the Chinese envoys, wearied with waiting, had returned home. Since that time no attempt to re-open negotiations has been made. But Lord Dalhousie immediately ordered the construction of the Hindostan and Thibet road as a path for the expected

* "London and China Telegraph," Aug. 15, 1861.

traffic. The Sutlej is navigable for steamers to Roopur. Thirty miles from that point, at the foot of the Himalayas, the road begins, and winds past Simla up the Sutlej valley to the borders of Kanawur. Apart from commercial reasons, Kanawur is of immense value to India. It may be said without exaggeration that no part of Asia boasts such an exquisite climate as this province. Unlike the other Himalayan sanitarium, it is beyond the influence of the monsoon rains. For the invalid it is superior to England. It is the only place under our rule where children can be reared as well as they would be in England. The present road should be continued through the province, so as to open it up to Europeans, and should end only at Ladakh. That, as the most central point between Cashmere, India, and China, should be made the great entrepôt of trade for Central Asia. Some sixty miles, if we are not mistaken, would complete the line to the Chinese frontier, and open up Kanawur, at a cost of only 1000 rupees a mile.

"Settlements of Europeans dot the Himalayas, and the number of settlers will annually double when waste lands may be secured on the same terms as in the colonies. The tea-trade grows annually in importance. Russian influence has been mightily increased by the last treaty. Our treaty gives us equal rights, if we choose to exercise them. The navigation of the Indus has been this season opened to a higher point than ever before. Sir Robert Montgomery has directed his attention to the question of fairs. Kurrachee eagerly courts increased trade. The Sikkim treaty will allow the Cashmere merchants resident at Lhasa to send their gold, silver, ponies, musk, borax, wool, turquoise, silk, and mungeet, through the Chola Pass; and, in exchange, to take our broadcloth, bleached goods, tobacco, and pearls. Till this trade is established, Mr. Eden's suggestion of an annual fair at Darjeeling, either in November or April, when the passes are open, should be carried out. We have made a good road from Darjeeling to the Teesta. The Sikkim authorities will complete it to the Chola Pass, and anticipate no difficulty in inducing those of Thibet to repair the line to Phagri, whence there is an excellent road to Lhasa and Jigutishur. But besides this, two duties lie before the Government of India, and both may be discharged at a trifling expense of either money or labour. The Simla road should be at once continued through Kanawur to Ladakh. A commercial and political mission should be sent to Ladakh, or elsewhere on the north-western frontier, to meet either the subordinate authorities there, or

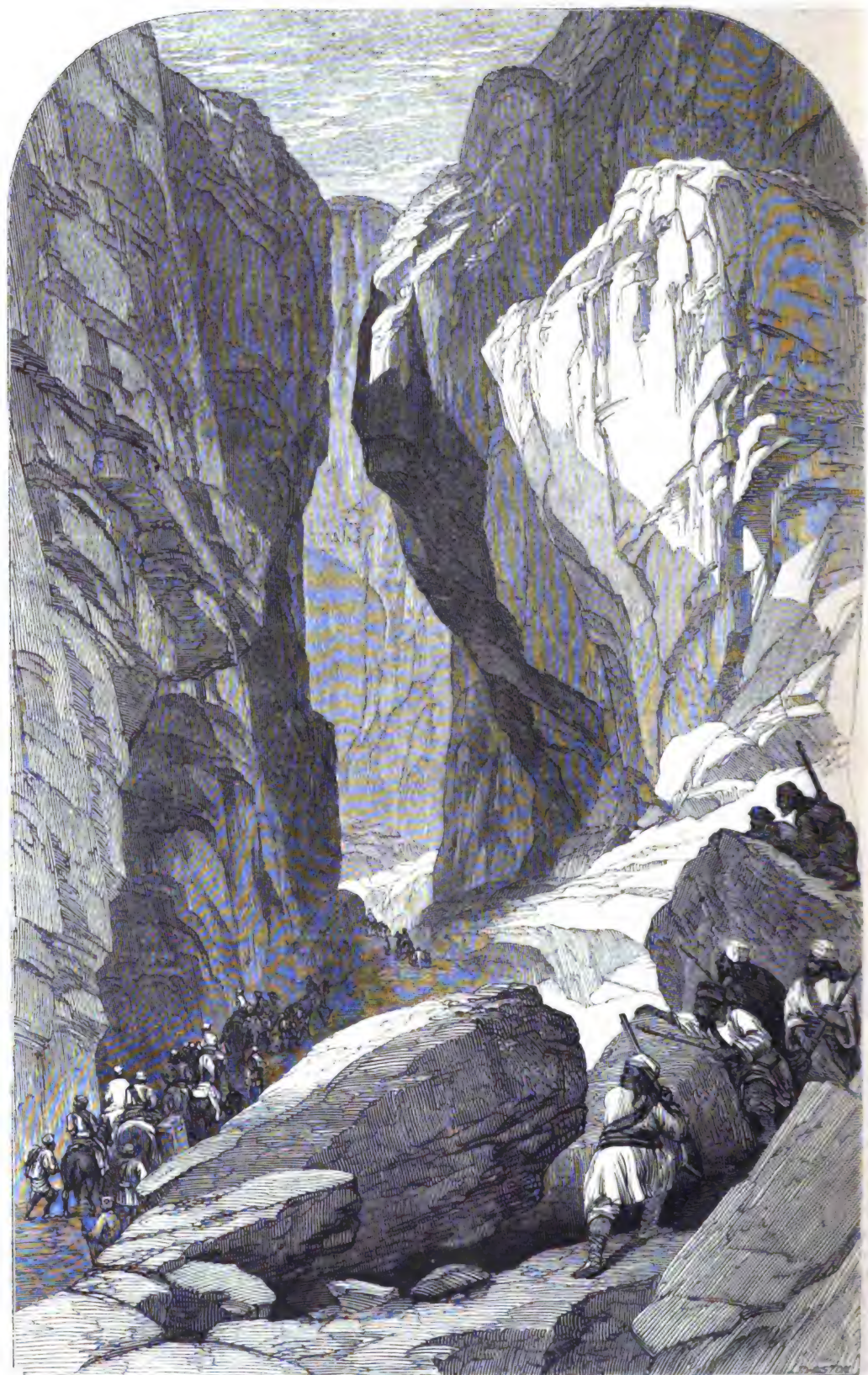
envoys from Pekin. Conjointly they should make the existence of the Tien-tsin treaty known, should ascertain the capabilities of the country, and wants of the people, and should establish marts or fairs as the foundation of a healthy trade which will more than rival that of Nijni-Novgorod and Astracan."

Our readers must not conceive that nothing has been done in anticipation of a forward movement, and a grand invasion of Central Asia by English influences of a benevolent and ameliorative character. Indian officers, under the direction of their Government, have done much towards the opening up of the regions beyond. "Captain C. M. Elliot commenced a magnetic survey, on a scientific basis, in 1845, in the Eastern Archipelago, and the Schlagentweits were appointed to complete it in 1854. They, for the first time, fixed the latitude and longitude of Spiti, Ladak, and Balti, in Western Thibet. They were the first Europeans who crossed both the Karakorum and Kuen-lün ranges, which run parallel with the Himalayas into Turkistan, and established the fact that the Karakorum, and not the Kuen-lün chain, is the great Central Asia watershed, whence the Huang-ho and Yang-tze find their way into China, the Cambodia into Anam, and the Indus, with its tributaries, into the Punjab."

Again, Captain S. G. Montgomerie, of the Bengal Engineers, has accomplished a survey of Cashmere, which "shows him to be deserving of the highest scientific honours. He has erected a trigonometrical mark on a point 21,483 feet above the sea; he has fixed the position of Leh, the capital of Ladak, and of the well-known Gya peak in China. From Leh to Skardo, the capital of Little Thibet, he has made a topographical survey of the whole valley of the Indus, extending, with neighbouring valleys, over an area of 12,000 square miles. The triangulation and topographical work of the country, up to the Chinese frontier, he has completed. The survey may now be easily joined on to that of Russia, and the project of Colonel Everest be carried out, in the measurement of the arc between Cape Comorin and Nova Zembla, a space of 70 degrees. Only five of these degrees, in Chinese territory, remain to be surveyed. The operations of the Cashmere series extend below lat. 36°, while the government of Tobolsk comes down below lat. 42°."*

But further information on these movements must be deferred to our next Number.

* "Overland Friend of India," July 22, 1861.



ENTRANCE TO THE BOLAN PASS FROM DADUR.

COMMERCIAL INTERCOURSE BETWEEN INDIA AND CENTRAL ASIA, VIEWED IN ITS BEARING ON MISSIONARY EFFORT.

THE great work of spreading throughout the earth, co-extensively with the command of Christ, the knowledge of the Gospel, is greatly hindered by the jealousies which exist among nations, their rivalships and feuds. These are barriers more difficult to be surmounted than mountain chains or separating seas. Contiguity, instead of inducing amity, occasions too frequently a mutual repulsion, and nations are distrustful of each other in proportion as they are near. It was necessary for the well-being of the human race that it should be divided into nationalities, and therefore God confused their tongues at Babel, giving to men, instead of one common speech, many and diverse languages. But it never was the divine intention that this distinctiveness should degenerate into mutual jealousy and hatred. Happily, God, in his all-wise arrangements, has provided correctives for this tendency to separation, which at least moderate its action, and make it the interest of men to cultivate international communications. The difference of climate, and corresponding varieties of production, render the inhabitants of various lands dependent on each other for the conveniences and even necessities of life. Our own position in this particular is very remarkable. The exports from foreign countries are among the ordinary and most needful articles of domestic use. The breakfast-table is furnished from many lands. There is to be found, not only the yield of English soil and climate, but of the far West and East. Beside the bread of native growth, appears the sugar of Cuba, the coffee of Ceylon, the tea of China. The various departments of domestic economy present the same admixture; and thus the men of one nation find the productions of other countries so needful to them, that they aspire to the possession of them, and are willing to barter in exchange the growth and yield of their own country. Hence arise interchange and traffic; and so strong is this tendency, that it sets aside the vulgar prejudices which alienate races, and, with remarkable persistence, carries forward its action, in despite of fiscal restrictions, and even amidst the dangers of open war. When embittered hostilities prevailed between France and England, contrabandists concerted and arranged their plans, and thus clandestinely, if in no other way, the natural course of barter was carried on. And if war and the seve-

city of revenue officers have proved unavailable to prevent commercial intercourse, much less physical difficulties. Through mountain passes, open only for a brief period of the year, at other times blocked up by snow, the fearless trader makes his way, and becomes the pioneer of a traffic, which, as the mutual advantage of it is discovered, expands into magnitude and importance. The first connexions are of slight texture, like the filaments of the gossamer, mere tentatives, carried forward amidst much peril; but gradually acquiring strength, until, like the jhoolas, or rope-bridges of Kunawur, they become firm enough to sustain the transit of many passengers.

Regarding commerce as a valuable auxiliary in correcting those mutual antipathies which have so embarrassed the free action of the Gospel, we desire to see its legitimate extension in every practicable quarter, for the circle of Missionary usefulness proportionably expands, and new tribes and countries are brought within our reach. We prefer to take advantage of the improvements of commerce, rather than to follow in the tracks of war. The sword is a scourge which God permits to come on nations for their iniquities. Its progress is marked by human suffering, and we cannot but deplore its occurrence, even although, as the result of the conflict, a pathway be opened into countries previously inaccessible to Gospel truth. To desire war, even for the attainment of such an end as this, is inconsistent with the spirit and tendencies of the very Gospel which we are anxious to promote. We must not do evil that good may come; and thus we cannot but deeply deplore the civil war in America, even although it should end in the emancipation of the slave. Nations, which have in the midst of them the Christianity of the Bible, possess a safe and efficacious mode of solving, without intestine strife, all social difficulties. Let the Bible only be free, and its truths unimpeded in their action. They will not fail, by a secret and persuasive influence, to moderate the opinions of men, and bring them to unanimity on all vital points; and this we are persuaded Christianity would have done in the American Republic, if only the churches of the South had been faithful to their trust, and had refrained from using the Bible as a prop for a debasing system, which that very Bible, in its own way, will eventually extirpate from among the children of men.

The more dissimilar the climate and productions of two countries, the more opportunity is afforded for commercial intercourse. Such are the circumstances of England and India. They are, in this respect, admirably adapted to each other. A glance at the table of exports and imports suffices to demonstrate this. India yields coffee, rice, indigo, sugar, together with that which is so essential to our factory population, and is at present an object of so much solicitude—cotton; while, in return for these and other products, England exports to India the raw materials which she has received, wrought up into manufactured goods, together with metals, treasure, and other items, and thus there are interchanges to the value of upwards of many millions.

Usually, however, between two countries thus dissimilar as to climate and productions, and therefore fitted to supplement each the deficiencies of the other, a great distance intervenes, as in the case between England and India, and the expenses of transit being added to the original value of the articles, render them less accessible to the masses of the population on either side, and interfere with a larger expansion of the traffic. It is not often that two countries are to be found, their frontiers ranging side by side with one another, and yet presenting marked climatorial dissimilarities. Wherever such a phenomenon presents itself, we should expect to find the opportunity energetically improved, and commercial intercourse in full action. Such countries are India, and the regions of Central Asia. North of the Himalaya are mountain ranges, elevated plateaus, and table lands, while to their south extend the fertile plains of the Ganges, and the varied districts of tropical India. This gigantic chain, extending in a direction from south-east to north-west, constitutes throughout the boundary between the races of Hindu and Thibetian origin, and divides "two countries more diverse as to their physical characters, their natural products, and, consequently, as to their several wants, than any other two on the face of the globe." The distinctive character of the two countries, as to climate and productions, may be traced in the gradations of vegetation which are to be found on the southern slopes of the dividing mountains. "Immediately below the snow-line the flora is almost the same with that in the high plains of Tartary, to which may be added rhododendrons and andromedas, and, among the herbaceous herbs, primroses appear. Lower down, vast tracts are covered with prostrate bamboos, and European forms

become universal, though the species are Indian, as gentians, plantagos, campanulas, and gale. There are extensive forests of coniferæ, consisting chiefly of *pinus excelsa*, *deodora*, and *morinda*, with many deciduous forest and fruit-trees of European genera. A transition from this flora to tropical vegetation takes place between the altitudes of 9000 and 5000 feet, because the rains of the monsoons begin to be felt in this region, which unites the plants of both. Here the scarlet and other rhododendrons grow luxuriantly; walnuts, and at least twenty-five species of oak, attain a great size, one of which, the *quercus semi-carpifolia*, has a clean trunk from eighty to one hundred feet high. Geraniums and labiate plants are mixed, in sheltered spots, with the tropical genera of *scitamineæ*, or the ginger tribe. *Bignoniæ* balsams, and *camellias*, grow on the lower part of this region.

"It is remarkable that Indian, European, American, and Chinese forms are united in this zone of transition, though the distinction of the species still obtains: the *trichomanes*, a genus of the honeysuckle tribe in America; the *abelia*, another genus of the same, together with the *camellia* and *treecyrtis*, are peculiarly Chinese. The daisy and wild thyme are European. A few of the trees mentioned descend below the altitude of 5000 feet, but they soon disappear in the hot declivities of the mountain, where the *erythrina monosperma* and *bombax heptaphyllum* are the most common trees, together with the *millingtonææ*, a tribe of large timber-trees, met with everywhere between the Himalaya and 10° N. lat. The *shorea robusta*, *dalbergia*, and *cedrola*, a genus allied to mahogany, are the most common trees in the forests of the lower regions of these mountains."*

At the foot of the range, under the shelter of the high mountains which screen the plains of Hindustan from the Siberian blasts, tropical vegetation at once commences, and the earth, so long as a sufficiency of irrigation be afforded, yields its fruits with a lavish abundance.

No stronger proof can be afforded of the productive powers of the soil of India, than the fact that it yields so abundantly with such little help from man. In many places the earth is little more than scratched, the native plough being one of the simplest pieces of rusticity imaginable. "Yet, with this rude and apparently inefficient instrument, is nearly the whole surface of the

* "Somerville's Physical Geography," chap. 24.

vast plains of India tilled ; and indebted, under a beneficent Creator, to its generous and prolific soil, are luxuriant crops of every kind abundantly reared and reaped by its uneducated inhabitants." Indigo, rice, coffee, sugar, and now tea, cotton, silk, are among the articles we most need, and which India, if fairly dealt with, is capable of yielding with a redundancy sufficient for the supply of her own wants and ours also. The catalogue of its vegetable riches would be too lengthened for us to introduce, nor, indeed, is it necessary we should do so. For ages the richness and variety of its products have excited the attention of the western world, and stirred men to enterprise. Its forests abound in valuable timber, many of the woods grown in the Himalaya and Deccan forests, as well as those in Central and North-western India, possessing great strength and durability. Its fibrous plants are numerous and valuable, and, amongst them, jute, which, twenty-five years back, was scarcely known in England, but is now largely used for cordage, canvas, and similar purposes. Medicinal plants, dyes, seed-oils, and spices are abundant. The bread-corn is of great variety, and in districts where rice is not cultivable, maize is freely grown, millet, and other fine grains. Of fruits there is an astonishing variety. The vine grows wild in the forests ; the plantain, banana, guava, mango, date, areca, palmyra, cocoa-nut, and many others, are all Indian. It is not intended to be implied that this fertility is universal, and the rich productions equally distributed. India has its deserts and arid tracts, its elevated table-lands as well as fertile plains ; nor are we to confound alluvial Bengal with rocky Busahir, nor sandy Tinnevely with exuberant Travancore. Still, with all these diversities as to surface and climate, which must of necessity be found in a vast area, co-extensive with the whole of France, Spain, and Great Britain, India, in productive capabilities, is not to be surpassed by any portion of the earth, and if in the hands of a population energized by pure Christianity, so as to have its latent resources developed and brought into action, is able to minister to the conveniences of Europe, as well as to meet the exigencies of the less-favoured countries to its north.

Nor are the high and temperate countries of Central Asia so barren and destitute as that they have nothing to offer in exchange for the varied and rich productions of India. Bokhara and Khorasan have their raw silk ; Afghanistan its raw fruits, gum arabic, rose leaves, assafœtida, yellow amber,

medicines, sulphur, dyes, spices ; Bokhara its gold ; Tartary its horses, besides the light articles which come in from various quarters, such as Persian silks, and Japan and Damascus blades, ermine and sable furs, silk, and cotton. Of this latter article there is at the present time an increased importation into Russia from Khiva and Bokhara. The quantity just announced as having been brought to the fair at Novgorod is 18,000 cwt., and, although only 2 per cent. of the annual consumption in Russia, "is sufficiently large to indicate that a supply exists in those quarters capable of rapid development, especially as it appears that an additional quantity of 36,000 cwt. is to arrive within the next two or three months. Hitherto the aggregate annual value of the Russian trade with Bokhara and Khiva, in all kinds of goods, has been estimated at only about 240,000*l.*, but cotton alone is now likely to figure for at least 150,000*l.*""*

The animal productions of the Thibetan countries are of especial value, and amongst them may be mentioned the shawl-goat of Ladak.

"The common domestic goat of Ladak is the well-known shawl-goat, which thrives only in the most elevated districts. It is bred in Nubra, Zaskar, and Rukchu ; but the finest wool is brought from Ruthog and Ngári, which formerly belonged to Ladak, and from Chang Thang, or the southern and mountainous districts of Khotan. The fleece of the shawl-kid is soft, curly, and beautifully glossy. It is used as a lining for cloaks by the more wealthy, and is exceedingly warm and comfortable. The shawl-goat is only shorn once a year, and the wool is at once separated from the coarser hair. The hair is manufactured into blanketing for tents, coarse sacking and ropes for home consumption. The wool is exported to Kashmir, and to Núrpúr, Umritsur, Lahore, Loodiana, Ambala, Rampur on the Sutlej, and Nepál. To Rampur and Nepál the wool is exported direct from Ruthog and Ngári, but Lé is the *entrepôt* between the other shawl marts and the wool-producing countries. In Lé the wool is roughly cleaned, by which process it loses two-fifths of its weight. The picker receives the hair as the price of his labour."†

Another species of wild goat is the Thibetan ibex, or skyin.

"Mr. Vigne procured a pair of horns that were four feet three inches in length. In his opinion the skyin is larger than the Euro-

* "Times," Oct. 11, 1861.

† "Cunningham's Ladak," &c., p. 214.

pean ibex, and the horns are longer, more curved, and more tapering. The skyin frequents the most inaccessible rocks, and the animal, when shot, is frequently much mutilated by its headlong plunge down some precipitous cliff. Vigne states, that between one and two hundred of them are killed in Balti during the winter, when they are forced to descend into the valleys. In Ladak they are also snared at night, and in the grey dawn of the morning, when they venture down to the streams to drink. They are killed for the sake of the soft tender fleece, which, in Kashmir, is called *Asali Tus*. This is an exceedingly fine and soft wool, of a light-brown colour, which is exported to Kashmir, where it is used as a lining for shawls, woollen stockings, and gloves. It is also woven into a very fine cloth called *tusi*, of a soft and delicate texture, which is much prized for its warmth. The high prices of the *tus* is caused by the difficulty of procuring the animals, and by the uselessness of the hair. The person who separates the hair from the wool of the domestic shawl-goat is paid by the hair itself, which is manufactured into coarse blanketing for tents, and twisted into ropes. But the hair of the wild goat is short, wiry, and coarse, and the cost of picking is charged to the price of the *tus*, or fine wool. Moorcroft says, that neither the domesticated shawl-goat, nor the *nigogua*, furnishes a wool so full and rich to the feel, nor has so fine a material ever yet graced a British loom.*

Nor is it only the singularity of animal life for which Central Asia is remarkable, but its abundance. The herds and flocks possessed by the nomades of the steppes are prodigious in extent. Ten thousand horses and camels, oxen and sheep, in proportion to this vast herd, are not too many to belong to one proprietor. "It is a splendid sight," observes Atkinson, "watching these enormous herds and flocks spread over the steppe, nor is it uncommon to see a herd of 8000, or 10,000 horses. more than 1000 camels, 20,000 horned cattle, and 50,000 sheep."

Thus in many points, too numerous to be detailed, the countries north and south of the Himalaya are fitted for mutual intercourse. Nor has such intercourse been altogether wanting. The inter-Himalayan races, chiefly Indo-Thibetans, are peculiarly a carrying and trading population. A rapid review of some of the frontier provinces will suffice to exhibit this. And, first, the British province of Kumaon.

Ascending from the plain country below, the traveller surmounts the first range of hills, and, at an elevation of 8700 feet, beholds "a scene which the painter and poet can alone describe, but which can never pass from the mind of him who has once beheld it. A chaotic mass of mountains lies before us, wooded hills, and deep ravines, and dark blue ranges, rising one above the other; and behind all, piled up into the sky, the snowy peaks of the great Himalaya. He who has seen this view, or the still finer ones that are to be obtained from other parts of Central Kumaon, may feel quite satisfied that he has seen the most sublime and astonishing of all earthly spectacles."*

Here, north of the great peaks, yet south of the water-shed line, which "lies generally about thirty miles to the north of the line of greatest elevation," are found the homes of the Bhōtiya, or border tribes.

"The only parts of the Bhōtiya districts which are habitable are the narrow valleys lying between the great snowy ranges which run down to the south from the water-shed of the chain, in which flow the principal sources of the Ganges and the Kālī; and by far the greater portion of the tract consists of mountains, which are either covered with perpetual snow, or the elevation of which is too great to admit of any human habitation. The Bhōtiya villages are all situated to the north of the great peaks, which are found, for the most part, near the southern limit of the belt of perpetual snow. They have an elevation above the sea varying from 7000 to more than 12,000 feet; and as their inhabitants depend almost entirely for subsistence on their trade with Thibet, it is not far from the truth to say, that those villages are generally the most prosperous which are situated the nearest to the passes and to the marts of Hundes, and therefore at the greatest heights and in the most inhospitable climates.

"It has been already mentioned that the water-shed line lies generally about thirty miles to the north of the line of greatest elevation. The great peaks of the chain, many of which in Kumaon exceed 23,000 feet in height, and one of which, Nanda Devi, approaches 26,000 feet, are almost always situated near the southern limit of the belt of perpetual snow, on great transverse ranges that run down from the water-shed of the chain. Owing to this structure, the climate and vegetation, the two most important influences with regard to the inhabitants of the country, are entirely different in the Bhō-

* "Cunningham's Ladak," &c., p. 200.

* "Calcutta Review," Sept. 1852.

tiya districts from those which we find at similar elevations further south. On the southern side of the great peaks, the country is everywhere within the influence of the summer and winter rains of India. We have a damp climate, and a luxuriant vegetation, up to 12,000 feet above the sea; and the line of perpetual snow descends to a height of almost 15,500 feet. When we pass to the north of the great peaks, the contrast is most striking. Here we find a dry climate, almost beyond the influence of the periodical rains; the magnificent vegetation has ceased; as we proceed northward, the air and the soil become constantly drier and more arid; the fall of snow, as well as that of rain, gradually diminishes; and, as we approach the water-shed of the chain, and the Thibetan plateau, which in this part of the Himalaya are the northern limits of the belt of perpetual snow, the snow-line, under the hostile influence of the climate, recedes to an elevation of between 18,000 and 19,000 feet above the sea. . . .

"The great elevation, and the rigorous climate of the Bhótiya valleys, necessarily exercise a most important influence on their inhabitants. The villages are only occupied for rather more than half the year, from April to November; the whole population migrating regularly every winter to a more genial climate to the south of the great peaks of the chain. One poor and uncertain crop, consisting of barley and buck-wheat, and, in smaller quantity, of wheat and the *chúa* amaranth, is obtained each year at the Bhótiya villages. The sowing takes place in May, and the crops are cut in September and October.

"But the Bhótiyas derive from their fields a very small portion of their means of subsistence. 'Trade forms the primary object of importance to the Bhótiyas, and is the principal, if not sole consideration which retains them in the unfertile villages of Bhót, now that waste lands of a far superior quality in the northern pergunnas everywhere present themselves for occupation. The adjoining province of Thibet holds out peculiar attractions to commerce. Subjected by the rigor of its climate to perpetual sterility, it depends on the surrounding countries for almost every commodity both of necessity and of luxury: to remedy these deficiencies, it has, at the same time, been furnished by Nature with a variety of valuable products; its rivers and deserts abound with gold; in its lakes are produced inexhaustible supplies of salt and borax; while to its pastures it is indebted for wool of an unrivalled quality.'

"The Bhótiyas possess a complete monopoly of the carrying trade with Thibet, and this they jealously guard by every means in their power. . . .

"The agricultural productions of Hundes (Thibet) being utterly insufficient for the support of its inhabitants, the country depends for subsistence almost entirely on its trade with the countries lying to the south of the Himalaya. Grain, being the greatest necessary to the Huniyas, forms the chief article of export from Kumaon and Gurhwal. Next in importance are coarse cotton cloths, broad-cloth, sugar, hardware, tobacco, spices, and a variety of miscellaneous commodities. The chief imports are borax, salt, wool, *pasham* or shawl-wool, woollen-cloths, and shawls, mostly of inferior quality, silks, ponies, cow-tails, &c. . . .

"Sheep and goats serve as the means of transport for nearly the whole of the grain, salt, and borax, and generally of all articles that are not very bulky. They are usually purchased by the Bhótiyas from the people of the country immediately to the south of the great peaks, where the fine pastures render the breeding of these animals an easy and a profitable occupation. A sheep can carry from fifteen to twenty pounds, and a goat twenty to five-and-twenty pounds; but the ordinary loads are considerably less. All articles, which can be so conveyed, are placed in small bags made of coarse woollen cloth, and covered externally with leather. Two of these, united by a band, are placed across the back of the animal, one hanging down on each side. These bags are called *harbach* in Kumaon, and *phancha* in Gurhwal. Bulky articles are carried chiefly on *jubus*, the cross-breed between the yak of Thibet and the common Indian cow. Being better able to bear the changes of climate to which the trade exposes them, they are preferred to the pure breed of the yak. The jubu is the produce of the male yak with the Indian cow. The other cross-breed between the two species is called *garju*: it is considered very inferior to the jubu.

"It is not until towards the end of June that the snow melts sufficiently to enable the Bhótiyas to cross the passes with their sheep and cattle. During this and the preceding month the grain and other articles of trade are conveyed from the lower hills to the Bhótiya villages. A large quantity of grain is also delivered there, in these and the succeeding months, by the inhabitants of the pergunnahs lying to the south of the Bhótiya valleys, the whole being carried on sheep and goats, precisely in the same manner that is followed among the Bhótiyas. They barter

their grain for salt at the villages, being prevented by the Bhótiya monopoly from making their own bargains in Hundes.

"In June the Bhótiyas begin to transport the grain and other commodities to Hundes, and till October the flocks constantly ply backwards and forwards with the productions of the two countries, the principal Bhótiyas generally remaining themselves in Hundes to superintend operations. The women and children are, for the most part, left at the villages, to perform the necessary duties of looking after the crops and getting in the harvest."^{*}

Kunawur is another province of British India which abuts upon Chinese Tartary, the population of which, like the Bhótiyas, is occupied in carrying and trading. This secluded region, rugged and mountainous in an extreme degree, is "terminated on the north and north-west by mountains covered with perpetual snow, from 18,000 to 20,000 feet above the level of the sea, which separate it from Ladak, a large extent of country running along the banks of the Indus from the vicinity of Garoo to the limits of Kashmir. A similar range of the Himalaya, almost equal in height, bounds it to the south; on the east it is divided from the elevated plains of Chinese Tartary by a lofty ridge, through which are several high passes; and on the west lies Dusow, one of the divisions of Bussahir."[†]

The Kunawurrees are all traders and their chief riches consist in large flocks of sheep and goats, that furnish them with wool, which, together with raisins, they exchange for grain. In November many of them come to Rampore with wool, and a few go to the plains to purchase merchandize for the markets of Garoo and Leh, and they likewise visit the fair at Hurdwar. Most of them go to Leh or Garoo in the summer months; in which countries they travel much at their ease, compared to what they do in Kunawur. None of these carry loads, for the roads are so good that all their merchandize goes upon horses, mules, asses, yaks, goats, and sheep: many ride upon horseback. The people who stay at home look after the vineyards and attend to their flocks, which, for four or five months, are sent to pasturage high up in the mountains."[‡]

Kunawur is inhabited only on the banks of the Sutlej and other large streams; and the villages, which are from 7000 to 12,000 feet above the sea, are thinly scattered." With the exception of the upper parts, it is

well wooded, the most common trees being pines, oaks, and birches. "The face of the country presents deep-worn valleys, confining rapid streams, divided by precipitous mountains of amazing height, most usually veiled in everlasting snow."

Some of the valleys are of exceeding beauty. Such is the Buspa valley, through which runs the river of the same name. "Its head is limited by snowy mountains of surprising height, the upward part, for about twenty-five miles, being bounded by barren and unwooded ranges, mostly covered with perpetual snow. The inhabited country then begins, and extends for twenty miles to the Sutlej." The dell is at first narrow, from a quarter to half a mile, the level space being often thickly clad with woods, but soon expands into a breadth of six miles. It is neatly laid out in fields and gardens of peas, beans, and turnips, watered by numerous canals, and studded with rural cottages and villages. There are many shady avenues of apricots and richly-spreading walnuts, while the river glides along in an expanded bed of sand and pebbles, which it divides into islands, overgrown with berberies and willows. The verdant cultivation and numberless groves and bowers of fruit-trees are strongly contrasted with the rugged rocks on either hand, which present naked and impracticable crags, frowning in the most terrific forms, or now and then scantily wooded with a few stunted pines."

Passing through Spiti, the north-eastern angle of the Punjab, we enter the dominions of the Maharajah of Kashmir, and we find the people of Ladak, the frontier province on the north-east, engaged in similar occupations. The people of Kunawur are generally "called Kanets, a name which is said to designate a people of mixed race, while those of Ladak are pure Bhotia, of strongly-marked Tartarian or Mongolian countenance, and short in stature, when compared with the tall Kashmiri, or their Hindu and Chinese neighbours.

"The chief source of wealth in Ladak is the carrying-trade, or transport of foreign produce from one country to another through its own territories. This trade it owes entirely to its central situation between Kashmir and India on the south, and the Chinese provinces of Yarkand, Kotan, and Kashgar on the north. It is the *entrepôt* between Kashmir, where the shawls are manufactured, and the Chinese provinces of Ruthog and Chang-Thang, where the shawl-wool is produced. It supplies north-western India with tea, shawls, wool, and borax, and the Mussulman provinces of China with opium, saffron, broadcloths, and shawls. These are the staples of the trade through Ladak; but the number of

^{*} "Calcutta Review," Sept. 1852.

[†] "Gerard's Koonawur," pp. 1, 2.

[‡] *Ibid.*, pp. 79, 80.

smaller articles that are interchanged is very great. Many of them are quack medicines of very doubtful properties; but the most curious items are undoubtedly the export of sugar to Yarkand, and its after import in the shape of sugar-candy. The gur, or coarse sugar of Kashmir, is carried a long journey of two months and a half to Yarkand, where it is refined and crystallized; and the sugar-candy is again carried over the same long journey back to Ladak and Kashmir. The Yarkandi sugar-candy is certainly very white, but it is surpassed in colourless transparency by that of Bikanir."

It will not be necessary to go further into these details. The commercial activity of these frontier provinces, under very disadvantageous circumstances, evidences the strong tendencies to mutual intercourse which exist between countries so unlike in climate and forms of productions, and yet so contiguous as India and Thibet.

Meanwhile the progress of events is tending to the removal of obstructions, and is preparing for the merchants shorter and safer roads. Great changes have recently taken place in the Dardu districts, Gilgit, Yasseen, and Hanzanagar, which lie to the northward of Kashmir, beyond the Indus river. Through these districts lie the shortest roads from the Punjab and Kashmir to Yarkand. Yet for years past they have been so infested by the robber clans of Nagar and Hoonza, as to be almost closed to any thing in the shape of a merchant. These districts of Gilgit and Yasseen, were conquered and annexed by the ruler of Kashmir in the summer of 1860. The effects of this are in some respects likely to be very salutary. The robber clans of Hoonza and Nagar will be kept in check by the Dogra force at Gilgit, and a wholesome restraint be exercised on all the petty tribes lying between Gilgit and the Cabul territories. It is hoped, therefore, that the traffic from Iskardo, the capital of Bultistan, to Yarkand, will be resumed, and in consequence be greatly increased. From Hoonza to Yarkand there are three roads, one that takes twelve, another eight, and another, it is said, not more than four days.

Our own acquaintance with these countries is much enlarged by the progress of the Kashmir series of the great trigonometrical survey of India. The position of Leh, the capital of Ladak, has been fixed, as well as that of several points in China. Topographical sketches have been made of the whole of the valley of the Indus from Iskardo to Leh, besides other adjacent valleys, the entire tract, about 12,000 square miles, embracing

all sorts of ground, from an altitude of 27,000 feet, down, in a few cases, to 8000 feet above the sea. It includes 300 square miles of glaciers, for the most part of the larger kind. "There is hardly any portion of the upper valley of the Indus without glaciers, but they are largest and abound most near the great Himalaya and Karokorum ridges."*

These scientific and exploratory expeditions, providing, as they do, increased facilities for international communications, are alike interesting and important. Along the entire range of the north frontier of our Indian possessions they are in progress. To the information introduced into our last Number we now add such further intelligence as may have reached us.

In the direction of Pegu, prompt measures have been taken to ascertain the feasibility of opening communications through Burmah with Yunnan, and other countries to the north. The "Calcutta Englishman" reports—

"Dr. C. Williams took his departure from Rangoon in the steamer of the 2nd of August, *en route* to Amerpoora, where he goes on a political mission to the Burmese court. There he will be in communication with Colonel Phayre, the Commissioner of Pegu, and will negotiate with the king for permission to undertake the expedition through Northern Burmah and the Himalaya passes into the Chinese province of Yunnan.

"Dr. Williams is an assistant-surgeon in Her Majesty's 68th Regiment, stationed at Rangoon, and, since his residence in Pegu, has devoted much of his time to the study of the Burmese language, in which he is a proficient, being also possessed of attainments which qualify him to accomplish efficiently the enterprise upon which he is bent, should the permission of the Burmese authorities be fortunately obtained.

"One great geographical problem which will be solved in carrying out the proposed expedition will be the decision of a point now involved in total uncertainty and obscurity, namely, into what stream the great Sampoo River, which flows from east to west in Central Asia, debouches its waters. In most of our maps it is arbitrarily marked as taking a southerly turn, and pouring its flood into the great volume of the Burham-pooter, and so reaching the ocean; whereas some assert that it takes no such bend, but still continuing its eastern course, unites with the Irrawaddy, and so gains the sea.

"A communication, not very lucid and

* "Captain Montgomerie's Memorandum."

intelligible, has been received here from a French Missionary vicar, now, and for many years past, residing in Thibet, who asserts that the Sampoo forms no connexion whatever with the Burhampooter, but continues its easterly course to join the Irrawaddy, and so reaches the ocean; and this interesting question will be one of the first cleared up by Dr. Williams's expedition. The difficulties of the new route from Burnah into the Chinese province of Yunnan cannot be great, as there is a considerable and regular trade carried on through it between the two countries; and it is with the view to carry a line of British commerce over the same ground into Southern China that the present political mission to the Court of Ava has been undertaken, preliminary, it is to be hoped, to the British officer continuing his journey into the Celestial Empire, with the sanction of that Court.

"The present King of Burmah is not without some sentiments of enlightened policy, and, it is believed, would freely consent to the passage of British merchandise through his dominions, were it not for his natural dread of political and military difficulties hereafter arising, which might make him regret, as so many Asiatic potentates have done, the establishment of too free communications with us, who are believed by our neighbours in the East to carry—first, bales, packages, and casks, to be almost invariably followed by swords and other aggressive weapons."*

In the direction of the Spiti valley and Ladak a new exploratory expedition has been ordered by Lord Canning, and the following officers have been selected—

"Captain Smyth, Bengal army, to command; Mr. Meddlcot, geological department; Dr. Boustead, Bombay army, for the botanical and natural-history department and medical charge; Lieut. Jackson, engineers, draughtsman. A Mussoorie correspondent of the 'Times of India' says that the expedition will start from Simla about the close of the ensuing cold season. 'The course chalked out is up the valley of the Sutlej, thence turning off at the junction of the Spiti river, following its course, crossing by the Parang Pass into the valley of the river of that name, thence by the Lanak Pass to Haule in the valley of the Indus. Some are of opinion that beyond the snowy range north of the Spiti valley the expedition will have to contend with many and formidable difficulties. It is well known that the Chinese

Tartars do not like the idea of Europeans visiting their districts. Mr. Wilson, the famous Himalaya sportsman, has frequently told me that it is very unsafe to venture beyond the boundary of Spiti or Ladak. In 1853 I visited the Spiti valley, and was encamped at Damku, the highest village north of the river. During the few days I stopped here I was negotiating with the Lafa (the head man in the village) for permission to pursue the route by the Taree Pass to Wangpo in Tartary; and with the view of inducing him to a compliance, which, notwithstanding all he had said, I still thought he might be empowered to grant, I sent a present, first of some coarse shawls. In return I received a couple of sheep: afterwards, at different times, grapes, sugar, and tobacco were sent, and were politely acknowledged by a present of ghee and flour. But he assured me that his order against the intrusion of foreigners could not be infringed, and that no lucrative inducement, however great, would have any effect upon his resolution. The early enterprising travellers—Gerard, Smyth, and Moorcroft—were never able to penetrate into Chinese Tartary, although the attempt was often made. I hear that Captain Basevi, of the Great Trigonometrical Survey, and Mr. Meddlcot, of the Geological Survey, are to accompany the projected expedition to Tartary. The British Government is evidently looking forward to the opening out before long of the interior of China to Europeans. When this event shall have taken place, there will indeed be a fine new field for research spread out before us. It was also believed that the Indian Government had now under consideration the 'project of forming an exploring party to assemble in Assam, ascend that portion of the Himalaya range which bounds that province on the north and east, and, if possible, find a passage through the passes into the Province of Yunnan, in the south-west of the Chinese empire.'"

In the "Homeward Mail" of Sept. 28th we find the following notice of another exploring expedition—"We learn from the Hills that a party, consisting of Lord W. Hay, Colonel Torrens, and Captain Clarke, left Simla on the 17th of July for Thibet and Kashmir. They intend to leave the beaten track of the Kote Kangra, to cross the watershed through the Dunkan Pass, and over the river Singhey Chu into Thibet, which they must have reached by this time. Their road will then lie along the right bank of the

* "London and China Telegraph," Sept. 28, 1861.

* "Homeward Mail," Sept. 9, 1861.

Singhey Chu direct to Leh, the grand thoroughfare of commerce between Thibet, China, Turkistan, and Russia, on one hand, and Kashmir, Punjab, and the plains of Hindustan, on the other. From Leh, after a few marches further on the Thibet side, they recross the water-shed into Kashmir, and so home."

The necessity of opening up new channels for commercial enterprise is apparent. There has been, in the year 1860—61, as compared with 1859—60, a falling off in the external commerce of Bengal, the figures standing thus—

1859—60 : Total Rs. . . . 32,554,956

1860—61 : „ . . . 30,842,754

The decrease has been entirely in imports, on which there has been a falling off to the amount of 2,997,418*l*. Cotton and woollen goods have largely shared in the depreciation, to the amount of 1,350,000*l*. and upwards. It is said that the amount of goods remaining in the bonded warehouse is Rs. 76,90,130.

Exports, however, have increased to the amount of upwards of a million. In sugar, jute, rice, linseed, the increase has been considerable. These articles, in seven years, have more than doubled their export. "The rise in export of gunny bags and cloth, and of tea, is enormous. The former is a new trade, employing numerous English engineers, mills, and machinery, in the vicinity of Calcutta, and yielding large profits. The cotton of Bombay, the rice of Pegu, the grain of North America, the wool of Australia, and the sugar of the Mauritius, are packed in Bengal gunny-bags. For a quarter of a century indigo has remained almost stationary or has even slightly declined. As the export of Indian tea has risen, the import of China tea has decreased, showing the extent to which the former is now consumed in the country. In 1853-54 China tea was imported to the value of 27,193*l*.; in 1860-61 to the value of only 8122*l*. The export of cotton wool was most trifling, and was almost entirely to China and Singapore. It was of the value of 67,391*l*. in 1859-60, and a few pounds less last year.

"The main part of the trade of Bengal was with the following countries—

	Imports.	Exports.
"Great Britain, per cent. .	72.4	32.3
France „ .	5.4	4.3
China „ .	3.4	20.9
North America „ .	0.8	6.9
Australia „ .	4	1.2
Singapore „ .	2.7	4.5
Mauritius „ .	1	3.2.*
The preponderance of imports over exports		

* "Friend of India."

in the direct trade with Great Britain is worthy of observation. It shows that new channels for the sale of British imports need to be opened, and in such circumstances the opportunities of trade with Thibet are not to be despised.

"The *Indian Empire* quotes the returns which Mr. B. Hodgson, when our Resident at Khatmandu, obtained from the Nepalese Government, of the trade between Thibet and British India, through Nepal. The imports were Rs. 356,000 of thirteen annas each in value, and the exports from Thibet into Nepal were Rs. 727,400, or say the value of the whole trade thirty years ago was 100,000*l*. The goods from India were chiefly broad-cloth, pearls, and corals, and the Thibetan goods, gold and rock-salt. 'The chief dyeing and cloth-manufacturing towns in Eastern Thibet are Chitishur and Chitung, but they are so completely incapable of meeting the ordinary demand, that an injunction is annually issued by the Lhasa Government prohibiting the sale of cloth to the general public until the whole of the Lamas of the Gelupa monasteries at Gendeng, Dephong, and Sera, are supplied with the yearly clothing which they receive from the Government. Now at Gendeng there are 3300 Lamas, at Dephong 7700, and at Sera 5500; so that these manufacturing towns are apparently unable to keep up a stock in hand of even 16,500 pieces of cloth; and the laity and Lamas of the less favoured monasteries are kept without cloth, whilst the requisite amount is being worked up.'"

We have no doubt that the Thibetan market, once opened, will afford a much larger opportunity for the sale of British manufactured goods than is generally imagined. Only let the English goods be honest English goods, and no chicanery about them. There is too much of this at home; but abroad it is absolutely ruinous, and the innocent suffer with the guilty. Atkinson, from whose able work we have, in our last Numbers, so largely quoted, and whose death at Walmer during the past August we grieve to record, sounds a solemn admonition on this subject—

"In 1849 a considerable quantity of English calicoes reached Yarkand, Kokhan, and Tashkend. They were printed in the two latter towns, in patterns to suit the taste of the people. From their superior quality and price the Tartar merchants were induced to purchase the goods and carry them in their trading expeditions among the nomades of Central Asia. They also found a ready sale, and the people were delighted with their new garments. Several of these kalats were shown to me, and their superior quality com-

mented on by their owners. All were anxious to possess them : thus the articles had at once established a character and a trade.

"The following year, when the merchants visited Kokhan and Tashkend, they obtained similar goods, and these were still more appreciated by the Kirghis. In 1851 the Tartar traders bought their goods as usual, which, in appearance, resembled those of the former years. These were taken by the caravans into distant regions, and they also met with a ready sale; but, alas! the purchaser soon discovered that he had been victimized; the material proved to be complete trash, and the discovery caused a great reaction. It was a fact well known in Siberia, that agents for English houses were in Kokhan, and, from all I could learn, they were natives of India. This was not only a disreputable transaction, but a most foolish experiment, which has done considerable injury to trade among these tribes."

On the importance of fairs the same writer adds the following remarks—

"From personal observation I am induced to believe that the best mode of opening a trade into Central Asia will be by establishing fairs. These should be at one or more points near to the passes in the Himalaya, or, perhaps, one great fair as far up the Indus as possible, would be best. This I deem preferable to the English plan of consigning goods to agents either in Yarkand, Kokhan, or Tashkend. Once these fairs are established the Tartar and other merchants will attend, and purchase the necessary articles for the people among whom they vend their wares, and this would soon be felt in Nijne Novgorod, as the distance from the Indus is but little more than half of that from Semipalatinsk to Novgorod.

"If the agents for English houses were located in any of those towns it would create jealousy: the Tartar merchant would fear that an attempt might be made to push the trade into Central Asia, and deprive him of his legitimate profit. Besides, these men are thoroughly acquainted with the tribes, and know all their wants: they are industrious and energetic in their calling, travelling over thousands of miles with their caravans. They know every part of the country, and where to find the tribes at all seasons of the year: it is by them that Russia distributes her merchandize over Central Asia."*

Atkinson gives a list of the most important articles required by the Kirghis; for this we must refer the readers to his book.

Meanwhile, India is gathering up her

scattered strength, and preparing herself for the work which is before her. Her railways, as they extend, are binding her together, and giving her concentrativeness. "The completion of the great viaduct over the Ner-budda is an earnest of the near approach of the time when the Baroda and Central-India line will pour the cotton of Guzerat into Bombay. Another section of the East-India line will be open immediately to Sahabgunge, and, before October, to Bhaugulpore; and really strike the Ganges, which it has failed to do at Rajmahal." Of the south-west line, from Madras to Beypore, 207 miles are open, from Madras to Salem, and thirty-two from Beypore; the remainder of the 405 miles being expected to be open by January next. Some idea of the magnitude of these undertakings may be gathered from the speech of Mr. Turnbull, the chief engineer of the Company, at the opening of the East-India railway to Rajmahal in October last—

"The railway will be 1414 miles in length, of which nearly 400 have been opened, and 227 not begun. It may be confidently predicted that a very few years more will suffice to finish the main line from Calcutta to Delhi. The cost to all appearance will not exceed 15,000*l.* a-mile, including rolling-stock. This is a satisfactory result, compared with the generality of English railways, when we consider the magnitude of some of our works in this country. For example, on the 128 miles just opened, there are no less than seventeen and a-half millions of cubic yards of earth-work, which gives an average of 137,000 cubic yards a mile. The average of English railways is about 70,000 cubic yards a mile. On the same length we have no less than 425,000 cubic yards of brickwork, or 3300 cubic yards a mile, and other works in proportion. The Adjai bridge is the largest single work on this part of the line: it is 1800 feet long. A good idea of the length may be conceived, when I mention that the river Hooghly, at Arnenian Ghat, is of the same width of 1800 feet, and that the river Thames at London Bridge is exactly half that width."*

Of the importance of these intercommunications in a vast territory such as India, whose very extent constituted its weakness, separating the various provinces from each other, and impeding sympathy and united action, all must be convinced; nor can we forbear introducing an extract from a speech of Lord Canning, delivered on the occasion just referred to, in which he touches on the facilities which will be thus afforded of in-

* Atkinson's "Regions of the Amoor," pp. 291-2.

* "Overland Friend of India," Oct. 22, 1860.

roducing the elements of improvement and civilization into the wild districts of India.

"There are large and high reasons for wishing success to this great enterprise. To remind you of them, I need not trouble you with figures or maxims of political economy. I need only to ask you to call up in your minds what we have all seen within the last twelve hours. We began this day's journey at a spot washed by the tides of the Bay of Bengal, and within a stone's throw of the anchorage of some of the noblest ships which, to the furtherance of commerce and all its attendant blessings, the skill and enterprise of our fellow-countrymen have launched upon the ocean. We have ended it in an inland district, 200 miles off, where not only are the uses of the great highway of nations uncared for and unknown, but where the very name of the 'black water' is a word of mystery and terror. We began our journey at the chief seat of western trade and civilization on this side of the globe, the head-quarters of England's power in Asia, and we have closed it almost under the walls of the ancient capital of Bengal and Behar—the city of Gour—which, little more than two centuries ago, was not surpassed by any in India for its busy population and magnificence, but which now lies a mass of tangled ruins and rank forest, tenanted by wild beasts, reeking with fever, and void not only of human industry but of human life. In travelling between these two points—points of such striking contrast—we have passed through a country teeming with population and covered thick with all that is necessary to the sustenance of man. We have skirted a district abounding in mineral wealth, and already eagerly seizing the opportunity, as yet imperfectly afforded to it, of pouring this wealth into the great centre of activity in Calcutta. We have been carried through the wild country of the Santhals, one of the rudest and wildest races of India, but a race not insensible to kindly government, and who, if their hills and jungles had been as accessible five years ago as they are now, would have been at once checked in a purposeless rebellion. Lastly, we find ourselves standing on the bank of the great Ganges, at that point at which it is in the interests of commerce that the tedious and uncertain navigation of its low waters should be exchanged for a short and secure land carriage.

"If, then, it be destined, as without presumption we may believe it to be, that to British science and British enterprise shall be com-

mitted in India the noble task of bringing security, comfort, and comparative wealth within the reach of races as yet ignorant of these; of extending the field of profitable industry to them; of supplying the wants of some by the superfluities of others; of enhancing prosperity where it exists, and of reviving it where it has drooped and decayed; of promoting fellowship between men, and of bringing light into dark places; if these, I say, be the functions allotted to the science and enterprise of our fellow-countrymen in India, then I declare that I do not know where in the map, not of India only, but of the world, a spot could be found, presenting within the short compass of one day's journey, so complete an epitome of all the opportunities for usefulness and good which attend on well-directed enterprise, as does the country through which we have this day passed."

The Hindus, as a people, have suffered under a jealous and exclusive system, the purport of their false religion being to isolate them and keep them separate from other men. Thus they have become extremely contracted in their minds, morbid and bigoted. Let us endeavour to counteract this by bringing them into communication with one another, and with their fellow-men of other races. Let us afford to them facilities for travelling and the prosecution of commercial enterprise, and show them that the rewards of industry come within their reach. All this will help the action of the Gospel, by drawing out their dormant energies, and making them feel like other men. The migrations to the Mauritius and Ceylon will thus be beneficial; they will come back less exclusive and more open and accessible. While the Tamilians and Bengalees go southward, let the hardier sons of the Punjab and the North-west Provinces come into communication with the men of Thibet and Tartary and Cabul, and in the business connexions which they form, they will unconsciously prepare the way for the advance of the Redeemer's Gospel and kingdom. Above all, let Christian men be on the alert, that all scientific improvements, and increase of communication between man and man, be used self-denyingly and diligently for the advancement of that kingdom which is righteousness and peace.

There is one vast section of British India which has not been touched upon in this survey. We have done so purposely, desiring to reserve it for a separate article, to which, from its great importance, it is well entitled—the provinces of the Indus.

RECENT GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

WE have attended many Committee meetings of the Church Missionary Society of deep interest and importance, but assuredly none more so than the General Committee of October 13th. It presented very strongly-contrasted features, a diminution of supplies, and an increase of opportunities for action; while the decision arrived at, under circumstances of no inconsiderable difficulty, may well command attention, and enlist, on behalf of the Society, increased sympathy and support.

The discouraging feature first came forward for consideration, and assuredly it was sufficiently grave and deserving of attention. The financial position of the Society is unsatisfactory. The sources of revenue are not so fruitful as they were wont to be. The contributions received are decidedly less than they were at the corresponding period of last year, itself, to a considerable extent, an inferior year, and therefore far below the average of five years. In the view of last year's deficiency, measures have been adopted to reduce the expenditure, and the estimates from the various Missions have been cut down to the extent of 7000*l*. But unless the springs and fountains from whence the income is derived be more vigorously put into action, and a speedy and decided improvement take place, we shall have, at the end of the year, a much more serious deficiency to deal with, and the Church of England's great Missionary Society for the evangelization of the heathen world will be found in circumstances similar to those in which so many of the great American Societies find themselves at the present moment, constrained to the painful task of contracting the sphere of their operations at the very moment when the opportunities for extension are most numerous and encouraging; the national circumstances, however, on either side of the Atlantic, being widely different, the great American Republic being distracted by civil war, and England being at peace and in prosperity.

The causes of this declension remain to be investigated. Diverse influences, we think, are in operation to produce this result: we cannot, however, touch this subject now. But facts like these are not unlike the action of the break upon a railway train: their tendency is to lessen speed, and that so forcibly, that, like the passengers in the train, we look out to see whether we are about to be brought to a stand-still. Such feelings, however, are but for an instant. We look

up and take heart, remembering that the work is of God, and that He, whose are the silver and gold, will not leave us without sufficiency of means to carry on the work which He has commanded to be done. Still, however, whatever may be our hopes and expectations, the duty of the Committee is plain, and a scrutiny was directed to be instituted into all the details of the Society, in order to ascertain whether further retrenchment was possible, and wherever it was found practicable, there immediately to enforce it.

But scarcely had this been decided upon when the Committee was brought under influences of a very different character, and urged, not to a contraction, but to an immediate enlargement of its sphere of operations. Letters were read from individuals of high position and influence in a distant land, bringing before the attention of the Committee certain openings for usefulness of great promise, and urging prompt action with respect to them. They came from the Punjab.

Of all sections of British India, none are more important than the provinces of the Indus, and that, in whatever light we regard them—strategically, commercially, or in a Missionary point of view.

These provinces are now entirely in the hands of England. In 1843, Sindh was wrested from the Ameers; in 1849, the Punjab was annexed; and in 1852, the abolition of river dues opened the Indus to commerce, which, notwithstanding Lord Ellenborough's proclamation in 1843, had remained virtually sealed.

Of their importance, strategically, we shall say but little. It is not our sphere, nor are we competent to deal with it. That ambitious projects are entertained of some future opportunity arising, when the Cossacks of the North shall succeed in forcing a passage into the plains of India, is not at all improbable. But let it be remembered, that, in the good providence of God, the gates of entrance into India, the Khyber, Goleree, and Bolan Passes, are in the hands of those to whom the Punjab has been given, and that with railway communication between these points, along the base of the Suliman range, and that with these advanced posts leaning by railways and military roads on a powerful base of operations in the rear towards the Sutlej and the plains of Hindustan, while direct communication with England lies open by the Indus, the position is sufficiently

strong to assure us, if, indeed, God be for us, as to the future. Our danger, as experience has already shown, lies not from without, but from within.

But of the commercial importance of these territories we may be permitted to speak more fully, and in this respect they are valuable in a twofold point of view; first, because of their own productive capabilities; and secondly, because they are the intermediate territories through which intercourse may be maintained, not only between Central Asia and Hindustan, but between Central Asia and England.

And first, as to the capabilities and productive powers of these provinces. In considering the position of Sindh we are reminded of Egypt and its river. The Indus and the Nile present some strong features of resemblance. Each river has its source in lofty mountains, lying far in the interior of their respective continents, and from these, after a prolonged course, finds its way to the alluvial deltas through which lies its entrance to the ocean. They have each their periods of inundation, by which the low regions are fertilized, and subsequently yield their abundant crops. In Sindh the flats are covered to a wide extent with water, which leaves behind it a fertilizing slime; and so rich is the soil, that no manure of any kind is used, though it regularly produces two crops every year, and sometimes three. There is scarcely a vegetable production which, during the progress of its two harvests, Sindh is not capable of yielding—wheat, rice, maize, indigo, sugar-cane, cotton, &c. The peculiarity of both these provinces is, that if irrigation be withheld, tracts become desert; but if this be abundantly afforded, the grateful soil responds by its plenteousness of harvests; and as the supply of water is so necessary, the natural provision for it is proportionate in the five streams of the Punjab, and the mighty channel of the Indus. All that is needed is that man should rightly use these gifts of Providence, and, by canals and tanks, treasure up the element of fertility, and turn it to account.

Of the productiveness of the Punjab, when, by the formation of canals, the streams of its five rivers are led forth in a network of irrigation throughout the land, we have abundant evidence: wherever the thirsty soil can drink in water, there is fertility and abundance.

"There is perhaps no inland country of the globe which possesses greater facilities for commerce than the Punjab, and there are few more rich in the products of the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms. Intersected

by five navigable streams, it is bounded on the west by one of the largest rivers of the old world. To the north it has the fertile and the fruitful vale of Kashmir to limit its sceptre, so placed, that it can export without trouble its costly fabrics to the neighbouring kingdoms of Persia and Tartary, China, and India. Situated between Hindustan and the celebrated *entrepôts* of Central Asia, it shares the advantages of their traffic, while it is itself blessed with an exuberance of every production of the soil that is useful and nutritious to man. The productions of the Punjab relieve it from any great dependence on external resources. Its courtiers and chiefs may robe themselves in the shawls of Kashmir and the strong and beautiful silken fabrics of Mooltan. Its citizens and husbandmen may wear the cheap textures of the native cotton. Every animal may be bountifully fed on the grains indigenous to the country; and a range of mountains, entirely composed of salt, furnishes that necessary ingredient of food, while the upland parts yield condiments and fruits to season the daily bread."

Such is the testimony of the late Sir Alexander Burnes, one fully justified by the variety and value of the products of these provinces. And first, coal deposits are available, a most essential requisite, if the Indus is to be traversed by steam-vessels. In sinking a well, about twenty-eight miles westward of Kotree, a seam of coal, eighty feet thick, was found, and another lower down, one and a half foot thick. Again, grain of all descriptions is produced luxuriantly in Upper and Middle Sindh, and the wheat of the Punjab is the best in India. Considering the quantity of unreclaimed land capable of improvement, and the great productive power of the people, the Punjab must be regarded as a corn-producing country, capable of yielding, if stimulated by a ready market, a large surplus of cereals, the more especially so, as the costly means of irrigation provided by the Baree Doab canal, and other subsidiary efforts, come into operation.

The salt-trade of the Punjab is of the utmost importance. Since the establishment of British rule it has greatly increased. "The increase of the population, the pacification of the province, the great diminution of the land-tax, the abolition of import and export duties, have caused an enhanced consumption of salt among the agriculturists and lower orders. Considerable quantities are exported to the eastward, and to the north as far as Jummoo and Kashmir." "The supply is inexhaustible, arising from a complete range of salt-hills, running from the Indus

to the Jhelum, of the mines of which the Government has a monopoly."

There is one product which England especially needs, and which the Punjab is capable of giving—cotton. "Along the banks of the Punjab rivers lie tracts of land admirably situated for the growth of cotton, and this one article, if properly cultivated, would afford material for commercial transactions of the most extended character. We observe, that during the last sowing season more cotton had been sown in the Punjab than in any former year.

Such, then, are the capabilities of the Punjab, if only the water-supply be sufficiently provided for. This has been at all times a felt necessity in that country, as manifested in the ancient, and even modern, though abandoned, water-courses which we found on taking possession of it, and to the clearance and improvement of which the attention of the authorities was at once directed. These canals and water-cuts, on which the harvests of whole districts and the livelihood of hundreds of thousands are dependent, are classed under three divisions, the Derejat, the Mooltan, and the Baree Doab canal, the latter being a gigantic system of canals and collateral branches, carried out entirely at the expense of the British Government, the effect of which will be to change the Baree Doab, in which Lahore and Umritsur are situated, and within the limits of which are located, that important section of the Punjab population, the Manja Sikhs, into a well-watered garden, and distribute that fertility which has hitherto been confined to the narrow strips along the river banks, over the entire surface of the Doab. Of the magnitude of these works, as exhibited in channel excavations, head works, hill torrent embankments, falls and rapids, escapes and bridges, &c., it is impossible for those at a distance to form a just conception. The engineering difficulties have been immense. Again and again have the embankments been assailed by the invading floods of the Ravee, and breaches made. But the damages were persistently repaired, and the works strengthened, until they were rendered stable enough to resist their assailant. Then the hill torrents, whose old channels were crossed by the path of the canal, resisted this encroachment on their vested rights, and bitterly and impetuously assailed the intruder. These had to be grappled with, and have been partly stemmed and partly diverted. The total mileage of the canal will be 466 miles. We have dwelt somewhat on this great undertaking, exemplifying as it does the largeness of aim and

persistency of effort by which they ought to be characterized, who, having put their hands to the great Missionary enterprise, are engaged in the great work of opening up ducts and channels by which the waters of life may go forth to fertilize the moral deserts of our world.

While such efforts are being thus energetically put forth to develop the productive energies of the Punjab, and cause the land to yield with liberality its varied and important harvests, the facilities of communication with England are being remarkably improved and increased, so as to bring these provinces, which are capable of yielding so much that is valuable, into direct and rapid intercourse with the mother country, enabling us to receive of its cereals and cotton, and to give back our piece goods and woollens, as well as other manufactured articles to the Punjabees.

And first, there is the town of Kurrachee, occupying a position scarcely less favourable for commerce than Alexandria, with a spacious harbour, protected from the sea and bad weather by Munorah, a bluff, rocky headland projecting south-eastward from the mainland, and leaving a space of about two miles between the extreme point and the coast to the east. Its value was manifested and tested during the campaigns on the Sutlej, when thousands of tons of military stores were imported into its harbour. It may therefore be regarded as the natural port, not only of Sindh, but of the Punjab and Central Asia. From Kurrachee to Kotree, the port of Hyderabad, the Sindhian capital, a railway has been completed, by which all the sinuosities and intricacies of the delta portion of the river are avoided. "From Hyderabad up to Mooltan, five hundred and seventy miles, the river is broad and sufficiently deep for a flotilla of powerful steamboats, capable not only of drawing large flats, but of carrying passengers." The Oriental Inland Steam Company is on the point of establishing, on this portion of the river, steamers and barges, swifter and capable of carrying far larger cargoes than any vessels hitherto sent out for river traffic in India. Two of these steamers have safely arrived at Kurrachee. The cargo vessels of the Company are especially adapted to the duty of carrying large quantities of cheap merchandise with profit, at low rates of freight. The communications of the valley of the Indus are being rapidly completed by the railway in construction from Mooltan to Lahore, in length two hundred and fifty miles. The survey of a line from Lahore to Peshawar has been perfected, and also that of another

branch from Sukkur, *vid* Shikarpore and Jacobabad to Dadore, near the Bolan Pass, with a view to draw into the valley of the Indus the trade of Lower Afghanistan and the surrounding countries. A line from Kotree to Deesa, so as to come into communication with the Baroda and Bombay railway, has been also decided upon.

"Northern India has two natural divisions; first, the provinces of the Ganges and its tributaries; secondly, the provinces of the Indus and its tributaries. In the first, or easterly division, the stream of trade and wealth must ever flow down the valley of the Ganges to the natural outlet of Calcutta. In the second, or westerly division, if the power of art and science be brought to the aid of nature, the commerce should follow the direction of the Punjab rivers to the Indus, then down the valley of the Indus towards the rising port of Kurrachee, which is destined to be to the north-west of India what Calcutta is to the north-east. A line drawn north to south, somewhere near Agra and Delhi, will form the probable boundary of the two natural subdivisions. And if the same facilities be created westward which exist eastward, then all the commerce west of the line will follow the Indus to Kurrachee, in the same manner as the commerce on the east follows the Ganges to Calcutta."

Let us now look at the population of these provinces. The most productive districts are of little use unless there be the hands to till them. The Punjab territories, according to the last census, "contain eighty-one thousand square miles, twenty-nine thousand villages, and a population of nearly thirteen millions of souls, or a proportion of one hundred and fifty-five persons to a square mile"—a sparse, rather than a dense population for India. "In the North-western Provinces there are four hundred and twenty persons per square mile by last census; in Bengal, three hundred and eleven persons; in the Madras Presidency, one hundred and seventy; in the Bombay Presidency, only one hundred and fifty-six; in the Saugor and Nerbudda territories, one hundred and twenty-two." "On the whole, the Punjab is one-fourth less populous in proportion to its area than the United Kingdom, and about as thickly peopled as either France, Prussia, Austria, and Italy." "On the other hand, it is not more than half as populous as the most densely inhabited parts of the world, such as Holland, Belgium, Northern Italy, China, and the Gangetic provinces of India."

This population is of diverse races and religions. Of the races may be enumerated

Jats, Gugurs, Rajpoots, and Pathans. Of these, the Jats are the most prominent, having formed the core and nucleus of the Sikh commonwealth and armies. As to religion, the population may be distinguished into Hindus, Mussulmans, and Sikhs, there being only 5,352,874 Hindus to 7,364,974 Mohammedans. The precise number of the Sikhs is not known: compared, however, with the other sections, they are numerically feeble, and are being rapidly absorbed into Hinduism.

If to the thirteen millions of the Punjab we add some one million two hundred thousand for that of Sindh, we shall have the total population under direct British rule in the provinces of the Indus.

To the improvement of this population the attention of the Punjab authorities has been directed. If the soil needs irrigation, the people need healthful influences. Without these, the human character, under the blighting influence of sin, becomes increasingly deteriorated, and men, placed in the most advantageous of providential circumstances, are found indisposed and unequal to their improvement. By wholesome legislation, and the energetic administration of justice, much has been accomplished in the suppression of outward evils, such as dacoity, gang-robbery, Thuggee, infanticide; and the Punjab, under British rule, enjoys a measure of peace and good order unknown in its previous history. But more than this needs to be done. A population, so long as it remains under the influence of false religions, can never be regarded as reliable, nor is there any security for their good conduct as to the future. They are like the waters of the ocean, the peaceable aspect of which may at any time be broken up by unexpected storms. There was no actual outbreak in the Punjab during the memorable period of 1857-58, yet were the circumstances critical; and any serious reverse before Delhi might have completely changed the aspect of affairs. We repeat, so long as the populations under our rule remain enslaved to false religions, we have no guarantee for their continued loyalty, for false religions are not ameliorative of character: they do not introduce right principles into the heart, or enable a man to the control of self. By such influences as emanate from them, a contented, happy, industrious, and loyal population cannot be produced. It is, then, the true policy of rulers to look favourably upon all wise and discreet efforts to introduce the light and happy influence of Gospel truth amongst an ignorant population. The actings of pure Christianity are all in

favour of good government: they open out to the man new prospects, and acquaint him with new and elevating principles of action. They teach him to be quiet, and work with his hands. The spread of Christianity amongst heathen subjects must, to an immeasurable extent, strengthen the hands of the Christian ruler, and facilitate the discharge of his arduous responsibilities. The ruler who discountenances the introduction of Christianity amongst the heathen masses entrusted to his Government, repudiates that influence which of all others would most advantage him, and prepares for himself merited retribution. The authorities of the Indus provinces have seen this matter in its true light, and it is with their sanction that the Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society have occupied as stations various prominent points. From Kurrachee upwards may be traced a chain of such Missions. Beginning with that seaport, they advance to Hyderabad, Mooltan, Umritsur, Kangra, and Peshawur, stations occupied at the present moment by some twelve Missionaries, who, in varied languages, and amongst various people, are engaged in the arduous work of disseminating a knowledge of Christian truth.

Now, it is with respect to these territories that the Church Missionary Society at the present moment finds itself called upon to undertake new Missions, as well as to strengthen and render more effective the already existing Missions. There is a portion of the Punjab which we have as yet left entirely untouched, the Derejat, or Damin, which stretches between the Suliman mountains and the Indus. It is named the Derejat, from the two districts of Dera Ishmael Khan and Dera Ghazee Khan, into which it is divided; and is also called Damin, which signifies "border," because of its position along the base of the Suliman range, which separates our trans-Indus territories from the wild Pathan tribes within those ranges. These two Dehra districts, with two collateral ones on the other side of the Indus, are under the commissionership of Colonel Reynell Taylor; and it is this officer, by whom British rule is administered over a population in the four provinces of not less than half a million, who has directed our attention to the fact, that in all this territory no Christian Missionary is to be found, and who encourages us to the commencement of such a work, by the offer of a donation of 1000*l.*; assuring us at the same time that he has not taken this step without the knowledge and sanction of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, who, as an expression of his goodwill, has

promised 100*l.* for each one of three stations to be formed in the Derejat, at the two Deras already mentioned, as well as at Dera Futteh Khan.

In considering the circumstances of the Derejat, with a view to the commencement of Missionary labour, there is one point of peculiar interest and importance. We have already stated that the provinces of the Indus are valuable, not only because of their own inherent capabilities, but as affording opportunity of intercourse with the countries of Central Asia; and as, along the North-India frontier, there are border tribes which act as traders and carriers between the countries to the north and south, so on the Punjab frontier a similar class of men is not wanting. These are the Lowanee and Powindu merchants, the great carriers of the Afghan trade. "They have their homes about Ghuznee, where they spend the summer. Since the trade *viâ* Tatta and the Indus was extinguished, in the latter end of the last century, these people have supplied themselves with sea-borne goods *viâ* Calcutta. They descend the passes before they are blocked up by snow, between Ghuzni and the Indus, in vast caravans of eight or ten thousand souls—the whole tribe moving bodily—men, women and children, and cattle, their goods being on camels and ponies. Arrived on the Derejat, they leave the aged men, women, and children in black felt tents, with their flocks and herds, in the rich pastures bordering the Indus, while the able-bodied men pass across the Punjab with their goods for sale either in that province or on the banks of the Ganges. The leading merchants precede the main body on dromedaries, taking with them a few samples, letters of credit, &c., make their purchases at Delhi, Agra, Allahabad, Cawnpore, Mirzapore, and even Calcutta, and return with them express; collect their families and flocks, and force their way up the passes. Their numbers generally enable them to compound with the tribes of the mountains for a reasonable amount of black mail, but they have sometimes to fight their way."²

Of this commerce with Afghanistan and Persia, Mooltan is a chief *entrepôt*. The Afghan traders arrive there in October and November. Some of them remain there and dispose of their goods through native agents; others go down the Indus to Kurrachee; and others, preparing themselves for a longer journey, proceed to the Gangetic provinces. Others, again, coming from Southern Afghanistan, strike the Bolan Pass in Belooch-

* M. Frere, Esq., Commissioner of Sindh.

istan, find a market at Shikarpur, or reach the Indus at Sukkur, and push on to Kurrachee.

Through the wild mountain tribes which occupy the frontier ranges, these men have to force their way, traversing the passes in martial array, and merging for the time the character of the merchant in that of the soldier. An advanced guard precedes the long file of camels laden with merchandise, armed men protect the flanks, and a powerful guard closes up the rear; but on emerging from the mountain passes on the plain country of British India, their arms are laid aside, for there peace prevails, and they no longer need to defend themselves; and these men who enter the Punjab armed to the teeth, may be seen with nothing but a staff in their hand, as, clothed in long camels'-hair coats, they lead their camels through the plains of Hindustan. The return caravans from Hindustan reach Mooltan in April, whence they return to Afghanistan. They usually reach Cabul about the beginning of June, and thence prosecute their journey to Bokhara. At this *entrepôt* they meet imports from Russia and from China. The Russian imports are white cloths, muslins, chintzes, broad-cloths, velvets, furs, inferior cutlery, and jewellery. The Chinese imports consist principally of China ware, musk, bullion, and tea. Besides these, Bokhara yields valuable products of its own, such as silk, wool, lamb-skins, and cotton. "The silk is chiefly produced on the banks of the Oxus, where the mulberry grows in the most luxuriant manner, and nearly all the inhabitants are engaged in rearing the silk-worm during the summer months. The lamb-skins of Bokhara are renowned throughout the East, and are only procurable at Karahool, a small district lying between Bokhara and the Oxus."

Thus the Afghan caravans, which emerge through the passes of the Suliman into the Dera Ishmael Khan district, are laden with a variety of merchandize—silks and wools, groceries and spices, furs from Russia, gold with the Bokhara stamp, although extracted from the Ural mountains; dyes, books, clothes, and metals. "About 20,000 camels are said to be employed in this trade, exclusive of horses and mules. A large number of armed retainers accompany the caravans, besides 8000 servants."

The Golaree Pass is that which is principally used by the Lowanee merchants. It is the middle route from Afghanistan to Hindustan, as the Khyber is the northern, and the Bolan the southern. It holds its course along the channel of the Gomul river, which, after piercing its way through the mountain

chain, crosses the Derejat, and enters the Indus, Dera Ishmael Khan lying immediately to the north of the point of junction. Southward of the Golaree is another pass, which is also used by them, the Zerkunnee Pass, which runs at the base of the lofty square-shaped mountain called "Solomon's throne" (Tukht-i-Suliman), from which the entire range, running parallel for 300 miles to the Indus, and forming our westward frontier, derives its name of Sulimane. Still further to the south, and "nearly opposite to Dehra Futteh Khan, is the Vooch, or Korah Pass, faced by the British outposts of Doulalwalla and Vehoa. This point is of some topographical importance, as constituting the boundary line between the Puthan and Belooch tribes, the latter extending along the lower half of the Derejat frontier. Amongst these tribes, running past the town of Sukkee Lurwar, a place among the hills of some sanctity, and venerated both by the Hindus and the Mohammedans, lies the pass of the same name, one of the chief thoroughfares to Candahar; immediately to the south of which dwells the tribe of the Gorchanees, whose hill frontage of twenty miles long is intersected by not less than thirty passes, of which Hurrund, at their southern limit, is the most important. "Near Hurrund the great Sulimane range, having run in an almost straight line parallel to the Indus for 300 miles, approaches its termination, and joins the Mara Mount, which leads on to the Murree hills, behind which lies the tableland, where Kahun, the capital of the Murree tribe is situated. In front of these Murree ranges there rises a series of sterile rocky hills, which run towards the Indus, and form themselves into an apex near the Gundharee peak, approaching to within a few miles of the river bank. It is at this point (Shawulla) that the continuous boundary of Sindh and the Punjab has been marked off." Westward of Kahun lies Dadur at the mouth of the Bolan Pass, the great route from Northern Sindh to Candahar. Its total length, as it winds its way through a tortuous succession of ravines and gorges, and then across the Brahoo chain of mountains, is between fifty-four and fifty-five miles, the elevation of the entrance being 800 feet above the sea-level, and that of its outlet at the western extremity, 5793 feet. At the western side there is no descent, the route opening on the Dasht-i-Bedowlut, a plain as high as the top of the pass. The Bengal column of the army of the Indus, which, in 1839, advanced to place Shah Soojah on the throne of Cabul, was six days toiling through

this pass, amidst great hardship, the baggage cattle falling dead by the wayside, and the stream of the Bolan river being tainted by the bodies of the camels that had sunk beneath their loads, while the Beloochee freebooters, hovering about, cut off couriers, murdered stragglers, and carried off baggage and cattle.

The time is now come when these passes should be employed for a different purpose; and the Lowanee merchants may become, in the good providence of God, subservient to the introduction of the Gospel into the uplands of Central Asia. They are of a manly, open, and resolute character; men of metal, who are not afraid to speak out boldly their convictions and sentiments, nor, if won to the belief of Christianity, would they hesitate to make it known in those interior countries which are at present inaccessible to the European Missionary.

There is also another class of people, to which Mission stations in the Derejat would give us access, the border tribes occupying the ranges beyond our frontier. Of these, the Wuzurees are the most important. They hold the rugged and lofty hills on the north-western border of the Dehra Ismael district, that is the valley of the Bunnoo, and the plains of Murwat and Tank. The hills on either side of the Golarree pass are in their hands. They are a numerous tribe, subdivided into various sections." "The birth-place of this race would seem to be the snowy range, which runs to the south-east of Jelallabad and Cabul. From this range they appear to have moved downward towards the Derejat border. They are noble savages, of pure blood, pastoral habits, fierce disposition, and wild aspect. They can muster, probably, were the whole tribe united, as many as 20,000 or 30,000 fighting men, and, if combined, might make themselves formidable. But though they are less addicted to internecine contests than other hill tribes, and are so far united, they are yet not apt to join all these forces together against an external foe. They are bold and ferocious, but, as soldiers, not equal to the more martial tribes. Many of them live in tents, or in temporary dwellings resembling tents; in the winter frequenting the more genial clime of the lower ranges, and in the summer retreating to feed their flocks in higher altitudes. Some of them have engaged in cultivation, and have encroached on the weaker tribes of the plains: of these, again, many will only cultivate during the cold months, and, as the heat approaches will reap their crops and retire to the mountains. But the tendency to extend their cultivation,

and even to settle in the plains, has of late years been increasing among the Wuzurees."

It is the fact that a portion of these people has already settled in the plains of the Derejat, which brings them at once within the reach of Missionary effort, and a promising commencement made there may rapidly extend itself to the more inaccessible portions of the tribe. To such an enterprise there is much to encourage. Colonel Reynell Taylor, whose knowledge of this people is very great, says of them,—“I have always held to the belief, that if a man have leisure to study the characters of the men of Puthan tribes, or communities under his charge, can make himself acquainted with individuals, and show interest in their affairs, knowledge of their previous history and position, &c., that he would generally be able to acquire an apparently wonderful amount of influence over them.” Of the Wuzurees, more especially, he adds—“They are the most unanimous of all the Afghan tribes that we are acquainted with: they never quarrel among themselves; safeguards are always respected by them; and though proverbially addicted to plundering, I have known large bodies of them live from one year’s end to the other without falling into any impropriety of the kind. Every quarrel among them is settled by arbitration and discussion, and I never heard a Wuzuree complain of another Wuzuree having robbed or defrauded him.” Of their fidelity to engagements he observes—“I never remember to have heard of a Wuzuree, or body of Wuzurees, enticing an enemy into their power by false overtures, and then wreaking their vengeance on him, nor of their undertaking to guide or guard a man or kafilah through their country, and then falling on it. . . . I have observed several instances where my own subordinates had acquired such perfect confidence in the good faith of the Wuzurees, that they were willing to go any where among them on the safeguard of the Mullicks.” In religion they are by profession Mohammedans. The degree of influence which it exercises over them may be estimated by the following anecdotes—“I have heard many stories, supposed to illustrate the charge of barbarism in religion, &c., made by more polished Afghans against the Wuzurees. One I remember, was of a Wuzuree, who, after an earthquake, said that he really now had some idea that there was a God, since he had seen him shake so much earth at once. Elphinstone tells a story of a Wuzuree who, when engaged in his devotions, heard the alarm cry that a kafilah

of merchants was approaching, upon which he left his prayers, went and joined in the attack and plunder of the kafilah, and, returning with his share of the booty, entered the mosque and completed the unfinished balance of his prayers. Some of the bystanders, who were much scandalized by his conduct, reproved him sharply for it, asking how he could dare to leave his prayers for so unhallowed a purpose, and then return and finish them: he replied, he had been instructed it was not good to pray when you had any worldly care or matter on your mind, and if, by chance, you found it impossible to prevent your thoughts dwelling on it, it was better to leave your prayers for the time, go and get the worldly matter settled, and then return with an undistracted mind to your devotions." Of their quickness in reply, Colonel Taylor gives the following humorous specimen. He was presiding over one of their jirgals, or councils, when part of the council requested leave to say their prayers, and proceeded to perform their devotions in the verandah of the tent. "Looking at the men praying, I said to the chief that it was a pity that men who were so particular in their religious observances should be so careless about some of the cardinal virtues advocated by all religions, such as speaking the truth, so that the very men who were then on their knees would presently come before me, and not scruple to attempt to deceive me about their crops, revenue, &c. A Wuzuree Mullick replied immediately that it might be so: I was no doubt correct. There was probably some radical defect in their religious conduct, as God had thought fit to confer a Hakim (Governor) on them after so many ages of independence."*

Such are the leading features of the new Missionary work proposed in Colonel Taylor's letters to the Committee, and ably advocated by Sir Herbert Edwards and Colonel Martin, who attended the Committee with that object. Nor was the Society urged only to the enlargement of its labours in the Punjab, but entreated to strengthen the stations already commenced, so as to render them more vigorous and effective. The Missionaries at present in that country are numerically unequal to the arduous duties they have to discharge. A glance at one of the most important of our stations, Peshawur, and the perusal of the following *resumé* of its exigencies, drawn up by one of the Missionaries, will convince our readers that we must act more decidedly, if we would act more successfully.

* Report of Col. R. S. Taylor,

"The Mission at Peshawur, from its position as the furthest outpost of Christian Missions on the north-west frontier of British India, is one of the most important stations which the Church Missionary Society occupies. Separated from India proper by the Indus, and distinguished as well by nature as by the people inhabiting the Peshawur, or, rather, the Cabool valley, Peshawur has always held a most prominent place in the history of Central Asia. It is the high road to India from Central Asia, the ancient Ariana, from Cabool and Kandahar, from Bactra and Samarkand, from Bokhara and Khiva, and destined by nature to be a great rendezvous for all the various nations and tribes inhabiting the Kohistan of Cabool, the Suleiman mountains, the vast plains of Tartary, and even Southern Russia. Situated at the mouth of the Khyber Pass, the natural outlet of Central Asia into the plains of India, Peshawur has always been the connecting link between Western and Eastern Asia. As its very name imports, Peshawur (a corruption of the Sanskrit Purusha-pura) has been, from the earliest times, a city of men, i. e. a populous city of the Arians, and with Cabool (the Sanskrit Kābura) one of the earliest strongholds of the invading Sanskrit people. At the time of Alexander the Great the Kohistan of Cabool and the valley of Peshawur were still in the hands of the Arians, who from thence seem to have extended their conquests into India proper. The quick eye of the Macedonian conqueror saw at once the importance of the place, and leaving his invalided soldiers as a stock of colonists, he founded here the city Niraca. In the steps of Alexander the Great, all the following conquerors of India tread, whose invasions were mere transient deluges, and not permanently changing the conditions of the aborigines. At the time of Mahmud of Gazni, the Afghans first effected a permanent settlement in the valley of Peshawur, expelling, or extirpating, the aboriginal Hindu stock, a small remnant of whom sought and found a refuge in the interior Kohistan, and has always kept up till our times a most deadly struggle against their Mohammedan oppressors. This remnant of the ancient Hindu inhabitants are the so-called Kafirs, who will in no long time form a great object for Missionary endeavours, if the plans should succeed to invite them down again into the valley of Peshawur.

"From the foregoing brief sketch, the importance of Peshawur may be gleaned, especially in regard to Missionary enterprise. Of nearly all the tribes of Afghans, repre-

sentatives may be met with at Peshawur; and, during the cold season, Persians, Usbecks, Tartars, merchants from Bokhara, Balkh, Samarkand, and Khiva, flock here together, and it is a common sight to see Russian leather, China ware, furs, and China tea, imported by the land route, exhibited for sale in the bazaar of Peshawur. To this must be added, that Peshawur forms now part of the British territory of India, and natives of every part of India, Hindus as well as Mohammedans, throng now in the mixed crowd of the wild and half savage-looking mountaineers.

"Peshawur must therefore not be put on a level with other Indian Missions. It is a Mission by itself of a peculiar character, and requiring particular care. In the first instance, the people with whom the Missionaries have to deal are widely different from the stamp commonly met with in India. They are bold, and, to a certain extent, unruly; free in speech, and still more so with their arms, ready to shed blood in an angry moment; but at the same time, they are more manly and open to argument, inquisitive, and fond of discussing religious subjects. The Afghans are the best Mussulmans, religious in a far higher sense than the half-Hinduized Mussulmans of India, whom they consider little better than heathen; bigoted in the extreme, and ready to kill any Kafir; greedy and avaricious, like all Asiatics, and treacherous as a by-word. Mountaineers have never been famous for their learning, and the least so the Afghans. They are ignorant and stolid, so that they know little more of Islam than the bare Kelimah, or Mohammedan creed. But at the same time they always evinced a great inclination to mystic speculations and contemplations; and if we believe their own books, Afghanistan must be full of Mohammedan heretics. With a people of this stamp, a Missionary has a hard stand; and yet I am fully convinced that there are more hopeful signs at Peshawur than I have seen elsewhere.

"In the first instance, the people on the whole are very willing to listen to the Missionary's message of peace, if he brings it forth in a quiet and peaceful way. Their hearts are more or less open, and often touched, as I have seen many examples. The seed must be sown in hope, and it will spring up in its proper time, when the Lord shall give it increase.

"Amongst so diverse a population as that of Peshawur, Missionary labour must needs be divided, and as the first condition of a Missionary's usefulness is a thorough know-

ledge of the language in which he has to address the people, this point cannot be too highly pressed, and ought always first be taken into consideration. Preaching through the medium of an interpreter or catechist should be done away with, if possible.

"The languages which should be studied and practised at Peshawur are, according to my own experience, the following—

"1. For the city of Peshawur, a knowledge, and that a thorough one, of Persian, is absolutely necessary. The most people speak and understand Persian, and like to be addressed therein. A Persian preacher can command a congregation as soon as he opens his mouth. All sciences are taught at school by the medium of Persian, from which all technical terms are taken, even in Pushtoo: the latter language is never taught in schools, and left to be picked up as best it can.

"2. Pushtoo, or Afghani, is necessary to address the Afghans proper, and the peasantry of the valley, as well as the rude mountaineers, who know no other language. It is a hard tongue, difficult to be mastered, and uncouth in pronunciation. Its study is beset with difficulties of all kinds, especially on account of the absence of proper books and translations.

"3. Hindi, or Hindki, is necessary to reach a not unimportant branch of the inhabitants, the descendants of the aboriginal Hindu stock, which, since the conquest by the Sikhs, has been augmented considerably by an influx of Gurmukhi-speaking settlers and traders, and lately by Hindu troops and servants, and all sorts and conditions of men from India proper. I have practised myself occasionally in Hindi, and always had a respectable audience.

"4. Hindustani is required, as everywhere where British rule has extended. The Government offices are mostly served by Hindustani men, the greatest part of official business is transacted in that language, and Hindustani has become the medium of school instruction. Nearly everybody has some smattering of Hindustani; the servants, the troops composing the garrison, are spoken to and commanded in Hindustani; in one word, it is the official language of India, and all natives who aspire to Government situations are labouring hard to get it up as best they can."

Such is the importance, and such are the corresponding requirements of Peshawur. Four languages demand attention; and for this diversified work we have at present on the spot only three Missionaries.

Again, the Sikh population demands special

attention at the present moment. Sikhism—a politico-religious system—has lost its power. Its political prestige was destroyed on the banks of the Sutlej, and the subsequent annexation of the Punjab to British India. Religiously it differs little from Hinduism; and into this latter creed the Sikhs are being rapidly absorbed. They fall back upon it, in their ignorance of any better. It is just the moment to present Christianity to their attention; and Umritsur, the religious capital of Sikhism, is precisely the centre from whence to urge such efforts. The great mass of the Manja Sikhs—the very core and heart of that people—is grouped around. According to the last census, there were in the districts of Lahore and Umritsur alone not less than 127,000 Sikhs; and if to these be added the contiguous districts of Goordaspoor, Goojranwalla, and Sealkote, there arises a total of some 200,000. Yet at Umritsur, there are only four Missionaries, one of whom is taken up by the educational work of the Mission. Again, at Mooltan, the importance of which has been already pointed out, there is at present only one, recently arrived, and therefore inexperienced, Missionary.

Are these provinces of the Indus deserving of vigorous action? We know none more so. Whosoever holds the Punjab dominates over the North-western Provinces, and, through them, over Bengal. Let Christianity obtain a position there, and it will command attention, and, like a city set on a hill, shed its light far and wide. There, in these provinces of the Indus, we find a confluence of languages and races; and through these, as they are won over, the truths of the everlasting Gospel may permeate the millions of Hindustan, or penetrate the rugged passes of the frontier mountains.

What then, under such circumstances, was

the Committee to do? On one side, warned of a diminishing income; on the other hand, invited to the immediate improvement of the most promising opportunities. The one consideration seemed to forbid a further advance; and, in the presence of it, the representatives of this great Society, assembled in solemn deliberation, felt like the Israelites when the sea shut them in. But then it was, that “the Lord said unto Moses, Wherefore criest thou unto me? Speak unto the children of Israel, that they go forward.” And to us, in that moment of deliberation, the message from the Punjab seemed to be as the Lord’s voice in his providence, saying, “go forward.” And we have so resolved, although, in doing so, we seem about to descend into a sea of difficulty. But we are on the path of duty; we cannot turn back. We must needs go forward; and we expect to see, as we advance, the waters divide, not miraculously, but by the prompt and energetic efforts of our friends throughout this favoured country. We would labour for our God and his truth; for our fellow-men and their eternal interests; for our country and the consolidation of its rule over India; for our church, in the vindication of its character as a Missionary church; and we summon all who esteem these objects valuable, and worth contending for, to join us in a new and grand effort to plant the Gospel standard more extensively over the plains of the Punjab. Let Christian England give us the men: to no more noble enterprise could they be consecrated. Let Christian England give us the means: on no more noble service could they be expended. Oh for a new impulse from above! Let the tide return, and the breath of heaven fill our sails: let the vessel get under weigh, for the time is short, and souls are perishing!

JAPAN.

We have widely departed from the original prospectus of this Number. Japan was intended to occupy the prominent position, forced as it has been on our attention by the singular events of which the last mails have brought us intelligence. But the proceedings of the General Committee for October came in unexpectedly, and presented themselves with so much of interest, that to deal with them at once became an imperative necessity. Thus Japan has been displaced, although the engraving intended to accompany the article retains its position, like a house, which,

having suddenly collapsed, retains the ornamental features still adhering to the walls. We must bespeak the indulgence of our readers, proposing as we do to correct one anomaly by the perpetration of another in our next Number, when we shall hope to introduce an article on Japan, together with a view of the rugged defiles of the Bolan Pass, to which reference is made in this Number. Thus the articles and their respective engravings will be alike severed from each other; but the confusion may be rectified, and order restored, when, the yearly

Numbers being completed, the bookbinder proceeds to unite them in one volume.

Ourengraving presents to our readers the residence of Mr. Rutherford Aloock, the British Extraordinary to the Imperial Government Envoy of Japan. It is one of a series of temples belonging to an extensive Buddhist monastery. A garden, with a pleasant grove of trees, and a fish-pond stocked with golden carp, surrounds one end of the residence, the grounds in which the building stands being enclosed by a railing about nine feet in height, supported at intervals by little buttresses of pine-wood, in order to secure retirement, and keep out nightly assassins.

This residence was the scene of that deadly attack which was made on the morning of July 5th, by a band of armed assassins, evidently with the intention of murdering the entire legation before assistance could arrive. Providentially the English gentlemen, although taken by surprise, and ill provided with weapons of defence, were enabled to keep their enemies at bay until the arrival of the Yakoneens, or Japanese guards, by whom, not without loss of life to themselves, the assassins were overpowered. The Yakoneens acted for the Government; the assassins were the hirelings of the feudal lords, or Daimios, who dislike the entrance of the foreigner into the land, fearing lest their tyrannical oligarchy would lose somewhat of its power. Assassinations are the usual mode in Japan of getting rid of disagreeable persons, nor is the Government, which is set at defiance by these princes, as the kings of England were in feudal times by the overbearing nobles, always able to prevent these revengeful deeds. The official quarter, which surrounds the Tycoon's palace and gardens at Yeddo, is the chosen battle-field where the grantees of the empire decide their feuds; and there, at the beginning of the present year, the Goteiro, or regent of the empire, was assassinated in the open day. If the Government were acting with complicity, and really desired the murder of the British officers, it were easy for the Yakoneens to have kept away until the bloody deed was done; or, if they did appear, they might have taken to flight after a pretended effort to interfere. Instead of this, the battle was a severe one, and of the Yakoneens several were killed, and many more wounded. But for their prompt interference, every life would have been sacrificed. To make the Government responsible for outrages to which it is itself exposed, and which, in fact, it has no power to prevent, would be unreasonable and unjust. But we think it likely that Japan is nearing a crisis, and that

the nobles, finding the Government faithful in its engagements to the foreigners, will break out into open rebellion, and endeavour to overthrow it; and thus here, in this distant and hitherto isolated empire, there are changes and impending revolutions, reminding us of the divine determination—"I will overturn, overturn, overturn it; and it shall be no more until He come whose right it is; and I will give it Him."

Japanese civilization is like the lacquer ware of that singular country. It presents a polished surface, but the interior will not bear inspection. The more we examine into the condition of this people, the more manifest and overwhelming are the evidences of their moral unhealthiness. To them the words of Isaiah may with justice be applied. "From the sole of the foot, even unto the head, there is no soundness in it, but wounds and bruises, and putrefying sores. They have not been closed, neither bound up, neither mollified with ointment." They need the speedy application of the grand specific, the leaves of the tree which are for the healing of the nations.

It is a question how far Japan is open to Missionary effort, and on this subject very opposite opinions have been expressed. The Bishop of Victoria, in a letter addressed to the Secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, has thus expressed himself on this important point—"I am sorry to have to inform you that all the Protestant Missionaries now in Japan concur in the view that it is highly impolitic and inexpedient, in the present temper of the Japanese Government, to attempt any distribution of a Japanese version of the Holy Scriptures among the people. Even the native teachers who assist them in acquiring the language evince considerable alarm, anxiety, and even dismay, whenever Luke's gospel in Japanese is produced, and the conversation is drawn to the subject of Christian doctrines. The Missionaries all believe that, by degrees, a conciliatory course of avoiding any violence to their prejudices, and a cautious abstinence from directly aggressive Missionary action, will prepare the way for more enlarged Missionary operations. At first, both at Kanagawa and Nagasaki, efforts were made by the custom-house native authorities to compel the Missionaries to deliver up all Christian books. As the native officials do not regard Chinese books with the same prejudice as books translated into Japanese, it is probable that the Delegates' version of the Bible in Chinese, and also tracts and books in that language, will for some time be the only available

medium of communicating religious truth to the Japanese. Every educated Japanese can read the Chinese character."

It would appear, however, that there are some amongst the Missionaries who do not concur in these opinions; and statements, of a kind identical with those contained in the letter just referred to, having been made by the Bishop of Victoria, at the Dublin anniversary of the Church Missionary Society in April last, have brought forth the following reply from the American Episcopal Missionary, the Rev. J. Liggins—

"The bishop is represented as having said, 'I believe that the receiving of a copy of the Holy Scriptures, or the reading of the Bible, would entail certain death on any Japanese subject.' This statement of Bishop Smith will be read with great surprise by Missionaries who have sold many copies of the word of God to the Japanese, and who have yet to learn of any such fearful consequences resulting as he speaks of. Before the bishop's visit to Japan, the writer had sold sixty copies of the Scriptures and books wholly religious; besides two thousand magazines, partly religious and partly secular. This was during the first ten months of Missionary labour in Japan, and since that time the demand for religious books has gone on increasing.

"In a letter recently received by the writer from the Rev. Mr. Verbeck, of Nagasaki, he says, 'I have lately sold sixty copies of a new work which contains a complete summary of Christian truth.' The Rev. Mr. Brown, of Kanagawa, writes that he 'has sold two hundred copies of the New Testament to the Japanese.'

"But not only does the sale of hundreds of copies of the Scriptures prove that there is little foundation in fact for the belief expressed by Bishop Smith, but the treaties lately concluded with Japan expressly provide against any such dreadful occurrence as a Japanese subject being put to death for possessing a copy of the Bible. An article of the American Treaty, which is also found in the other treaties, provides 'that the Japanese shall be permitted to buy whatever Americans may have to sell, the only exceptions being opium and firearms.' Mr. Harris, the author of the treaty, told me, that he had this article worded as it is, expressly to cover the sale of the Scriptures, and other Christian books, by the Missionaries; and that he should interfere at once if there was any attempt to violate it."

We are inclined to think that the true state of things lies between these two extremes, and will be found embodied in the following

sensible letter from Mr. Liggins, dated a month earlier than the preceding one.

"As some persons, because Japan is not opened to Missionary labours to the extent they wish it was, speak as if it were not opened at all, it seems necessary to state what Missionaries can do at the present time in that country.

"1. They can procure native books and native teachers, by which to acquire the language, and of course the acquisition of the language is, during the first few years, a principal part of their duty.

"2. They can, as they are able, prepare philological works, to enable subsequent Missionaries and others to acquire the language with much less labour, and in much less time, than they themselves have to give to it; and each, in the course of a few years, may make his contribution towards a complete version of the Holy Scriptures in the Japanese language.

3. They can furnish the Japanese, who are anxious to learn English, with suitable books in that language, and thus greatly facilitate social and friendly intercourse between the two races.

"4. They can dispose by sale of a large number of the historical, geographical, and scientific works prepared by the Protestant Missionaries in China.

"Faithful histories of Christian countries tend to disarm prejudice, and to recommend the religion of the Bible; while works on true science are very useful in a country where astrology, geomancy, and many false teachings on scientific subjects generally, are so interwoven with their religious beliefs.

"5. They can sell the Scriptures and religious books and tracts in the Chinese language, and thus engage in direct Missionary work. As books in this language are understood by every educated Japanese, and as the sale of them is provided for by an article of the treaty, we have here a very available means of at once conveying religious truth to the minds of the Japanese.

"6. As the keeping of the above books for sale brings the Missionary into constant intercourse with the people in his own house, and as very many of them make inquiries about Christianity, an excellent opportunity is thus afforded him for explaining to them what Christianity is, and of urging home its claims upon them; and here is another very important way of carrying on direct Missionary labour.

"7. They can, by their Christian walk and conversation, by acts of benevolence to the poor and afflicted, and by kindness and

courtesy to all, weaken and dispel the prejudices against them, and convince the observant Japanese that true Christianity is something very different from what intriguing Jesuits of former days—what unprincipled traders and profane sailors of the present day—would lead them to think it is.

“Living epistles of Christianity are as much needed in Japan as written ones; and it would be very sad if either are withheld through a mistaken idea that Japan ‘is not open to Missionary labour.’ . . .

“But perhaps it may be asked, ‘Is it not still a law that a native who professes Christianity shall be put to death?’ To this an affirmative answer must be given; but it should be remembered that another law was passed at the same time, which declared that any Japanese who returned to his native country, after having been, for any cause whatever, in any foreign country, should be put to death. As this latter law, though unrepealed, is not executed, so it is believed that the law against professing Christianity will in like manner not be enforced.

“In conversing with Mr. Harris, the United States Minister at Yeddo, on this subject, he stated that he had used every endeavour to have this obnoxious law repealed, but without success; a principal reason being that the Government feared that it would form a pretext for the old conservative party to overthrow the Government, and again get into power. What the ‘Liberals’ even did concede, resulted in what was feared; though, owing to the energetic conduct of the Foreign Ministers, and the influence of the Liberal party in Japan, the ‘Conservatives’ were compelled to adopt, in great measure, the ‘Liberal policy.’

“‘I do not believe,’ said Mr. Harris, ‘after all that the other Foreign Ministers and myself have said on the subject, that this law will ever be enforced; but if it should be, even in a single instance, there will come such an earnest protest from myself and the representatives of the other Western Powers that there will not likely be a repetition of it.’

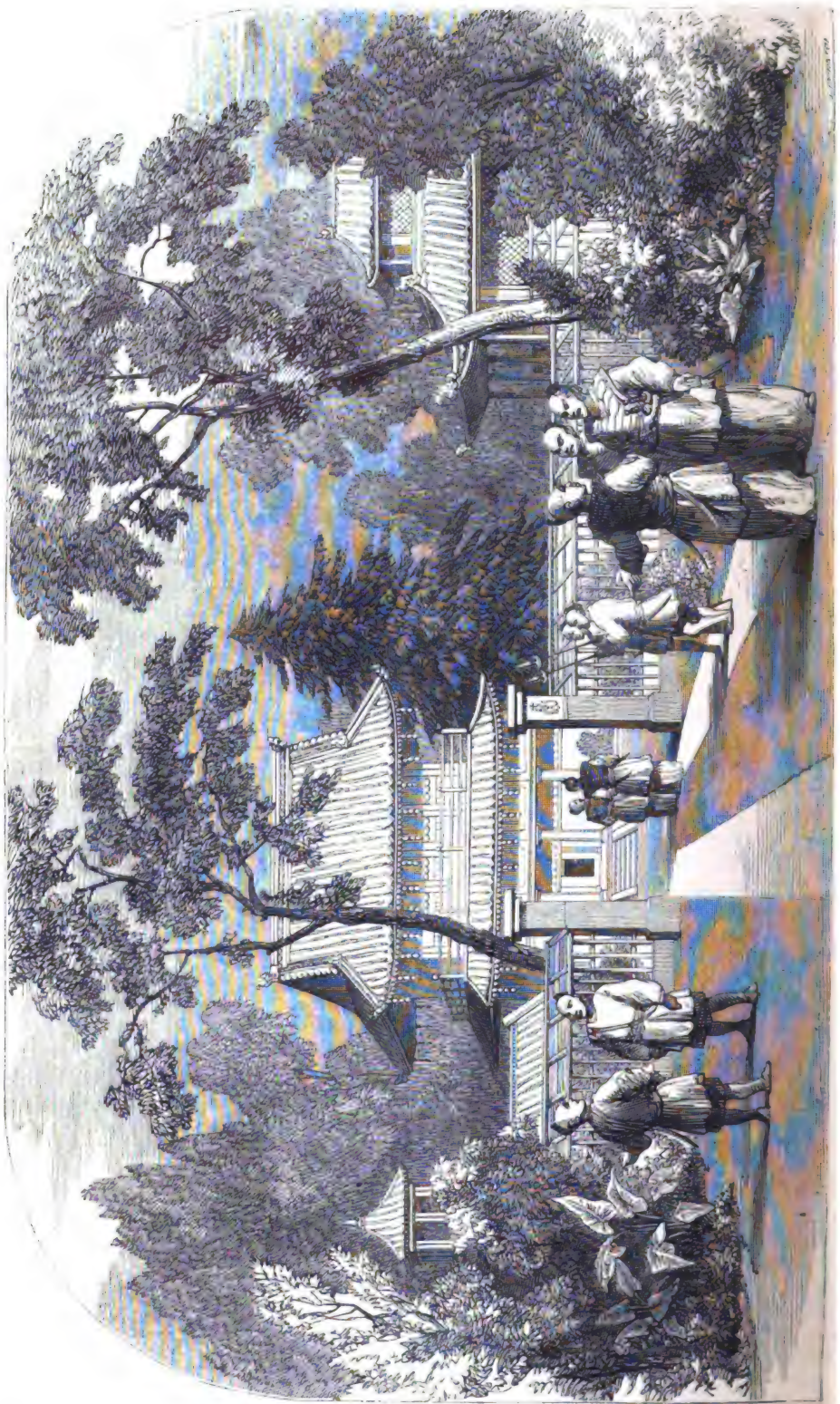
“The non-repeal of this law, therefore, while it is a matter for regret, is nevertheless not to be adduced as a proof that Japan is still closed to Missionary effort; but only as a reason for a prudent course of procedure on the part of the Missionaries.”

There is, then, a law which dooms to death any native who professes Christianity. It is true that as yet there has been no enforcement of this law, and the American Minister is of opinion, that in consequence of the protests made on this point by himself and other

foreign ministers it never will be enforced. Still it remains unrepealed, and while this be the case, it may be called into action at any moment by some marked instances of conversion to Christianity, and that in despite of the remonstrances of the American or any other foreign Missionary. Now we are of opinion that we have reached an era in the history of God’s dealings with mankind of a character so peculiar that no nation will be permitted to retain such an obstructive enactment on its statute-book, without being subjected to visitations more or less severe, as circumstances may require it. The great earthquake has gone forth, whose mission is to level with the dust all obstructions of a political character which would interfere with the fulfilment of the divine command, “Preach the Gospel to every creature.”

Meanwhile there is much, no doubt, of preliminary work which may be done by Missionaries; nor should the existence of a sanguinary law on the Statute Book of Japan prevent us offering the Scripture, either in Chinese or Japanese—so far as we possess the latter—to the natives, as we have opportunity. And now, on this new field of labour, the Church Missionary Society is invited to enter. The great American Societies, which have so zealously and successfully carried on the great work of evangelism amongst the heathen, are feeling severely, in the diminished pecuniary support which they are receiving, the effects of a calamitous war. The sad necessity for most painful retrenchment is being forced upon them, and those prosperous Missions by which they have been disseminating the light of truth, and guiding the lost to Christ, must be, if not given up, at least enfeebled in their action. We Christians of England have been accused of not sympathizing with our Transatlantic brethren in their present painful circumstances. No words will serve to reassure them on this subject. We must reply by actions. It would be a glorious vindication of British Christians from such a charge, if, as a thank-offering for the peace which we enjoy, contributions to the Missionary work, instead of diminishing, were so increased throughout this land, that we should be enabled, not only to maintain our own Missions, but assist our American brethren to maintain theirs.

The Church Missionary Society has been invited by American Missionaries returning from Japan to take up the work in that country, from whence they are constrained to withdraw. Let our friends throughout England say what answer we shall give them.



RESIDENCE OF THE BRITISH EMBASSY, YEDDO.

INCREASE OF THE EPISCOPATE IN INDIA—THE RIGHT WAY OF DOING IT.

"It is with pain that we have once more to draw attention to the obstructions offered by the Church Missionary Society to the increase of the Indian Episcopate." Such is the opening sentence of the "Colonial Church Chronicle" for September 1861.

We had hoped, by previous papers and explanations, to have so far prevailed with the "Colonial Church Chronicle" as to free it from the misapprehension under which we regret to find it still labours, namely, that the Church Missionary Society is engaged in offering a series of deliberate obstructions to the increase of the Indian Episcopate, and therefore that it merits public reproof and condemnation; a painful duty, to which our worthy cotemporary appears to consider himself imperatively called, and endeavours to discharge with much self-denying zeal. No one is more to be pitied than the man who afflicts himself to fulfil that which he considers to be a duty, but which, in fact, is such only in his own imagination; and when an individual is seen expending his resources so unprofitably, the natural impulse is to convince him of his error, and awaken him to a correct perception of the actual state of things. It would have been well if the false enthusiasm which obscured his vision had been dispelled from around the worthy knight of La Mancha, before he committed himself to the dangerous absurdity of charging the windmills, and splintering his spear against such rough antagonists. The "Colonial Church Chronicle" appears ambitious to emulate so peerless an example. With undiminished zeal, again and again, on its Rosinante, it enters the lists as the reprehender of the proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, and expends its time and energy in tilting, not even against something so substantial as a windmill, but against a phantom evil which has no existence, save in the imagination of a few mistaken persons. Repeatedly have we deprecated these aggressions, but our remonstrances remain unheeded, and we are once more very reluctantly compelled to stop a moment, if so be we may soothe down our worthy impugner, and persuade him to abandon a proceeding which he assures us is painful to him, and which we can assure him, so far as the convictions of the Church Missionary Society are concerned, is labour lost.

The charge, often answered, yet still reiterated against the Church Missionary

Society, is that it obstructs the increase of the Episcopate in India, and thus contravenes its own professed principles, and therefore, as a false knight, guilty of appropriating a motto which is not its own, that it deserves to have its shield reversed, and to be banished in ignominy from the lists.

Surely our past services might plead at least so far on our behalf as to claim for us a hearing, and, until that had been conceded, prevent any prejudgment of our case. Surely the Church Missionary Society has rendered service to the Church of England. This good knight has been often in the field; and his casque and shield bear upon them the indents of the strokes he has received. Full fifty years he has been doing battle. He has been an old crusader, and, far away in Oriental lands, he has borne the cross, and endured hardness. Some trophies have been won, nor is he unwilling, if such a proceeding be deemed requisite, that a comparison be instituted between the services he has rendered, and those of any other Church-of-England Missionary organization. In magnitude and importance they yield to none. If the truth must be told, they are the most numerous, the most widely distributed, the best consolidated, and the furthest advanced towards Church organization. Native churches have been raised up, east and west, north and south. The doctrine taught and believed amongst these churches is that which Scripture reveals, and the Church of England has expressed with such fidelity in her Articles. Their religious worship is framed and conducted according to the Church-of-England Prayer-book, which, in every instance where a new language is brought into action as a channel for Missionary instruction, is carefully translated by the Missionaries of the Society, and placed, with the vernacular Bible, in the hands of the converts and their children. Thus important accessions to Christianity and groups of converts who regard the Church of England as the mother Church from whence their Christianity has been derived, have been gained through the labours of the Church Missionary Society. In writing thus, we are constrained to say with Paul of old—"I am become a fool in glorying: ye have compelled me: for I ought to have been commended of you." And certainly, in view of the results which have been obtained through the labours of the Church Missionary Society, and the honour

which God has put upon its work, it might expect at least so much of deference, as to have the explanations which it offers on points connected with its policy and course of action, accepted and believed.

On the ground, then, of past services, the Society claims to be heard on its own behalf, while once more it disclaims the accusation so often brought against it. The Church Missionary Society has never offered any obstruction to the increase of the Episcopate in India; but it has opposed, and will continue to oppose, that mode of increase advocated by the "Church Colonial Chronicle," and those who sympathize with it, as inconsiderate and rash; put forward, either without due consideration, or in default of that necessary knowledge and experience which alone can qualify individuals to deal with questions of so great magnitude. The question is not as to the increase of the Episcopate, but as to the assignment of a foreign Episcopate to the native churches.

The question is a very serious one. It is not to be disposed of by a few sharp papers, written *currente calamo*, with a show of argument, and nothing more, but one requiring grave and prayerful consideration. No one is fitted to deal with this subject who has not long and earnestly thought upon it, and who has viewed it, not in theory, but as the bearings of it are manifested in the experiences and evolutions of Missionary work. The mountain stream, as it gurgles along its rocky bed, is sparkling and attractive; but it is a vexed streamlet, and it is so because it is so shallow. Every rock and stone constitutes a hindrance, and it frets and chafes around these interruptions as though they were mountains; but they are buried in the depths of the great river, which, as it flows powerfully onward, never pauses to recognise them. There are minds, sparkling but querulous. They will take up trivialities, and fret and fume around them; but great and comprehensive questions they have neither the depth nor the patience to entertain. No man is fitted to deal with those grand questions, which, in connexion with Missionary enterprise, are now opening on the attention of the church, who cannot divest himself of petty narrownesses and the cavillings of a party spirit, and who, when he enters into the labyrinth of a question as yet difficult, because new and unsubmitted to the test of experience, has not been careful to furnish himself with that one clue which can alone guide to a safe and just conclusion—how shall, not party views, not sectional prejudices, but the glory of God, the kingdom of Christ,

the salvation of our fellow-men, be best promoted. Certainly, our position at the present day is one of great responsibility. Missions, as they have advanced, have presented for investigation and solution new questions, which our predecessors, who were engaged in the more elementary portions of the work, had not to do with. They have devolved on us, and in the decision to which we come, is wrapped up the future prosperity of the native churches. We are persuaded that the real question at issue is, whether Episcopacy shall be so introduced into the native churches as to become a part of their growth, or whether it shall be something extraneous, artificially attached to them, but having no real incorporation, and therefore, amidst the changes and siftings of political fluctuations, liable to fall off, and be so lost as never to be recovered.

Let us calmly view the subject. Our responsibility is India and a group of nations entrusted to our care. The Gospel is with us, and wherever it is given it bestows blessings, but carries with it collateral obligations, and one of the most vital and unavoidable of these is the command, "Freely ye have received, freely give." That Gospel which God has given to us, we are bound to give to India; that is the duty which God expects us to discharge, and if we fail in the duty, when the period of probation has expired we shall lose the heritage, and the vineyard be taken from us, that it may be given to others. How shall this great duty be best discharged? Voluntary associations of private individuals, having no political character, but simply the emanations of Christian philanthropy, have been the great agencies employed. That is well. National distrust is thus wisely put aside. Evangelizing efforts put forth authoritatively would excite suspicion among the natives, as designed, not to promote their welfare, but to complete their subjugation. False religion would be placed in the best possible position for retaining its hold on the affections of the people, and would clothe itself in the drapery, and assume the attitude of one unjustly persecuted. But the whole movement has been carried out by those who manifestly can be actuated by no other motive than an anxiety to benefit the natives; and, as such, we hesitate not to say the Missionaries throughout India are regarded, even by those who are not convinced by their teaching, as men who wish to befriend them. To this we attribute the marvellous fact, that during the disturbances of 1857-58, and when the native mind was filled with a hatred to the European, unprotected

Mission stations, in remote country districts, remained unmolested.

But we now aim at a universal preaching of the Gospel amongst the natives of India, so as to give every man a fair opportunity of knowing and embracing the truth. We can be content with nothing less. Our work will not be done until this be done. And how shall it be accomplished, this work of stupendous magnitude? These millions of souls—one hundred and seventy millions, in all their diversity of race, and language, and religion—how shall they be individualized, so that each shall have his opportunity? Some have so little understanding of the subject, that they appear to think this stupendous work is to be done by European Missionaries, and that they must be multiplied accordingly. Upon a misconception of this kind, the "Colonial Church Chronicle" grounds one of its arguments for the immediate increase of the Episcopate in India. The Church Missionary Society, in one of its official papers, had expressed its conviction that no necessity existed for the immediate increase of the English Episcopate in India, because of the limited number of clergy to be superintended; there being, for example, in the diocese of Madras, not more than 152 clergy. Of this the "Colonial Church Chronicle" proceeds to advantage itself, and, in venturing into the arena of argument, discloses a defectiveness in the ideas which it entertains as to the true character of Missionary work, and the mode in which it ought to be carried on, which tempts us to shoot an arrow through the joints of its armour. "Will the Committee," exclaims our zealous cotemporary, "proceed to argue that 152 clergy are amply sufficient for the supply of the spiritual wants of the Christian population, and for the work of gathering in the forty millions of heathens of Southern India to the Christian fold? If they are not, will the Committee go on to argue that they consider that two bishops are less likely to increase the number of chaplains and Missionaries than one?" The "Colonial Church Chronicle," then, intends a great object—the evangelization of the native people of South India, amounting to forty millions, and informs us how this may be accomplished. A proportionable increase in the number of chaplains and Missionaries is requisite, and that this may be effected, it wants to have two English bishops instead of one in the diocese of Madras. This is "the one measure which common sense shows, and the experience of the last twenty years has proved to be, under God, the great means

of increasing Missionary clergy in the colonies and dependencies of the British Empire." Our readers will begin to understand something of the Missionary theories on which we are called upon to act, under the dread of incurring a heavy responsibility. The masses of the heathen are to be gathered in by Missionary clergy, and as the only way of accomplishing this the English Episcopate must be increased. And will this be successful? Will the increase of the Episcopate attract from Europe all the labourers which may be requisite for such a work as this—men of the right kind, and in sufficient number? Never! not even if, instead of one bishop, there were fifty or one hundred. It never was intended that the work of universal testimony should be done in this way. It is not God's way: it cannot be ours. Throughout the whole history of the church, from the earliest and apostolic times, it never was acted upon. It is an impossibility, and it is well that it is so, for it would be unsuccessful. The foreign agency which commences the work is a handful. It never was intended to be more. It is merely initiative in its action, and as such will always be numerically disproportionate to the masses it approaches; yet that does not preclude its effectiveness. Let us explain. There is a district in New Zealand, one happily remote from the calamitous war which has so arrested the growing prosperity of those islands, where, forty years ago, wheat was unknown. The potato and kumera were the only edibles grown by the natives. Now the valleys and hill-sides, where the forest and the fern-root flourished luxuriantly, are covered with rich crops of mellow wheat, ripe for the harvest. A Missionary laid the foundation of this plenty. He brought in with him two stockings full of wheat grain. It was sown, and, as it reproduced itself, was resown, until there was enough to serve both as seed and food. Observe; the first harvest raised consisted of little tiny patches. How contemptible they seemed when contrasted with the extensive territories around—the plains and outlying hills! Yet such is the power of reproduction, that they have furnished forth more than seed enough for all the ground that can be brought into cultivation. So in India. A few Missionaries have entered in. They have sown a handful of the seed of the kingdom, no more, and it has yielded the tiny patches of its first produce. There they are, the little churches and congregations dispersed over the face of India. How contemptible they look when compared with the dense masses of India's population! Yet to these we must look for the increase of the

work. We must look, not so much to fresh seed brought from without, as to the naturalized seed which they shall yield us : only let them be wisely dealt with, not stunted and dwarfed by indiscreet action. The seed they yield is peculiarly valuable, because it is naturalized. It is a native element Christianized. When introduced by a foreign agent, the Gospel has much to contend with. A new language has to be acquired. Even under the most advantageous circumstances, when others have pioneered the way, and prepared vocabularies and elementary books, still his ear has to be accustomed, and his tongue broken in, to the new sounds, and it is long before he can so speak as to arrest the attention of the native, and express distinctly and intelligibly the truths which he wishes to communicate. To the very last he remains a foreigner in the land, one not of the people themselves, but, in points too numerous to be specified, unlike them. The danger is, lest the religion which he introduces be regarded as a foreign element, well suited to the white man, but uncongenial to the native mind, and incapable of adapting itself to a native soil ; and thus so formidable are the difficulties with which a religion such as Christianity is encompassed—one which, to help the sinner, deals faithfully with him by pointing out his sin, that its progress would be impossible were it not the power of God. Therefore it is that the first converts are the great marvel of the work. The men who have had the boldness to break off from the long prescribed creed and customs of their forefathers, and, amidst obloquy and persecution, embrace the new faith, present a phenomenon, in its remarkable character inferior only to the miraculous. Disadvantaged as it is in its primary action, crippled and impeded by adverse circumstances, the Gospel nevertheless wins its way, and, in every land and language where it is dealt with faithfully, yields these earlier fruits. But its progress is retarded. The work commenced under such circumstances is slow in its development. Men labour long and painfully before a first convert appears, and slowly, and amidst much discouragement, the Missionary toils up the steep ascent, the rocky barriers, and precipitous paths, which, unless surmounted, would leave him a prisoner on the narrow beach where he was landed, and shut him out for ever from the open country above.

While Christianity, therefore, accepts these difficulties on its first entrance into a new country, it claims to be relieved of them as soon as possible ; and this is done when the

native converts and congregations raised up by the foreign Missionary, being recognised as the natural means for the further propagation of Christianity amongst their countrymen, are trained and used for this great object. In the existence of such congregations, new thoughts are forced upon the minds of the observant heathen. They are convinced of that of which at first they were incredulous, that the new religion has power so to affect the minds of their countrymen, as to become with them the superior influence. They have put the matter to the test. Every kind of discouragement which could be devised has been heaped on these first seceders from the ancient superstitions, yet have they stood fast, and, so far from being wrenched away from their convictions, the greater the difficulties the more tenacious their adherence to the newly-found path. But this is not enough. The heathen expect that the converts will become denationalized, drawn away from the native masses to which they originally belonged, and incorporated with the white man, and that the sympathies which once united them with old relatives and friends of the same race and blood with themselves, will be lost in the new ties which have been formed, and, like the old religions and superstitions of the country, perish under the powerful influences to which they have been subjected. If these churches are to become centres of light and instruments of good amongst the dense masses of India's population—if, from these, as so many points of vitality, healthful influences are to be largely dispersed abroad—if a naturalized seed is to be sown, and the progress of Christianity expedited—if the great deliverance on its mission is in some measure to emulate, in its promptitude of action, the devouring speed with which the process of destruction is going forward—if evangelists are to be raised up who shall teach or preach, not in an acquired, but in their own native tongue, and with the ease and fluency of their own vernacular, then must the native character of the new churches be carefully and jealously preserved. They must remain homogeneous with the masses round, else will they cease to be influential, and become nothing more than patches on a rent garment, between which and the contiguous portions of the old vestment there is no intertexture. Their growth will be like the growth of lichens, and no more. They will grow upon, but not in union with, the great mass of humanity on which they have been formed. Instead of a graft, they will be an excrescence. The vitality which they will

have will be one in entire separation from the living body to which they are attached. There will be no sympathies, no pores of intercommunication, by means of which a corrective and improving influence may be imparted. The lichens are peculiar in their functions. They do not directly turn that upon which they grow into soil, but collect soil upon it. Native churches may be so mismanaged as to be reduced precisely to this state. They may affect the European instead of the native element, and, fungus-like, may proceed to collect the means of sustentation from without, instead of striking their roots deeply into the native soil, and deriving the materials of increase and maintenance from thence. Lichens protect "rocks and stones from the influence of the air." A direct proof of this may be seen in any old tower which has long stood the weather, unexposed to smoke, which is unfavourable to the growth of lichens. "The stone of which the tower is built may be all from the same quarry, but still it will be found that, while the parts near the foundation are time-worn, especially towards the south-west, the marks of the chisel are fresh upon those near the top, more especially on the north-east side, where the lichens are always most abundant. It is the same with the fuci and the confervæ, for the rocks and channels that are covered with them are not nearly so much worn as those that are bare."* So it is with native churches *aggregated* on the exterior of a population, but having a separate vitality; so far from enfeebling the old superstitions of the land, they rather protect and conserve them. The people dislike the Christianity which, in its growth and mode of existence is detached, and cling with the more tenacity to the old creeds and forms.

If, then, the native churches raised up in India are to be useful and do their proper work, we must be careful that the evangelizing procedure be such as not to denationalize them. This was the misfortune of the church of the Reformation in Ireland: it was denationalized. The motive which influenced to this was the desire of extending the English order, habit, and language. The Parliamentary statute of 1537, the 28th year of Henry the Eighth, enacted, that "if any spiritual promotion within this land at any time became void, such as have title to nominate shall nominate to the same such a person as can speak English, and none other;" or if no English-speaking person could be had who was willing to accept the benefice, and

the nomination of a native became a matter of necessity, then he was bound under an oath "to endeavour himself to learn the English tongue and language," and to learn and teach the English tongue to all under his governance, and preach the word of God in English." To give effect to this policy, English bishops were appointed to Irish sees—men pledged to the discouragement of the Irish language, and who dealt with the clergy so as to confine them to English ministrations, and warp them from all active efforts to evangelize the natives through the vernacular. Woodward, Bishop of Cloyne, admits the discrepancy of language between the clergy and the people to "constitute a very general, and, where it obtains, an insurmountable obstacle to any intercourse with the people;" and then, anticipating a very obvious remark, adds, in a note, "If it be asked why the clergy do not learn the Irish language, I answer, that it should be the object of the Government rather to take measures to bring it into entire disuse."* The consequences of such a policy are recorded in the page of history. The reformed church of Ireland was Anglicized. It was so dealt with, that between it and the Irish-speaking people no active sympathies were permitted to be formed. Exceptional cases there were; holy men, raised above the narrow prejudices of the time, and, pre-eminent amongst them, Bedell, of Kilmore, who not only required from his clergy an ability to preach in the Irish tongue, as an absolutely necessary qualification, but best enforced it by his own example. But with his death such efforts died. His Irish manuscript was allowed to remain above forty years without being printed; and as for those ministers who attempted to use the Irish tongue for the purpose of evangelization, they were few indeed. The effects of this policy have been but too apparent, even in our own day. The writer of this article can bear testimony to the fact that the reformed church of Ireland, as he first knew it, nearly half a century ago, was dissociated from the masses of the people. They had no sympathy with it. They regarded it as that which England had intruded into the land, as the church of the dominant section of the population, that which wielded all power and possessed all privilege, while they were down-trodden and oppressed. The Irish Protestants were in the land a distinct and separated people: they were regarded by the masses around them as more Sassenach than

* "Mudie's Autumn."

* "Anderson's Native Irish," Section 3.

Irish, and their disavowance from their Irish-speaking countrymen, and surrender to English interests, was attributed chiefly to the influence of that Protestantism whose real character the Irish people understood not, because cramped and fettered by a mistaken policy, it had never been permitted to break forth in its loving influence upon them. It was, in the estimation of the Irish Romanist, an heretical and soul-destroying faith, from which he shrank in abhorrence, and clung the more earnestly to that corrupt system which taught its follies and superstitions in his own tongue. And thus the reformed church in Ireland was for generations a thing of lichen growth. It was in no union with the people, and received no welcome there. It was no more nourished by the masses of the population, than the lichens which cover the face of a rock are fed by that rock: it turned, therefore, elsewhere for support and sympathy, and collected from without the soil on which it grew. No one who remembers what Ireland was between forty and fifty years ago, can deem these statements overdrawn. There, in an Irish country town, might be seen the Protestant church; and there, at noon on the Lord's-day, would be found collected a scanty congregation. They had come from great distances. The horses and carriages of various kinds, by which they were conveyed, stood without. But on the way were passed the chapels of the Romanists, probably two in a distance of six miles, and so full, that the people might be seen kneeling outside on the steps and in the chapel-yards. As the little congregation of Protestants broke up on their return home, dense crowds filled the street, and dark looks and scowls too plainly evidenced the disaffection with which they were regarded. The Protestant church had been so unhappily dealt with, that it had ceased to be a Missionary church. The truth of Christianity was wrapped up in a narrow and exclusive system. The masses disliked it as an intrusion, with which they neither had, nor desired to have, connexion, and attached themselves with the more determination to the church of Rome.

Are the native churches in India to be similarly dealt with? A theory of secular policy wrought the mischief in Ireland; a theory of ecclesiastical policy may do the same for India. The one evil was done by the overweening desire to promote the *English* language; the other may be done by an overweening desire to promote the *English* Episcopate. The reformed church of Ireland was denationalized mainly by the

promotion of Englishmen to the sees which ought to have been filled by the clergy of the country. The same procedure—the appointment of an English Episcopate to the presidency of native churches—cannot fail to have the same effect. How can the Anglican element be placed in such a position, and not affect the native church, so as to render it less native, and impart to it a hybrid character? Natives crouch to the European in authority; they have a servile tendency; they disguise their own sentiments; they adopt his. In our native pastors no doubt the action of Christianity lessens this tendency, and fosters manliness and independence of character; but it still exists, and the native pastor ought not to be placed in circumstances which will not help him, but rather hinder him in unlearning it. Bishop and clergy, to work together, must assimilate. The English bishop, if a devoted man, will come down as much as he can to the lower level of his native clergy; but beyond a certain point he cannot advance. They, to meet him, must come forth from their habitudes. They must become as much English as he becomes native. They will of themselves decide to do so, and will endeavour, as closely as possible, to resemble their bishop in habits and mode of life. They will learn English, because their bishop speaks in English. They want theological books, but if they can have them in English there is the less need to translate them into the vernacular: it will therefore remain impoverished, and will be proportionably neglected, while the knowledge of the English is more coveted. But how shall it be with the native flock? They must be distracted, either from their clergy, or the unconverted masses round. Either result must be calamitous. The one would deprive them of opportunities for growth; the other of opportunities for usefulness. In either case their effectiveness is sacrificed. They must be nourished up in the words of faith and of good doctrine, if they are to have capacity for work: they must retain their homogeneity with their countrymen, if they are to have materials to work upon. The leaven is originally a part of the mass into which it is introduced: it is dough, a small portion, separated from the lump, and dealt with after a peculiar fashion, so as, by fermentation, to become pungent, spirituous, penetrative. This, hid in the natural mass, attenuates it, and, by affording opportunity for the air to enter, raises and lightens it. But the leaven is homogeneous with the mass it is designed to act upon, not dissimilar.

Now, just as a native church becomes Anglicized, it loses this necessary suitableness. Let us look at it from a native point of view. In Ireland there was a jealousy between races. The Irish disliked the Anglo-Saxon conqueror, and disliked the reformed church of Ireland as a portion of the dominant system. There is race-jealousy in India. The English are in authority, the natives are the subjects. If they come to think that Christianity cannot act on them as a people, without altering the national type, and assimilating it to the English model, they also will dislike it. If the Hindu thinks that, with a change of faith, national essentials must be changed, he will decline having to do with an element so disturbing. He wants to see whether a Hindu can become a Christian, and yet, in all points which are not at variance with Christianity, remain a Hindu still. He wants to see whether, in accomplishing its transit from the foreign Missionary to the native convert, it can leave behind English materiality, and, as a simple spiritual system, enter into the Hindu, and deal with Hindu materiality as it had done with that which is English. Unless we can provide a leaven of this kind, the mass will not be fermented. It will reject the action of that which is not homogenous. A native church, with an English bishop, and the necessary consequence, an Anglicized clergy, can never act as leaven amidst the population of Hindustan. In this we see the wisdom of Missions in India not being confined to any one province, but dispersed, as it were, incidentally, yet widely, amidst the nations of Hindustan, and amidst different languages. It is thus that for each distinct nation a different leaven is being provided, and Christianity is being clothed with that language and form which will enable it to act with most facility on the Telugu, on the Tamil, the Malayalam, or Bengalee.

But how, if an English Episcopate must needs be appended to a native church, shall the heathen be able to regard it as capable of acting with the impartiality we have described? They will view it as a partisan of English domination, insidiously entering in, under a religious pretext, to deprive them of their idiosyncrasy in the family of nations, and break them down into more complete subjection to the English rule. Christianity must be preserved intact from the suspicion of national favouritism, if it would remain uncompromised with national dissensions, and thus, as the friend and benefactor of all, soften down asperities, and promote universal concord.

But to a Hindu who loves his race, and desires it should be maintained in its distinctiveness—who dislikes, as every man does who possesses patriotism, that it should be absorbed and lost in another and more powerful one, how can a native church, with an English Episcopate, be otherwise than an object of doubt? for how is this English Episcopate to be maintained? By the native churches? Impossible! They have never maintained the English Missionary, how then shall they maintain the English bishop? He must be maintained from home. But this constitutes a palpable relationship. The English Episcopate, thus salaried, connects the church with England, and not with India. As such, the natives can have no confidence in its ministrations. It has been naturalized as regards England, but has thus become an alien to them.

Let the Anglican party beware! In their haste to multiply bishops they will not fail, through their inexperience and ignorance, to interfere with the healthful action of Christ's Gospel, and prevent, by injudicious measures the very object they have in view. Commence with an Anglican Episcopate over a native church, and there never will be a native Episcopate. The one will render the other impracticable. The English Episcopate, however, wisely administered, will so affect the native clergy as for ever to unfit them for native superintendence. The native bishop's comparatively humble and unpretentious office will be contrasted with the more dignified position of him whom they have been accustomed to salaam as "my Lord," and elements of discontent and insubordination will be introduced, which no future time will serve to counteract. Initiate the English Episcopate over a native church, and, under such it must continue, for it will never so recover its native simplicity, as heartily, and without reluctance, to submit itself to native direction.

We commenced this article by quoting the first sentence in the "Colonial Church Chronicle" on the subdivision of the diocese of Madras: we conclude with the terminating sentence of the same effusion—"All we" ask the Church Missionary Society's Committee "is, that they should join their brethren in striving to secure what is possible, a Missionary Episcopate in preference to what may prove, though most desirable, as yet unattainable, a purely native Episcopate." Such is the concluding sentence, and to this we reply, that we cannot unite with them in the object for which they strive, because the appointment of a Missionary Episcopate

would render a purely Native Episcopate, however most desirable, yet for ever unattainable. We are pleased to find our worthy cotemporary agrees with us in considering a purely Native Episcopate *most desirable*. It would surely, then, be a pity, by any rash procedure, to endanger the prospect of so desirable a consummation. We are all, as engaged in working out the great Missionary problems which present themselves to us at the present day, placed under a most serious responsibility. Native churches have been raised up, and on their healthful development what important issues are depending? Our hope with respect to them is that of Paul to the Corinthians—"Having hope, when your faith is increased, that we shall be enlarged by you according to our rule abundantly, to preach the Gospel in the regions beyond you." At such a crisis we may, by unwise interference, mar that hope, or by scriptural action expedite that hope. Is it just, then, is it becoming the character of grave men, to accuse us as acting inconsistently with our profession of Church Missionary, because we

will not commit ourselves without questioning to a line of action which to us appears experimental and dangerous? If we were contumaciously silent, and refused to offer any explanation, such reproaches would not be surprising. But this has not been the case; and as the "Colonial Church Chronicle" considers it "a matter of curious interest to ascertain what are the reasons which have approved themselves to a body specially deputed to further the Missions of the Church of England in India, as justifying them in opposing the subdivision of the Missionary diocese of Madras," we have once more placed those reasons before the public. Surely they are not puerile. They are of sufficient weight to show that our refusal to concur with the standing Committee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in urging upon Her Majesty's Government the division of the diocese of Madras, is the result of serious convictions, and is in no wise inconsistent with the position which our Society holds as the "Church Missionary Society."

MISSION TO THE DERAJAT.

IN our last Number we placed before our readers certain new openings from important Missionary efforts in connexion with the Trans-Indus portion of our Punjab territories, openings to the immediate occupation of which this Society has been invited by Colonel Reynell Taylor, the Commissioner of the Trans-Sutlej States. We expressed our regret that it was not in our power to introduce into our review of these openings the letter received from Colonel Taylor, and enclosing one addressed to him by Sir R. Montgomery, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, as also the substance of the explanatory remarks addressed by Sir Herbert Edwardes to the Committee, with a view to aid them to a right decision. We are happy now to be enabled to supply this deficiency. The following letter from Sir Herbert Edwardes will be found to embrace the information placed by him on that occasion before the Committee; and this, together with extracts of letters from Sir Robert Montgomery and Colonel Reynell G. Taylor, we now publish.

*"Letter from Sir Herbert B. Edwardes,
K. C. B., to Rev. H. Venn.*

"15th October 1861.

"MY DEAR MR. VENN—I have much pleasure in putting down on paper such in-

formation as I was able yesterday to give the Committee of the Church Missionary Society by word of mouth, when laying before them the letter of Colonel Reynell Taylor, proposing to found a Mission in the Derajat. I know well that the Society is already trying to do more work than the friends of Missions seem ready to support; and that very good cause must be shown to justify the Committee in pushing on into one more field of labour and expense, with the good old staff of faith and hope bending under its burdens.

"The Derajat is that long reach of the Punjab frontier which lies between the right bank of the Indus and the eastern slopes of the great Sulimane range, which separates British India from Afghanistan. It extends from the Salt Range, which is the southern limit of the Peshawur division, to the north-eastern frontier of the province of Sindh; and may be more than 300 miles long by 50 or 60 broad.

"The name Derajat means literally "The Camps;" and arose from the conquest of the country by three chiefs, Ishmael Khan, Futeh Khan, and Ghazee Khan, who parcelled it out between them. They were evidently nomads: for their resting-places were called The Camps, or, in Scripture language, The

Tents of Ishmael, Futtch, and Ghazee. Gradually the wanderers took root: houses replaced the tents, and towns grew up; but the whole tract embraced by the occupation of these invaders is still called the Derajat.

"Dera Futtch Khan is the central one; but it has been eclipsed in importance by the other two. Dera Ghazee Khan and Dera Ishmael Khan are each the headquarters of a British district, and derive their commercial importance from the fact that each stands opposite mountain-passes on the border through which the products of Central Asia are poured down into the Punjab and Hindostan, and the products of Hindustan and England are pushed up into Central Asia.

"The carriers of this trade are among the most remarkable people in the world, and are well worth telling of. They are the Lohanee merchants of Afghanistan.

"There are several tribes of them; and for generations it has been their business to do for Central Asia and India, what Englishmen have been doing for the nations on the world's seaboard. It was no easy task: they had to come and go between the lands of snow and sun, and in both to carry on commerce under every conceivable impost and extortion. Midway on their route they had to traverse the mountains of Suliman, which owned neither the laws of Delhi nor Cabul. Here taxes ceased, but it was no respite for the Lohanees. Between them and the Wuzzeeres (the proudest mountaineers of Afghanistan) a blood-feud reigned, and no quarter was given on either side. From the moment that the Lohanee caravans entered the Wuzzeeree defile each march had to be made in battle-array, and desperate were the contests through which they pushed their road, losing here a camel, there a bale of goods, a sturdy comrade, a foot-sore wife, or a stray child. You may suppose they came out of such wars a very battered set of fellows; and no one can fall into their company without being struck with the number of their scars and wounds. Yet undaunted they go on, from father to son; and almost as certain as the wintry frosts, the hardy Lohanee merchants, with their wiry little camels, make their appearance on the plains of the Derajat. Here they are in British territory, the land of law and order, and most striking must the transition seem to them. At once precautions cease; arms are laid aside, except when pasturing the camels under the skirts of the Afghan hills; the loads are opened out and exposed for sale in the bazaars of the Derajat, and the whole company of the caravan

enjoys a peaceful rest within the Christian border.

"But the mass of their goods have hundreds of miles yet to go; and after a few days' rest the onward march towards Hindustan (by Mooltan and Bhawalpore) begins. The English magistrate, who saw the Lohanee caravans *débouche* from the mountains into his district with an advanced-guard, rear-guard, skirmishers, and well-primed juzzails, has now a reward for his daily labours in cutcherry. He sees one or two Lohanees deputed by their comrades to take charge of a long string of camels laden heavily with merchandise and conduct them through the whole length of British India, with a staff in their hands for a weapon, and a dog at their heels for a guard. I have myself seen them thus, within a march or two of Calcutta, with their hill cloaks piled upon their heads to protect them from the fiery sun of Bengal. The main body of the Lohanees remains throughout the winter in the Derajat, pasturing their camels, and awaiting the return of their friends from Hindustan with Manchester goods and indigo for Central Asia. You will see, then, that for several months these enterprising merchant tribes, to the number of perhaps 2000, are every year encamped in the Derajat, and brought within our influence for good or evil, then leave, and carry their experience of Christians into the distant strongholds of Islam—Cabul, Ghuznee, Candahar, Herat, Bulk, Bokhara, Khiva, and Kokan.

"The settled tribes who inhabit the Derajat are hardly less interesting than their Lohanee visitors, and have still stronger claims on us as our subjects. The upper and larger half of the Derajat, from the Salt Range to Dera Futtch Khan, is possessed by Puthans of Afghan origin; the lower half by Beloochees allied to those of Sindh; but in both there is a large population of Mohammedan Juts, who cultivate, though they do not possess, the soil, and are probably immigrants from the Punjab Cis-Indus. In every town and village of the Derajat, too, there is a sprinkling of Hindus, who, though much oppressed before British rule came to their help, were yet indispensable as men of business to the proud Puthan landlords; and, under a show of meanness and poverty, managed to get all the trade of the country into their hands. The languages of such a population squeezed in between the plains of the Punjab and the hills of Afghanistan, are necessarily mixed. There are whole tribes in the Upper Derajat who speak nothing but Pushtoo; the Jut

cultivators and the Hindu traders speak a kind of Punjabee; and the Beloochees have a dialect of Sindhee and Punjabee mixed. The tendency of British rule and British law-courts is to spread the dialects of Hindustan, and throw those of the mountains into disuse. But as long as the mountains remain, and the mountaineers have feuds and friendships with the lowlanders, and come down to the towns of the Derajat to buy and sell so long must the Pushtoo tongue retain its hold on the border.

"The state of society throughout the Derajat is perfectly feudal. The tribes who first conquered (or it might be more correct to say, *last* conquered) the trans-Indus country parcelled it out among themselves according to their strength; and their descendants still hold it in the same divisions, with now and then a bloody fight about one hundred yards, more or less, on the border line. Each clan has its own name and dress, its own hereditary chiefs, its own internal system of government, and its own outside feuds and alliances with other clans. Living as they do under the mountains, exposed to constant raids, the whole population is highly warlike. It is but fifteen years since every village in the valley of Bunnoo (where Colonel Reynell Taylor and Sir Robert Montgomery now wish for a Mission station) was fortified with a high mud-wall, from the top of which it carried on war with its neighbours. The Sikhs never subjugated it; and when we first got it, looking at its bloodshed and crimes, we might fairly have said of it, 'If there be a *hell* on earth, it is this! it is this!' Its pacification was mainly due to the late General John Nicholson, who was Deputy-Commissioner of the district for four years. Such was his force of character, courage, and administrative ability, that in that short time he beat the hill tribes into submission, and turned the valley of Bunnoo into one of the most orderly districts in the Punjab. I remember well his telling me, that during the last year of his stay there was not a single murder, highway robbery, or even attempt at either. Such is the soil which our civil officers have been ploughing in: is it not one in which the Missionary should now begin to sow?

"Common gratitude demands that we English should do all we can for the people of the Derajat, for in two great struggles the people of the Derajat have come to our assistance, and fought nobly on our side. In the war of 1848-49 it was the whole length of the Derajat border which gave us those levies of wild swordsmen, matchlock-men, and cavalry,

which enabled us, in a season adverse to the march of European troops, to shut up the rebel Dewan Moolraj in his fortress at Mooltan, and wrest from him one of the most fertile divisions of the Punjab. Sir Henry Lawrence and his assistants had shown great kindness to the Derajat people, had removed an oppressive governor, and recalled many of their chiefs from exile back to their homes and lands. They did not forget it, but manfully repaid it in our hour of need. I remember one old chief who was under these obligations to us, hastening to join our standard (when he heard of the murder of poor Agnew and Anderson at Mooltan) with 400 of his clan, and his eldest son,* so covered with wounds (got in our cause in a skirmish with the Lohanees) that he was obliged to be carried on a litter at the head of his father's followers; yet in the first battle that ensued he mounted his horse, charged, and got wounded afresh. I can remember another,† who had followed the camp out of gratitude, though he was too poor to bring many followers; and when he caught sight of Moolraj's guns, charged without orders, alone, and fell dead at a cannon's mouth. These and such like acts of loyalty won from the British Government, after the annexation of the Punjab, unusually liberal treatment to the chiefs of the Derajat; and when the next struggle came, in the terrible Sepoy mutiny of 1857, the chiefs of the Derajat instantly took up arms, raised horse and foot, and hurried to our aid. From Peshawur to Bengal these loyal men were once more found fighting our battles, in spite of the taunts of the Mohammedans of India. When the war was over they were again rewarded; and if, in a province so pre-eminent as the Punjab for loyalty to us, I might particularize one class of men as more than another partisans of ours, I should name the chiefs and people of the Derajat.

"Just now I told you of Kaloo Khan's father bringing 400 followers to join us in the Mooltan campaign. His name was Mohammed Ali Khan, and I forgot to tell you he was the depository of the Pushtoo Bible printed in 1818 by the Missionaries of Serampore. You may have read the story before in 'A Year on the Punjab Frontier, but I will remind you of it again. When he was a lad, he went down to the North-west Provinces of India to sell Afghan horses at the Hurdwar fair (the Ballinasloe of those parts). There he was accosted by a Missio-

* Kaloo Kkan, of Kolachee.

† Shahniwaz Khan, of Essukheyi.

nary, who, seeing that he was an Afghan, offered him a Bible in the Pushtoo tongue, with strict injunctions to take care of it, for it was a precious book, and must be preserved from fire and flood, and some day he would surely find the value of it when the English should reach his country. I was the first Englishman whom Mohammed Ali Khan saw from that time. It was in 1847 or 1848, and the old man brought out the Bible to show me, carefully wrapped up in many folds of silk. 'See,' said he, 'I have kept it from fire and water.' I asked if he had read it. He said, 'The village priest, who was a scholar, had looked into it, and said it was a good book, for it was all about father Moses and father Noah.' Strange to say, when the Peshawur Mission to the Afghans was founded, in 1854, by one of your lay Missionaries giving it 1000*l*, and we wanted to reprint the Serampore version of the Bible in Pushtoo, the only copy that could be found in India was this one that had been treasured up in the Derajat for twenty or thirty years.

"All these little incidents of the past give to the Derajat border and its wild clans an unusual interest. Colonel Reynell Taylor, who now offers 1000*l*. to get a Mission for them, has lived many years among them, and been first their Deputy-Commissioner, and now their Commissioner. Between him and them there is that more than friendly—that *feudal* feeling of mutual attachment and dependence, which happily is to be found flourishing in so many districts of the Punjab. He is one who rules by good and gentle influences; and to those who think that the advocates of Christianity in India must needs be intolerant of native prejudices and feelings, this design of Reynell Taylor's, for a Mission in the very heart of the country under his charge, is a great reproof. The kindest (though not the least chivalrous) spirit on our frontier does not think it a loving thing to let alone his people—to leave them in their hereditary darkness, and make no effort to lead them towards the light. His idea of being their true friend is to help them to hear of the true God; and he feels that he 'should not look back happily' on his long association with them, 'if this one effort had been left unmade.'

"In these feelings you will see that he has the cordial concurrence of Sir Robert Montgomery, the present Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, who, like his predecessor, Sir John Lawrence, regards Christian Missionaries as friends, both of the people and the civil government, and will

always be found ready to help them in all matters that are within his discretion.

"It cannot but strike your Committee as very remarkable, that this proposal to found a new Mission comes from one who is responsible for some 300 miles of the farthest and ruggedest frontier of British India; and that he who bids the proposal 'God speed' is responsible for the province whose manly races helped the English to reconquer India in 1857-58. The Punjab, indeed, is conspicuous for two things, the most successful government, and the most open acknowledgment of Christian duty. Surely it is not fanaticism, but homely faith, to see a connexion between the two? So long as the Punjab is ruled in the spirit of Colonel Taylor and Sir Robert Montgomery, a blessing will surely rest upon it. As one whose lot is cast in with theirs, I felt thankful even to read their letters, and to carry such plans before you; but I am doubly thankful to your Committee for yielding to their appeal in the midst of your world-wide difficulties. Even during the hour that I was with you, I was struck at hearing of appeals from the heart of the Sikh country, from Rajpootana, from Sindh, from North-west America, from Japan, and from several other places, while a falling-off was reported in your income. May these difficulties be lessened, not increased, by your answering this call from the Derajat! Walking by faith, and not by sight, may you be followed into new territory by the increased sympathy of all who know whose inheritance the heathen are!

"Believe me ever, most sincerely yours,

"HERBERT B. EDWARDES."

The following paragraphs are extracted from the letters of Colonel R. Taylor and Sir R. Montgomery, to which Sir H. Edwardes alludes—

"*Letter from Colonel Reynell Taylor to Sir Herbert B. Edwardes.*

"*Sheikh Boodeen, August 14th, 1861.*

"MY DEAR EDWARDES,—I enclose a letter from Sir Robert, sanctioning the establishment of a Mission here.

"I need not go much about to recommend to you—as you will, I know, share in my feeling—that having been so long and so much connected with the classes of the Derajat, we should not look back happily on the whole association if this one effort had been left unmade.

"What I want you to do is, to be kind enough to negotiate the matter with the leaders of the Church Missionary Society. God be with and bless what I may write, and you may say, and may He deign to forward

the project, and to correct and purify our motives, so that we may really begin, continue, and end it in Him ; our object being to sow beside a not unimportant stream, that word which shall do its work sooner or later.

"It is almost needless for me to set forth and explain that Dera Ishmael Khan is a very appropriate place for a Mission, as you will be able to do that in a few words *visà voce*. I may say, however, that the races of the Derajat itself are kindly and well disposed towards Christians, whom they believe to have a large amount of light. They are themselves zealous and strict in observing their own religion ; but they are the reverse of intolerant or hostile where Christians are concerned. For Sikhs especially, and generally for Hindus, their affection is not great ; as you may remember.

"Then there are the Khorassanee merchants, that come down in shoals every year, and who live through the winter in the district. Among them are many men of great intelligence, who would hear and ponder ; and if, in God's mercy, convinced, would carry weight with their fellows ; and retire, with their gleanings of truth, to the hearths and homes of Cabul, Ghuznee, Candahar, and Bokhara.

"I cannot promise much success with Wuzurees or Bunnoochees ; but the latter are idle, and fond of discussion, and on a late occasion of a visit from the Peshawur Missionaries, they received and bought books freely.

"The Beloochees of the Dera Ghazee Khan border, have always been regarded as very slack in their religious observances : they are Sheeahs, and are wonderfully free from prejudice, and fond of talking with Europeans. They have also many kindly qualities, and are altogether more tractable than the Puthans.

"The great thing I should look to would be a school conducted by a Missionary. I have seen such excellent ones, and feel convinced that they must eventually do so much good.

"I should also, however, look confidently for some result, under God's blessing, from preaching and reasoning.

"The kind of man I picture to myself as likely to do good is one who should be well acquainted with Mohammedan history, creed, &c. ; one who could say, 'Come, I have a story to tell you, which is well worth your hearing !' He would certainly get hearers, as the whole community are idle enough ; and if the speaker be equal to telling his tale with all the force that belongs to it, and his telling be blessed, there would be results

sooner or later ; but whether in our time in India, or not, it would be hard to say.

* * * *

"I should wish to put the matter entirely in the hands of the Church Missionary Society. I like its connexion with our own church ; and I believe it to be in every way entitled to confidence and honour, both as to motives and means employed ; and therefore we can never do better than put ourselves in its hands.

"Now about funds. I have not an idea what amount it would be necessary to have lodged to enable the Church Missionary Society to adopt the arrangement at once, and, if possible, despatch the members of the Mission this cold weather.

"We propose to devote 1000*l.* to it. Sir Robert will give 300*l.* when the three points are taken up ; but 100*l.* only would be available at once. This would be 1100*l.* ; and I doubt not that, by beating up for subscriptions, we may raise another 300*l.* or 400*l.* ; but this cannot be spoken of with certainty. I could pay 500*l.* of our money in England in December ; and the other in this country or in England three months later.

"Directly I know what the Church Missionary Society are able and willing to do, I will solicit subscriptions on all sides.

"One thing I should mention, and that is, that this whole project has the cordial good wishes of our present chaplain at Dera Ishmael Khan—the Rev. Alexander Robinson—with whom I have often talked on the subject, and with whom I have consulted before writing this. We know well, also, that it will have the good wishes of the Bishop of Calcutta.

* * * *

"I may note some points which would be interesting to Missionaries coming out.

"The nearest route is *visà Bombay* ; from thence to Kurrachee by steamer ; from thence to Kotree on the Indus by rail ; and from thence by mail steamer to Mooltan ; from which place marching is easy either by Dera Ghazee Khan or Leiah.

"Dera Ishmael Khan is quite a pleasant residence ; if the Indus will let it alone, very healthy both for adults and children. Sheikh Boodeen, within forty miles from where I am now writing, is a great resort, having an excellent climate ; Sukesur, another mountain in the Sindh Sagur Doab, is also an excellent sanatorium, and a lodgment has been made on it this year : it is 5100 feet high, and very extensive, and easy of access. The Mission families will be able to make use of either one of these hills in the hot

weather, and still carry on work, keeping fresh and healthy for the real working season. We have now been here three hot seasons, and, with much thankfulness, I say that I do not believe that my children could have been more healthy anywhere in India. They have had the advantage of escaping the exhaustion of July, August, and September; and then the cold weather, which is very fine trans-Indus, has always made them ruddy and robust.

"So much for the 'Derajat Mission,' which God bless!

* * * *

"Yours affectionately,

"REYNELL TAYLOR."

"Extracts of Letter from Sir Robert Montgomery, K. C. B., to Colonel Reynell Taylor.

"We have held the frontier for twelve years against all comers, and now, thank God, for the first time, we are at peace with all the tribes. There are indications of a better state of things for the future: they seek more to come amongst us. Now is the time to hold out the hand of friendship, and to offer, through the Missionaries, the bread of life. It is not the duty of Government, or of their servants, to proselytize: this is left to those who have devoted their lives to the work. But I rejoice to see Missions spreading, and Dera is a fitting place for the establishment of one. But one will not suffice. Dera, as a centre, should be taken up first, and then Bunnoo and Dera Ghazee Khan. The whole frontier—from Peshawur to the Sindh frontier—will then be lined with Missions. It is my earnest prayer that the knowledge of the true God will from those points cover the vast Suliman range, and enter into the homes and hearts of the myriads of Central Asia. We have now, I hope, completed, or nearly so, a church at

every station on the frontier; and we have a clergyman at Dera. I do not forget that it is owing to a taunt from one of your borderers that we now have churches there. On visiting Sealkote, 300 miles from the border, and seeing a church for the first time, one of them asked if Christians had places of worship!

* * * *

"As an earnest that I desire to see the Missions established, I will give 1000 rupees to each as they are taken up.

* * * *

"Sheikh Boodeen and Sukesur will be delightful retreats for the Mission families. May God speed you in the good work!"

The resolution taken by the General Committee of October 14, 1861, on these documents, is as follows—

"That this Committee, having received an appeal to take up a new station or stations in the Derajat of the Punjab, as links between Peshawur and Mooltan, and with a view to bring the influence of the Gospel to bear upon the Afghan tribes inhabiting that district, as well as those who visit it annually from beyond the Suliman range in great numbers; and that appeal having been enforced by a munificent offer of pecuniary help from the Commissioner or Chief Magistrate of the district, and by the strong recommendation of the Lieutenant-Governor of the province, together with a donation on his part also of 100*l.* for each of the three Mission stations as they may be taken up, cannot but regard such an appeal as a special call, in the providence of God, upon the Society to send at least two Missionaries to Dera Ishmael Khan as soon as the Committee shall have the suitable agents at their disposal."

DANGERS AND PRESERVATIONS.

THE Yoruba country has for some months past been grievously distracted by wars between the tribes, to the great prejudice of Missionary action, and of the general improvement of the people in industry and civilization. The Missionaries have been much hindered, and exposed to many trials. Residing in the midst of tribes at war with each other, they have been precluded from that interchange of help and counsel so needful to their well-being and comfort in a heathen land. Especially has our Missionary at Ibadan, the Rev. D. Hinderer, been iso-

ated. His position, in consequence, has been very critical. His supplies of cowries failed, and, with them, the means of subsistence. It became necessary that he should communicate with his brethren; yet the Ibadans being at war with the Egbas on the west, and with the Ijebus on the south, the roads in the direction of Abbeokuta and Lagos were alike unsafe. The perils to which he was exposed in this enterprise will be found detailed in the following letters from himself and Mrs. Hinderer. They will, we think, be read with much interest, bringing out as they do so

vividly the privations and dangers of Missionary life, the providential care of God over his servants, and the encouragements vouchsafed them in the sympathy shown, not only by the converts, but by the heathen round, and the increasing evidences thus afforded that their labour is not in vain in the Lord.

Mrs. Hinderer writes—

“Ibadan, June 10, 1861.

“I am sure you will be glad to hear that, after all his troubles, threats, illness, &c., Mr. Hinderer reached Ibadan in safety on the 29th of April. He has indeed been mercifully preserved from the hands of evil men by a gracious Providence—the watchful care of a loving Father. It seems that the emissaries of the Ijebu Ode king became tired of waiting and watching for the Ibadan white man’s head, and had, just before he came, left their watch in despair. He reached the little town of Ipara on the Saturday evening, intending to spend the Sunday there; but his friends in that place, who seemed well aware of the movements of the other party, told him he must by no means do such a thing. If he waited one day he was a lost man, for the Odes would hear of it, and be well prepared; so, under those circumstances, he felt quite justified in taking the journey; and quite comfortable and happy with only his two boys on that lonesome road; for he felt there was One there, though not seen, who had delivered, and would yet deliver them; but when he came to the place where the Ibadans and Jebus had had a fight a few weeks previous, he felt very sad—such a number of bones! The poor boys’ hearts quite failed them; and, as they say now, they thought truly their last day in this world would be that day. Mr. Hinderer tried to cheer and comfort them; but they said, ‘Pray, Sir, do not speak one word till we reach Ibadan.’ So they came on in silence; but when they reached Ibadan farms they gave such a shout for joy and thankfulness as is not often heard, I expect, in those regions. When they came to a place of comparative safety, they felt their fatigue, and begged to stay there for the night. Mr. Hinderer might easily have got home with his horse, but he could not but yield to the poor boys’ desire to wait; so they went to an empty hut (for all those farms are quite deserted at night now, and often in the days too, for fear of the Jebus), and the place was damp, and surrounded by grass, and they had had rain all the early morning, so that they were damp, and had hardly any thing to eat: the boys slept as they can—anywhere, but my husband could hear a snake in the

grass of the roof, which prevented his sleeping; and early on Monday, to our wonderful surprise, in they came; for of all days in the week, I never looked for them on a Monday, though I did anxiously enough every other day in the week. It was a happy day, indeed. The news flew like lightning through the town, and our house was crammed by the converts and others truly rejoicing. It reached the war-camp also, and the next day we had several messages from the chiefs and others of our friends. There was such an excitement, because all had heard of the king of Jebu’s intention to kill him. The wonderful thing is how they managed to keep it from me; but I was the only one who did not know it. Instead of being harassed by this information, I was comforted by our loving Father Himself with these words—‘In famine He shall redeem thee from death, and in war from the power of the sword,’ &c. (Job v. 19, 20.) This was given me when really cast down and anxious, not hearing or knowing any thing of him for so long; and from that time I always felt confidence that he would be brought safely through. It was a time of trial to us all; but I am sure it has been for good. A love has been drawn out from all our people for their minister which they were hardly aware of before; then it has called forth a spirit of prayer, which must and does bring good. There were many little gatherings together for prayer in the week, but in secret from me, lest I should suspect (what they knew of) my husband’s danger; and now they have found such a full and ready answer to their earnest petitions, which has caused a joy and thankfulness which can be seen in their faces even, and much more in their expressions. There is a good deal of earnest prayer, I believe, called forth in Ibadan in this war season: the natives regularly hold a daily meeting at six o’clock, and there is a tone and spirit in it which there was not before. Then there are the Monday-evening meetings, and our monthly prayer-meetings, and also on a Wednesday afternoon our teachers all meet, with a few of the most earnest and true of the converts: and what gives us comfort and hope in their being heard is, that the spirit is so different to what it was at first. At one time it used to be painful to hear certain individuals pray, it was so entirely for what they individually wished; but now it has come round so entirely to, ‘Do Thou, O Lord, what seemeth to Thee best: make all to work for good to this whole country, and for the coming of Thy kingdom.’

The Rev. D. Hinderer's letter is dated two months later—

"Ibadan, August 2, 1861.

"As we have once again the prospect of sending to Lagos by a caravan to go to Ijebu, I hope I shall succeed in sending you a good long letter, which I know will be acceptable to you in our present cut-off situation. The only drawback is, the chance not only, but the great probability, of its being lost. So it will be my present duty to write over again, as far as I can recollect, what I had written last January by the messenger who was kidnapped on the Jebu road, and who of course lost letters and all he carried. That letter was more of a journal, and began, as far as I recollect, with an account of the death of one of our converts, an elderly man, with the name of Ogunlade, who died in the night of the 10th of January. He was one of my newly-received communicants. His knowledge in divine things was but little, owing to his age; but I believe he was a sincere and simple believer in the Lord Jesus. During his illness, which was but short, I visited him once, but my schoolmaster and Scripture-reader several times; and from his manner, and the few words he spoke, it was evident that he rested his soul on Jesus for life or death. He also begged his heathen sister, who was the only person attending him, not to make any heathen medicine or sacrifice, and to let the church people bury his body. The day before his death, one of our converts remarked to him with sympathy, that his body was very poor and wasted. His answer was, 'Oh yes, this is a poor miserable body, but soon I shall put it off, and the Lord will, by and by, give me another beautiful one.' On the evening of the 11th we committed his earthly remains to their last resting-place; and as it was the first adult Christian funeral that we have had of Ibadan converts, it caused a great deal of excitement in his part of the town, and where his coffin had to pass, so that the church and the churchyard became filled with spectators. Unwilling to let this opportunity of so large a heathen assembly, and on such an occasion, pass unimproved, I addressed them on the subject of death and resurrection to everlasting life and happiness on the one hand, and to endless misery and woe on the other. The people paid great attention to the subject, and oh may it not be without its future fruit! On the same evening I was called to Oluwo, one of the elders, who is acting for the sick Bale in the town, and, to my surprise, was told that my people (teachers) were wanted by the Balogun in

the war camp on the morrow, as they were accused of having stolen two girls in the farms. Early on the 12th, I myself went with them, and we reached the camp before their morning business was over, so we had the chance of an early examination into our singular case. The Balogun was surprised, and sorry at seeing us, and especially me, and said he had never called us, for he never wanted to give either me or my people the trouble of coming all this way on account of such a foolish accusation. But the case was this: not being able to get any labourer at this time, I had sent our people—three Scripture-readers and two servants—to a distant farm, to cut materials for the roof of the yet unfinished church at Ogunpa (Mr. Jefferies' place), and they, not knowing the road, were conducted by one of our converts to the place. They stopped in the farm-house, adjoining the bush where they cut their materials one night, coming home with part of the wood the next day, and leaving the rest to be fetched afterwards. A man (a Babalawo, priest of Ifa) saw them; and as, on the very day they were coming home, the girls in question were kidnapped from the same farm, he brought the accusation against them, and the Balogun simply called him (the accuser) and the convert of ours who accompanied my people to the place. However, the course of the examination which now took place showed that it was well all our people were present. The accuser had to invent several stories to make his accusation good; and one was, that some of our people had never returned to Ibadan, but took the girls straightway to Abeokuta. This was a too ill-judged invention of the poor man, for there were all our five men before his face, some of whom, he asserted, had gone to Abeokuta. The Balogun cleared us most entirely from so foul a charge, and I could not but admire his skill in judging matters. With the greatest ease he detected the man's contradictions, and his memory, notwithstanding the multitude of cases brought before him, seemed to serve him well, for repeatedly he would tell the man that his stories of to-day did not agree with what he had asserted the previous day. The accuser was at last entirely confounded, and the Balogun dismissed him with a reprehension which he will not easily forget. However, the palaver was not yet ended, for the Balogun now began to address the assembly, ridiculing the accusation, till the place rung with laughter. Among other things, he said, 'This white man preaches in Ibadan, and, among other strange things, he tells us we must not go to war, nor catch and

sell each other ; and the result is that he gets but very few converts. If he would but change his song, and preach to us about war, he would soon have plenty of converts, more even than the Mohammedans.' But the drift of it all was, 'the white man takes all the trouble to come from so far a country as his to teach us of the evil of our bad doings, so that we must become different, for which plenty people dislike him, who would otherwise love and honour a white man, if he were likely to do the same wicked things amongst us himself.' We are indeed troubled on every side in this sad time of confusion, but the Lord stands by us graciously, so that we experience what is said of the holy prophets and patriarchs, 'Touch not my anointed, and do my prophets no harm ;' and unworthy as we are of all his care and favour, how sweet it is to be able to thank Him in the midst of and for our troubles, and to take courage under these same circumstances. I was put to a wholesome shame by a heathen warrior, one of our rough war-captains ; his name is Ajibo. I complained to him rather indignantly, that in the midst of all our troubles and difficulties we should be charged with stealing people, a thing which everybody knew could not be true ; and added, that if that was the way we were going to be treated in this country, we would have to leave it. His answer was such that I could hardly believe my ears, for had he been a Christian, as he was a heathen, he could hardly have spoken more reprovably. He asked me if I did not know that the people or servants of God must have trouble in the world, wherever they are ; and did not I come to Ibadan to preach the word of God ? Therefore I must expect trouble. 'But never you mind ; go on ; have patience, have patience, and you will have your reward.'

"The last week in January I was laid aside by face-ache and fever. Altogether the work I can do is but little, especially out of doors : it is intensely hot ; and then again the unsettled and disturbed state of the town is very unsettling, to which is now added our constant trouble for cowries. We had hoped the large Jebu caravan, which has come up lately, would bring us some traders who would change cowries for silver, but in this we are disappointed. I have again told the chiefs our difficulties. They are very sorry, but cannot help us, as their war expenses are great, and they do not know how long it will last. Meanwhile our church people have been very kind and sympathizing. They made us a present of sixteen heads of cow-

ries ; and some who had children staying with us not only willingly took them home to feed them themselves, but offered to take others off our hands during this time of war. So this will help us on again for a few weeks.

"Thus far, I believe, I have given the substance of the letter which was lost by our unfortunate messenger in February last. And now comes my journey to and from Lagos, and my sojourn there, which I know not how to tell. That time has been so replete with mercies, that I can but wonder how God could extend such tender care and protection over one so insignificant and undeserving as I. But oh, how strengthening is such experience to our feeble and often almost failing faith ! It was not till after much consideration and consultation with my dear wife, and after much prayer, that we decided on my undertaking this dangerous journey, and not until we saw no other means of getting cowries to subsist. I then started early on the 6th of March with two boys ; and travelling fast all day long, halting only once or twice for a little refreshment for my poor beast, as well as ourselves, we passed the dangerous part in one day, reaching Ipara, the first Jebu town, a little after seven in the night. We met nothing strange all the way, except at a place called Asa, where we saw about twenty pots of palm-oil recently smashed, and fragments of calabashes and clothes scattered all about. It was here that, some days before, people were kidnapped (it was said by the Egbas), six of them killed, and two roasted. We could not see any trace of that, except a smouldering fire was any sign of it ; and a little further on were two strange little heaps of what appeared to be congealed blood. My boys were evidently terrified, for when I wanted to stop and ask them some questions, they hurried on as fast as ever they could, without speaking a word. The next day we did not start till twelve at noon, because my horse wanted a good feeding, and there was nothing but grass, which had to be fetched from a great distance in the farms. Owing to this we did not reach Makun, our resting-place for the night, till after dark, and under a tremendous tornado, which left not a dry thread about us. I shook from head to foot as I alighted before the house of a man whom we met on the road, and who kindly took us in for the night. Half the town of Makun seemed to be under water ; for while I attempted to follow my horse under shelter I saw nothing but water, whenever a flash of lightning permitted us to see any thing, and soon I got my boots filled. Now, however, I was brought to a small room, where was a blazing

fire, over which I was both steamed and smoked. My kind host, too, who turned out to be a rich trader, brought me a tumbler of hot brandy and water. I got (still standing over the fire) into a good perspiration, and that I believe saved me from a bad attack of intermittent fever. The next day, being, by God's mercy, tolerably well, we got on to Korodu; and, the night after, over the lagoon to Lagos.

"I shall pass over my sickness in Lagos. I was on the point of starting back again for Ibadan, when I fell sick the very night before I was to have left Lagos to join a large caravan in the Jebu country. The first part of that caravan was fiercely attacked by the Jebus, and many more killed. The Jebus had prepared for themselves a good position to attack, and had apparently got the victory, until the bold Ibadan, Captain Agia, who was in the rear, came up, when the Ibadans were victorious, and killed and captured many Ijebus. Most of them were afterwards put to death in Ibadan. Had I been with the caravan I should not only have had the chance, as others, of being killed in the struggle, but, as we afterwards learnt, have been especially singled out by the Ijebus; why, is a mystery to me, except they supposed that I, being on the coast, was the cause of such a large caravan with trade to come up to Ibadan.

"After my recovery I was, of course, anxious to return; especially as my dear wife had no chance of hearing where I could be so long, whether in Lagos, or somewhere on the road, or killed in the attempt to return, and as Awujale, the King of Ijebu, had threatened my life if I should attempt to return to Ibadan. Many were the proposals made in Lagos for me to return some other way; but, all being impracticable, and knowing also that my time was in God's hand, and not in that of the Jebu's, I at last resolved to return. I left Lagos on the 24th of April, in company with Messrs. Maser and Flad, for Korodu, where the latter was to stay till he should hear whether he was to go to the Niger. There was, at first, some hope that I should meet a strong war party of Ibadans, who would carry me through the dangerous part (from Ipara through the forest to Ibadan); but when we reached Korodu I found that they had already left Ipara, which I could only reach after two days. Brother Maser was very anxious I should return with him to Lagos again, and was only reconciled to let me proceed on my promising not to go beyond Ipara, if there was danger. Stopping one day at Korodu, I reached Ipara safely on the 27th in

the afternoon. As I passed through the Jebu Kemo towns, who are all on Ibadan's side, I found the animosity against the King of Ijebu Ode reach very high. There were, however, two parties on the king's side, *i.e.* the old slave-dealing chiefs of Korodu, and the Balogun of Ipara, with a small party from his town. As I did not know whether any of my provisions—flour, biscuits, salt meat, &c., for Mr. Jefferies' as well as our use, which I had sent by the caravan that was attacked—had reached Ibadan, I bought another supply; and as this was being landed at Korodu, together with Mr. Flad's loads, the King of Ijebu's party in that place reported that I had brought forty kegs of powder from Lagos to take with me to Ibadan. Should that report reach the Jebu Ode kidnappers in the forest before my passing they would surely waylay me; though I carried nothing with me but some silver, leaving all my provision loads and even clothing at Ipara. Being told at Ipara by my kind host the Balogun that I might pass the forest, if going quietly with my boys, unobserved by the enemy, I therefore made all haste to proceed on from that place, in spite of rain, as well as the fatigue of my boys. The latter were not a little fatigued when we emerged from the Ipara farms into the forest or bush; and, as they told me in the evening, had made up their minds that this was their last day. About 11 A.M. we reached the place where the fight with the caravan took place about a month before, and for several miles onward from there we saw scattered bones and skeletons of men, of both the Ibadan and the Ijebu side, on the road. I tried to cheer my boys by talking, but not a word did I get in answer, they were so terrified, poor fellows; and no wonder, for they had heard much more of the talk of what was to be done to us if we were caught, than myself. My horse, too, was several times terrified at the unsightly skulls which lay in our narrow path. But we were mercifully protected, for we neither saw nor heard a human being all day long, though some of the kidnapping party could not have been very far, for there were their fires still burning on our right (that is, the Jebu side of the road, near the road encampment) though we had had two hours or more of heavy rain in the morning. The Lord is a sun and a shield indeed, "compassing us with favour as with a shield" may we never doubt his love and his power. Having travelled very fast all day, we reached Ibadan farms in good time in the evening, where we stopped for the night, and reached

Ibadan early the next morning. And here I met with such a reception as I never had before in my life, for I seemed to be as life from the dead to them. Our house was filled with visitors for several days, both heathen people and our converts, who all came to salute me; and my dear wife could hardly believe it was true that I was home. I was to have been absent three weeks, instead of which I was eight; and during this time all kinds of reports were circulated by Jebus in Ibadan as to what Jebu Ode would do to me on my way back to Ibadan. The reports reached even the war camp, and I was very glad and thankful both to our people and heathen friends for having kept these reports, which may have been exaggerated, from my dear wife. You may think it strange that I should be the object of so much hatred from the Jebu Odes. But the fact is, the Jebus have always strictly refused to receive white people into their own country; they were and are, therefore, the more angry and disappointed at our having settled in the Yoruba country beyond them: and now that they are at war with Ibadan, they would fain use the opportunity of getting rid of us in the interior.

And now as to our present situation. Country provisions are very cheap here, as everybody is working his farm, and one could easily live upon them; but for cowries we are as badly off as before I went to Lagos. I brought dollars, but they do not change. I brought 27*l.* worth of corals, but people have no cowries to buy this at this time. I advanced a Jebu Kemo trader 120 dollars at Lagos, who was to have reached Ibadan before me, and at once pay the amount in cowries to Mrs. Hinderer, but to this day we have never seen the man. As to the European provisions, only a little reached, the rest was lost on the road, and what I brought up is still in Ipara, for want of a safe road to come by: and if we had that, we have no cowries to pay the heavy carriage. But there was great mercy in some of the flour having reached Ibadan, for during my long attack of dysentery, had we not had flour, I must have lived on yam, the worst thing for that complaint. Our people have been

making farms, which help them as well as us a little. During my absence Mrs. Hinderer had to pinch very much; but she managed cleverly in turning old tin linings of deal boxes, biscuit tin boxes, lucifer-match-boxes of tin, and all sorts of things, into cowries. At present we are living on the articles of clothing and household utensils, which, however, have to be sold very much under their value. We do not know how we shall fare further on, if the war lasts; but as the Lord has helped us so wonderfully hitherto, He will help us through to the end. As to the present state of the war, we are told that Are, who has died so often before, is at last really dead. This gave us some hope that the war would come to an end, and there seemed to be a prospect of it some weeks ago, when the Egbas sent to the Ibadan camp, and negotiations for peace were entered upon. But the conditions under which the Egbas wanted to go home were such that the Ibadans would not accept.

"And now a word or two about my health. You will probably have received a letter from Mrs. Hinderer about my illness after my return from Lagos. Our prospects were indeed low then. The dangerous malady going on so long reduced me to such a skeleton, that we had several times to apprehend a speedy separation, or that my health must become a broken-down one. Now I hardly know what to say of myself: the cool weather, setting in when it did, helped me wonderfully to recover, but my cough returned again, and is at times very troublesome. Altogether, I am constantly reminded of my being but a vessel of clay, which, being mended at one place, becomes shattered at another. But to live a day at a time is becoming more and more our task; and how thankful I shall be to be able to labour on in my post: but the thought often troubles me, that I may prove a real *hinderer* by continuing in a post where more vigour is required than I possess.

"Mrs. Jefferies and my dear wife keep up wonderfully, considering their poor and rough living. May we prove worthy of all our continued and many mercies!"

JAPAN AND ITS PEOPLE.

FIVE centuries and a half ago, the first tidings of Japan were brought to Europe by the adventurous brothers Polo. Zipangu was the name under which its existence was

announced. Marco Polo had never been there himself, but in China he had heard of it, and of the efforts made by Kublai Khan to annex this insular empire to his conti-

mental possessions. A letter from the Mongol ruler introduced his ambitious inspirations to the Wang, or King of Nipon, remonstrating against the independence of the Japanese, and inviting them, under pain of his displeasure, to acknowledge his supremacy; and when this modest epistle failed to produce the result which was intended, a mighty host sailed from China, intent on conquest, but, like another armada designed for the subjugation of another island empire, the storm broke upon the unwieldy junks, and the fleet was scattered to the winds. This intended courtesy the Japanese were not slow to reciprocate, and the sea-board of China was long wasted by these bold pirates, who, like the Danes of Western Europe, landing where least expected, ravaged all before them.

But the more inaccessible this oriental fruit was found to be, the more inviting was its aspect in the eyes of those who so vainly coveted its possession, and Japan was spoken of as a land of delights, surpassing every other. "Zipangu," exclaimed Polo, "is an island in the Eastern Sea, very great in size; the people of a white complexion, of gentle behaviour, in religion idolaters, and they have a king of their own. They have gold in great plenty: their king permits no exportation of it; and they who have been to that country—and they are few—report the king's house to be covered with gold, as churches are here with lead, gilded windows, and they also have many jewels."

When, therefore, the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope passage opened the gates of the East to the ambitious and covetous sons of Europe, we cannot be surprised if, amongst other lands, Japan was sought out. Pinto and his Portuguese reached these shores in 1545. The strangers were well received; commercial arrangements were entered into, and an annual ship, conveying to the island of Kiusiu woollen-cloths, furs, manufactured silks, taffetas, and other commodities, was to be freighted in returns of gold, silver, and copper.

The Romish ecclesiastics were not very far behind. Xavier and his Missionaries reached these island shores. The deteriorated Christianity of Rome was zealously propagated, and spread for a time with the rapidity of fire amongst the dry wood. The European merchants were extracting the golden marrow of Japan; the Romish priests were baptizing the people by thousands. Prosperity is a severe test, and men, under its influence, show themselves as they really are. Priests and merchants became imperious, and a reaction

commenced. The friendly emperor perished by the stroke of an assassin. In 1587, Taiko, his successor, issued an edict against the further promulgation of Christianity; and the struggle commenced between priest and ruler, between European and native. It was very severe and protracted, and terminated in the expulsion of the Portuguese, the extirpation of the Christianity which Rome had planted, and, with the exception of the Dutch at Dezima, the closing of Japan to all intercourse with western nations. In 1640 the curious cabinet which had so suddenly opened, and into the secret drawers of which the eyes of Europeans—Portuguese, Spaniards, English, and Dutch—had so eagerly pryed, was suddenly locked, and the key hid carefully aside for upwards of 200 years.

At the end of that time the Tycoon and his council found themselves one morning in awkward circumstances. A powerful American squadron was anchored in the outer Bay of Yedo, and letters from the President of the United States, while requesting that the restrictive laws of Japan might be modified in favour of the Americans, intimated that a favourable response to the propositions of amity had become necessary, in order to avert unfriendly collision between the two nations.

Well versed in the history of their own country, the Japanese authorities must have been reminded of the letter of Kublai Khan in 1287, an uncourteous reply to which was followed by an attempt at invasion. Instead of Chinese junks, there were, on the present occasion, American steamers, and the rulers temporized. Strictly, the communications of foreigners ought to have been received at Nagasaki only, but the point was waived, and Japanese exclusiveness gave way. "The vigorous grasp of the hand of America, proffered in a friendly spirit, but thrust forward with an energy that proved the power to strike, had stirred Japanese isolation into a sensibility of its relationship to the rest of the world."* No doubt the Japanese felt this. They could have dispensed with the proffered friendship, but the vigorous blow they still more decidedly distasted. They delayed, and got rid of the armed importunity for a season or two; but again the stars and stripes were at their gates: and at length, in 1854, concessions were made, the most important of which permitted the residence of an American Consul at Simoda.

The successes of the allied forces in North China, and the humiliation of the Chinese

* "American Expedition," p. 263.

Emperor, exercised a powerful influence on the minds of the Japanese, and strengthened the hands of that political party which advocated the abandonment of the policy of isolation, and the opening of Japan to free intercourse with other nations. The United States, through their representative, Mr. Harris, were the first to improve this opportunity, and a commercial treaty was effected, the first which had been framed and signed since 1613, an example which was not lost upon Lord Elgin. A yacht, which was to be presented as a token of friendship and goodwill from Her Britannic Majesty to the Tycoon, afforded him a desirable opportunity, and instead of delivering it to the Japanese officials at Nagasaki, he resolved on proceeding direct to Yeddo, the residence of the Court. In vain did officials, high and low, remonstrate with him. Within the recesses of those inner waters, where no western ship had ever before ventured, the "Furious" audaciously pursued her way, until the anchor was cast, at a distance of about one mile and a half from the shore, and three and a half from the capital of the empire. The result of this bold step was the treaty of Yeddo, dated August 26, 1858, which conceded to the British the following privileges—the immediate opening of the ports of Nagasaki, Hakodadi, and Kanagawa, and, prospectively, of Hiogo and Nee-e-gata, or some other convenient port on the west coast of Nipon; the residence of consular agents at these ports, and the residence of a diplomatic agent at Yeddo, who should have the right to travel freely to any part of the empire.

Thus, after a long seclusion, Japan is once more opened to the European, and opportunity afforded of making himself acquainted with its inner life. The curious cabinet, so long closed, is again unlocked, and, with an inquisitiveness rendered more eager by the delay, men of the West search into the character and habits of a people still in heathenism, yet bearing on their exterior so much of the aspect of civilization. Indeed, European visitors seem to have been, in the first instance, quite carried away. They saw the polished surface, but had not ascertained what was underneath; and, in the enthusiasm of their first acquaintance with this novel country, decked it out in the glowing colours of an earthly paradise. "There," as we are informed by one writer, "the virtue of a wise and useful economy is practised equally in the palace of the emperor and in the hut of the pauper:" "in their domestic relations the men are gentle and forbearing, the women obedient and virtuous. . . . In every

department of crime we have reason to believe that the amount of grave offences committed against society is less in proportion to the population than that of other countries." "The Japanese, as a proud people, have a contempt or abhorrence of cheating, pilfering, stealing, or robbing." And again, "During the whole period of our stay at Yeddo, I never have heard a scolding woman, or seen a disturbance in the street. Upon no single occasion, though children were numerous, did I ever see a child struck or otherwise maltreated." "The love, obedience, reverence, manifested by children towards their parents, are unbounded; while the confidence placed by parents in their children is represented to be without limit." Again, "With the exception of one or two religious mendicants, I did not observe, in this vast and populous city, any beggars. Deformed objects rarely met the eye: not a drunkard crossed our path, though, from recent accounts, revellers occasionally parade the streets of an evening." "No instance occurred of any Japanese losing his temper, though it is impossible to suppose that, belonging to a race naturally proud and haughty, they were never tried." The writer adds—"These were our experiences; but it does not by any means follow that those who live longer in the country may not have reason to change them." We should think that such a reaction has taken place, and that a three years' residence in Japan has been long enough to dissipate these day-dreams.

Such, however, were the first impressions. "It is impossible to compare the social well-being of Japan with that of any other country, and not admit, that, notwithstanding the peculiar development "of one class of vice," it will gain by the contrast." Thus modern travellers have imitated the exaggerated style of Thunberg one hundred years ago—"Japan is, in many respects, a singular country when compared with the different states of Europe. In it we behold a form of government which has existed without change or revolution for ages; strict and unviolated laws; the most excellent institutions and regulations in the towns, the villages, and upon the roads; a dress, coiffure, and customs, that for several centuries have undergone no alteration; innumerable inhabitants without parties, strife, or discord, without discontent, distress, or emigrations; agriculture in a highly flourishing state, and a soil in an unparalleled state of cultivation; all the necessaries of life abounding even to superfluity in the land, without any need of foreign commerce; besides a multiplicity of other advantages."

Let us, then, look a little more closely into the interior, and endeavour to form a more just estimate of Japanese character and life. This we believe to be a correct assertion, that during the two hundred years in which Japan has been shut up in its heathenism, there has been no progress, and the national type remains pretty much now as it was at the commencement of that period. Peter Heyleyn's *Cosmographie* of 1664 lies before us, containing "the Chorographie and Historie of the whole world, and all the principal kingdoms, provinces, seas, and isles thereof," as they were known in those days. At that time the plantations of North America were struggling into existence, and strangely do the descriptions given by this old writer of New England and Virginia, &c., contrast with those countries as they are now, when the extent of population and weight of political and commercial interests have placed such a strain upon the principle of union, that, unable to sustain this pressure, it has given way, and disruption has taken place: but the description of Japan, with little alteration, faithfully depicts the condition of that empire as it is at present. "Japan," writes Heyleyn, "is an aggregate of many islands . . . the people for the most part of good understanding, apt to learn, and of able memories; cunning and subtle in their dealings. Of body, vigorous and strong, accustomed to bear arms until sixty years old. Their complexion of an olive colour, their beards thin, and the one half of the hair of their heads shaved off. Patient they are of pain, ambitious of glory, incapable of suffering wrong, but can withal dissemble their resentments of it till opportunity of revenge. They reproach no man for his poverty, so it come not by his own unthriftiness, for which cause they detest all kinds of gaming, as the waies of ill husbandry; and generally abhor slander, theft, and swearing. Their mourning commonly is in white, as their feasts in black; their teeth they colour black also to make them beautiful: they mount on the right side of the horse, and sit, as we are used to rise." He then speaks of the proselytism carried on by the Jesuits. "Of late times, by the care and diligence of the Jesuits, Christianity has begun to take footing here; whether with such a large increase as their letters called *Epistolæ Japonicæ* have been pleased to tell us, I am somewhat doubtful. They tell us there of some kings of these islands whom they have converted and baptized; that within fifty miles of Meaco they had fifty churches, two hundred at the least in all; and that in the year 1587 the number of their

converts were two hundred thousand. . . . Rivers of note I find not any, though the island be generally well watered: more memorable for two mountains in it, than for all the rivers; one of which, called Figenoïama, is said to transcend the clouds in height; the other, but without a name, used to cast forth dreadful flames, like Sicilian Etna, on the top whereof the devil, environed in a white and shining cloud, doth sometimes show himself unto such of his votaries as live about this hill an abstemious life, like the ancient Hermites."

Fusi-yama still rears its lofty head, the same which the European adventurers of earlier days viewed with mingled admiration and awe. Rising 14,000 feet above the level of the ocean, and begirt with a white covering of snow descending half way from the summit towards the base, this glorious object in the landscape forms the almost unvarying pictorial illustration of rural beauty, as seen in the native articles of *vertu*, and the richly gilt ornaments of lacquered ware. The vast elevation of this king of mountains, meets the eye in every artistic design of native workmanship, and Fusi-yama towers aloft in the background of every picture. For 180 years this great volcanic mountain has been free from eruptions, but has lately manifested a partial and temporary activity in slight eruptions of cloud and smoke. And here are still to be found the Yamanboos, or priests of the mountain, a mendicant priesthood, one thousand and one in number, who form their homes in lonely spots or dangerous places around the shrine they worship, and form dwelling-places for themselves amongst rocks and forest-covered ravines. Their daughters are born to beg as mendicants, and, under the term *Bikuni*, clothed in a dress not unlike a sister of charity, they frequent the great routes which at seasons are thronged with pilgrims and travellers, a toilsome journey to the summit, where high winds prevail, being regarded as something especially meritorious.

Let us now visit Yeddo, the capital of Japan, and we shall there, so far as it is becoming to draw aside the veil, discover how much of evil is accumulated beneath the polished surface, so as to render Paul's description of human nature, left without the light of revelation, to its own tendencies, a faithful picture of Japanese character and life. As is justly observed by a recent writer, a Japanese city presents a "sad olio of civilization and utter barbarism—of extreme delicacy and good taste, combined with grossness and disregard

of those common conventionalities which raise us above the beasts of the field.”*

The extent of the city is great, its proximate area “about fifteen miles from north to south, and eight miles from east to west ; an estimate which gives a total of 120 square miles of ground occupied by streets, by temples and monasteries, by the vast park-like enclosures of the Daimios, and by the palace grounds of the Tycoon.” The aggregate of population is supposed to be about two-and-a-half millions. It is a population singularly constituted. Its elements, when we come to analyze them, throw much light on the politics of Japan, and we shall therefore reserve this subject for future consideration ; our object at present being to place ourselves in the position of a stranger passing through the chief thoroughfares, and endeavouring to observe the traits of national life and manners.

The main street is provided with barriers. At every two hundred yards there are wooden gates, with a gatekeeper seated in a little house, like a turnpike. The object of this is to break the crowds, and prevent them uniting in masses which would be uncontrollable. When any procession is advancing, and the excitement is great, the barrier shuts off that section of the crowd which had been hitherto running parallel with it, and admits the pageant to a new mass of spectators. “At most of the barriers a ladder is erected, with a bell at the top of it, to be rung in case of fire.” The streets are broad : their condition as to cleanliness depends on the state of the weather. The main street was first seen by the Bishop of Victoria after two days of heavy rain when “the accumulated mud, the deep miry ruts ploughed by the heavy-creaking wheels of buffalo carts, and the frequent sight of waggons, high-piled with baggage and lumber, and drawn by a team of straining, perspiring, steaming human cattle, took away a portion of the romantic sentiment which a first view of Yeddo, in its less crowded resorts, is apt to produce. The shops were of the usual common-place character, and scarcely averaged the general appearance of those in a Chinese street. The redeeming point was the width of the roads, and the absence of rude jostlings from passing crowds in closely-packed thoroughfares.”

The Tokaido, or imperial highway through the commercial quarter of the city, meets in its north-eastern portior “the Nipon-bas, the celebrated bridge of Japan, from which all the distances in the empire are computed

in *ri*, equal to two and a half British miles. The bridge, like most of the other bridges in Yeddo, is a wooden structure, extended over piers, and strengthened with massive iron clamps.”

The houses are peculiarly Japanese, consisting of a house within a house. “They are usually constructed of a framework of bamboo or laths, and then covered with a tenacious mud. This latter, when dry, is again covered with a coat of plaster, which is either painted or becomes black by exposure. Mouldings are afterwards arranged in diagonal lines over the surface of the building, and these being painted white, and contrasting with the dark ground behind, give the houses a curious piebald look. The roofs are often of tiles, coloured alternately black and white, and their eaves extend low in front of the walls, and protect the inmates from the sun, and the oiled paper windows from the effects of the rain.” Within the shell thus framed is an inner house, a large framework, raised two feet above the ground. It is spread with stuffed mats, and is divided into several compartments by means of sliding panels.” A house of the better class presents in its interior a suite of elegant saloons, opening one beyond another, and capable of being separated into private rooms, by closing the folding screens and sliding panels,” which, extending down the length of the building, are easily moved in their grooved lines across the several apartments.” The walls will be found covered with neat white-flowered, silken-grained paper, with native paintings and little ornaments tastefully arranged in each angle, and the floor covered with the usual clean matting, padded and fitted into square or oblong compartments.”

But let us look at the people themselves : not only men, but women pass about freely. These are the married women, the best conducted portion of the population. They may be known by their black teeth, and the absence of eyebrows. Their position is plainly more independent and less secluded than in China. Husbands and wives eat their meals in common. They may be seen “sitting together in the same room, exposed to the public gaze of passers-by, and assisting each other in the ordinary transactions of their business and trade.” Their post is one of confidence and partnership, and “among the lower and middle classes they are admitted to an intimacy and familiar intercourse with strangers, visitors, and customers, which presents an appearance of approximation to the ideas and habits of European society.”

* “Captain Sherard Osborne’s Japanese Fragments,” p. 64.

Another feature of advantage of Japan over China may be seen in "the groups of little children which line each side of the more retired streets," where girls are to be seen as numerous as boys, and evidently as much thought of. Female infanticide, and the cry of the poor innocents which ascends so piteously from India and China, are unknown in Japan.

In the matter of dress, the population is seen to most advantage when the temperature is sufficiently low to make their garments to them a matter of necessity. At other seasons the lower classes are in a semi-nude state. The dress and general appearance of an ordinary Japanese gentleman is thus described by the Bishop of Victoria—"His inner robe consisted of a rich blue or purple gown of shot silk, with a round folded collar over the breast, reaching down to the feet, and well wrapped in free folds around the legs, so as to answer the purpose of a pair of trousers. Small pieces of thin paper served instead of a pocket-handkerchief, and, after being used, are stowed away in the capacious folds of the sleeves, closed at the extremity of the cuff, and thus resembling a pocket. A shorter robe, resembling a deep spencer, and of a black colour, was hung over the inner robe, containing larger loose sleeves, and decorated with fine white spots, marked with the armorial device of his family. These marks consisted of some flowers, a geometrical figure, or some other fancifully wrought monogram, which serve to distinguish every man as he walks along the street, and proclaim to every beholder the family to which he belongs. They occupy a conspicuous position in the dress, and must facilitate the recovery of stolen garments, being wrought into the texture of the fabric, one in the centre of the back under the neck, and midway between the shoulders, two on the front parts of the arm on the sleeves, and the remaining two being placed on either side of the bosom." From the belt hung suspended a case containing pen and writing materials, also a tobacco pipe, with steel, flint, and matches. A pocket-book and fan were also placed there. To these the Japanese gentleman adds one or two swords according to his rank, worn at the left side, each enclosed in a dark-coloured, finely polished lacquered-wood sheath. "Among all classes, except priests and doctors, the front part and the crown of the head are shaved, and the hair on the side and back of the head is collected into a top-knot, glued with a kind of bandoline, and plaited into an artificial comb, with its end bent upwards, neatly fastened, and projecting forwards. Sometimes only the crown is shaved, and the fore-

locks are drawn backwards into the central comb. The women wear their jet-black hair gathered tightly over the temples and forehead, and carried back so as to form a highly-tufted crown, through which large metal hair-pins are passed.

The absence in their dress of any thing approaching to mere show is remarkable. "Even in Yeddo, although great pomp and ceremony are insisted upon in all that related to official or royal affairs, yet, as a general rule, looking up or down the crowded street, the traveller would be struck with the quiet colours which prevailed in the dress of the people—especially in the men—who were invariably clothed in blue or black, plain or checked, with one exception, and that was in the policemen."*

But let us pass from the external appearance to the character and moral standard of this people.

The laws are of sanguinary severity, and "death is the one general penalty of transgressing" them. This, combined with the certainty of detection through the ubiquity of spies, lessens the commission of those crimes of which the law takes cognizance, and turns the tide of human corruption in the direction of those vices which may be committed with impunity, and some of the more heinous of which the law does not only not forbid, but even sanctions. Japan, indeed, has its political feuds and tumults, but they occur in the higher regions of the state, amongst the Daimios, or territorial princes, and the Government, and do not affect the masses of the population who sleep on in their careless ease and sensuality, while the storm rages above.

We have already referred to the exaggerated statements which have been put forth by individuals who have allowed themselves to be carried away by the first appearance of things. Instead of being a sober people, drunkenness is fearfully prevalent. It is stated by the Bishop of Victoria, on the authority of the surgeon attached to the Dutch factory, that "after the hour of nine p.m. nearly one half of the adult population to be met with in Nagasaki are more or less inebriated from the intoxicating draughts of sakee. Reeling men may be seen frequently in the streets, and spirit shops and wine taverns abound in every direction." The general health and average duration of life is prejudicially affected by these and other habits. "Although the labouring classes and artisan population present the appearance of physical hardihood and bodily strength, they

* "Japanese Fragments."

soon become aged in constitution, and at thirty years have the prematurely old look of men of forty-five years."

It has been said there is no mendicancy in Japan. We know not what mysterious power there is in Japan which can thus cut off the effect from the cause. Our western experience is wholly dissimilar, for here we find, that where drunkenness leads the way, poverty is sure to follow after, and so it is with these far-off isles. "Ordinary beggars are by no means uncommon. They visit the stairs leading to the temples, and are very importunate in their solicitations of alms from the passing crowd. There are, as in other lands, the sick and diseased, the halt and maimed, the blind and aged. Of religious mendicants there are many. Companies of begging priests perambulate the streets, and, "by din of voice and tinkling of bells, exact a gift from every shop and dwelling which they pass." But there is one vice which is spread as a loathsome leprosy throughout the land. A palpable shamelessness exists "in all classes, and among both sexes. No delicacy, no modesty, no sense of shame appear to be recognised among the courtesies of life; and scenes which would have produced confusion and embarrassment in the female circles of Europe, were specially pointed at and exulted in as a subject of fair merriment and jocose laughter." "Though the 'social evil' is never an agreeable subject to treat of, it enters into the manners and customs of the people in a manner so singular, and at the same time so prominent, that no account of Japan would be complete without allusion to it. The same order which governs all the other institutions of the country is applied to this one. There is nothing slovenly in the mode of administration here. Vice itself is systematized." We cannot go into the details. But the enormous evil, like an immense gangrene, eats into the vitals of the land.

There is another legalized enormity in Japan—suicide. All military men, the servants of the Tycoon, and persons holding civil offices under Government, are bound, "when they have committed any crime, to rip themselves up, but not till they have received an order from the Court to that effect." The Bishop of Victoria states that "many of the ancient ceremonies attendant upon the horrible custom had fallen into desuetude;" and now, when the death-warrant arrives, it is customary for an attendant to carry the fatal sword before the doomed person, who bows his head in low reverence before the blade. The attendant then strikes off the head of his lord with one stroke of the weapon; and the ceremonies of the Harakiri are held to be

adequately performed." Yet one peculiarly aggravated case was well known, and universally believed to have taken place so recently as 1859. "The Prince of Satsuma had compelled five boys, of ages varying from eight to thirteen years old, to undergo the punishment of disembowelling for the offence of having drawn their swords and engaged in a fight within the precincts of his palace."

The fancy sketches, therefore, in which some writers have indulged, must be dismissed, and simply because they are not true. Japanese life will not bear investigation. It is demoralized, and that fearfully. How can it be otherwise, when there is no salt of true religion in the land. The religions which prevail have no corrective power. What they are, must be reserved for another paper. This only will we add at present—Japan is remarkable for its dualism. There are two emperors, the Mikado at Miako, and the Tycoon at Yeddo. There are two religions, Sintooism and Buddhism, which considerably accommodate themselves to each other, and, between them, divide the land. Again, every man has his *double* in Japan: there is a spy who observes him, and reports his actions, while every spy is himself watched, and is thus entangled in the universal espionage which prevails throughout the land. These spies, who are called *Metake dwantinger*—literally "cross-eyed persons"—consist of individuals of every rank of life, from the highest to the lowest. The result is, that the whole empire affords no hiding-place for a criminal, but, infecting all ranks with a continual suspicion and distrust, allows no room for the growth of an open, candid, manly character. Again, there are double appointments to all the high provincial posts: to each two secretaries are appointed, one residing at Yeddo the other in the province, these interchanging every six months, so that each officer is resident six months in the year at Yeddo, where his family is detained throughout the entire year, as hostages for his good conduct. The same necessity is imposed upon the Daimios, or princes. In lesser things the same dualism may be traced. Every man, who by his rank is so qualified, wears two swords; every house is double, and has a house within a house. Finally, there are two modes of Japanese writing, the Chinese *ideographic* symbols and the Japanese indigenous *phonetic* syllabarium; the latter, again, being written in two ways—either in the more complex Hiragana or the more simple Katagana character. We doubt not that other instances of this peculiarity might be traced, but we must break off for the present.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

NIGER MISSION.

IN consequence of the non-arrival of the gun-boats expected to convoy the Niger expedition through the dangerous portions of the Delta, the "Sunbeam" and "Rainbow" have been unable to make the ascent of the river, as contemplated, during the present season. Messrs. Crowther and Taylor, with their companions, waited three months in the vain expectation of reaching Onitsha and the Confluence, and the season for the navigation of the Niger having passed away, they have returned, the former to Lagos, and Mr. Taylor to Sierra Leone. Mr. Ashcroft has remained on board the "Rainbow," his qualifications as a mechanic rendering his assistance valuable under the disabled state of that vessel's machinery.

Mr. Crowther remarks upon this disappointment as giving a serious blow, both to the Missionary and commercial enterprise of Sierra Leone; and as affording a matter of triumph to the slave-dealing tribes of the lower Niger, who will exult in having closed the river against legitimate commerce; while the friendly tribes around the Mission stations and factories higher up will be discouraged, and the Mission agents probably reduced to serious straits, from the cutting off all communication between them and the civilized and Christian world.

INDIA.

Female Education among the Parsees in Bombay.—(From "Allen's Indian Mail.")

"On the 1st June 1860, there were 625 girls on the rolls of the four schools under the charge of the Parsee Girls' School Association. These schools are situated at Chundunwaddy, Mirza Street, Mazagon, and in the Fort, which last is attended by 400 girls. The Chundunwaddy school is satisfactorily conducted solely by girl monitors. The Cama family gave the best support to these schools in last year. At the third day's ceremony, on the death of the widow of Nusserwanjee Muncherjee Cama, and that of Dhunjeebhoy Nusserwanjee Cama, 2000 rupees and 10,000 rupees respectively were subscribed in behalf of the Parsee girls' schools. A Parsee lady, calling herself 'a well-wisher of my little sisters,' subscribed 2240 rupees, through Mr. Sorabjee Shapoorjee, assistant broker to Messrs. Graham and Co. From the proceeds of these sums, scholarships, prizes, and gold medals were distributed at the last annual exhibition of the schools. The poet Narmadashunker has been engaged by the Association to teach the girls Guzeratee music."

BENGAL.

Report of the Indigo Commissioners.

We have much pleasure in extracting the following passage in reference to the conduct of the Missionaries, from the Report of the Indigo Commissioners—

"We come now to the last point of our inquiry under the first great head, viz. the conduct of the Missionaries and the crisis of the past season. A great deal of indignation has been evinced at Reverend gentlemen, whose errand is

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

to proclaim peace and goodwill, taking on themselves the character of political agitators. Certainly, if to express dislike of what they deem oppression, when forced to their notice, and to stand up for the rights of those who have had no tongue to plead for them, be to carry on agitation, the Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society have done this. But, in so doing, they had no private interests to advance, and no political object to gain, except the contentment and well-being of the agricultural population; objects which, if political, any man, however sacred his calling, may fairly exert himself to forward.

"That ryots should ask these gentlemen for advice or even assistance, is, in our opinion, perfectly natural. They, the Missionaries, are thoroughly conversant with the languages; they mix freely with the people; they hold converse with them on their highest interests; and they are not distracted, like other Europeans are seen to be, by the accumulation of business, by the speculations of commerce, or by the pursuit of trade. It would have been ungenerous and even unmanly for Mr. Blumhardt and his colleagues to turn a deaf ear to the complaints of such ryots, especially when these very complaints appeared to them to form some hindrance to the attainment of the avowed objects of the Missionary calling.

"We have, too, the distinct denial of these Reverend gentlemen, that they have, by words or deeds, added any fuel to the excitement. On the contrary, they have advised the ryots to obey the laws, to commit no illegalities, to sow indigo this year, and, if oppressed, to appeal to the higher authorities.

"What more Christian or straightforward course could have been taken by men in their situation, it is not easy to conceive. Indeed, the assertion that the refusal of the ryots to sow indigo has been produced by the preaching of Missionaries, is one entirely without foundation of truth.

"From the foregoing remarks, as well as from our study of the relations between ryots and planter, we have come to the deliberate conclusion, that the late extensive refusal to sow, manifested by ryots in Nuddea and in other districts, might have been manifested at any time, on an opportunity. There was every element ripe and ready for such an outburst of popular feeling.

"The cultivation was virtually compulsory, in that no ryot could get free. The ryots, denied the opportunity of benefiting to the fullest extent by the generally increasing prosperity, suddenly discover that ideas spread abroad, that Government had a direct interest in the manufacture of indigo, are unfounded; that it is quite optional with any man to take advances or to refuse them; that they are free agents; that no more force is to be used; and that in these respects the Government had decided to give them fair support. We must not be surprised if they proceed at once to act upon this discovery, nor is there any thing to be wondered at, if, in their anxiety to complete their social freedom, they should sometimes have extracted that part of the orders and notifications, which best suited their purpose, or sometimes wilfully misapprehended and misinterpreted their intent altogether, or even if they have exhibited a spirit of resistance, a determination, and a power to act together, in contrast to their previous condition of apathy and inability to help themselves."

The Report concludes thus—

"We must here conclude, and respectfully submit to His Honour, the Lieutenant-Governor, that however highly we may value the presence of Europeans in the interior of this country, or deeply regret the injury which seems to threaten a large amount of property, or urgently desire to meet the wishes of the manufacturers of a valuable staple, we still feel that there are considera-

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

tions which are paramount to all mercantile interests, to all political expediency, and to all material advantages, however specious in theory or imposing in effect. These are the simple considerations of justice and truth ;—of justice to the population whose complaints demand a hearing ; and of truth, because we desire that the real facts should be clearly stated and widely known. We, the majority, feel that we owe a duty to the Government that has appointed us ; to the body of planters, who have been working unfortunately on an unsound system ; to the calm and thoughtful members of the English community ; but specially to a large portion of the natives, who, we are told, look with some anxiety for our report."

CEYLON.—DEATH OF THE REV. H. WHITLEY.

It is with more than wonted feelings of regret that we record the melancholy decease of our excellent Missionary, the Rev. H. Whitley, who met with his death on Saturday, November 10th, by the fall of a wall, while superintending the pulling-down of an old building on the Mission premises. Mr. Whitley had greatly endeared himself to the English congregation in Colombo, and his Missionary exertions among the Tamil and Singalese were unremitting, and greatly blessed. At such an hour, and in such a garb, as we think not, the Son of man cometh. Blessed are they that are found watching !

MAURITIUS.—SLAVE-TRADE.

Mr. Ansorgé writes (Nov. 2, 1860)—"We have had an interesting increase in the number of orphans. One hundred and thirty little African children of the slaver 'Manuella,' prize to H.M.S. 'Brisk'* were sent to us. They are all under ten years ; the most of them in miserable health. Many of them seem living skeletons. It was a great pleasure to observe the other children's joy on their arrival. All the little Africans were sent in one day on several carts, but a number of the children were so weak that we had to help them down from the carts. We were obliged to bring above thirty at once to the hospital in our place, and notwithstanding Mrs. Ansorgé's great care of these unfortunate creatures, and the doctor's visits, we have lost twenty by death already. A number of grown-up Africans, who came with these children, are at the Civil Hospital in Port Louis. There fifty have died already. I am sure that many of those who defend slavery, if they could see our little hospital, and witness the misery of these poor children, and hear their cries for father and mother, would change their opinion of it."

NEW ZEALAND.

We regret to say that the state of affairs in New Zealand is still most critical. Reports were industriously circulated in Auckland in September that the Waikato natives intended to attack that place. It is now ascertained that no such intention exists. The settlers in the Waikato district are treated with kindness, but the chiefs have informed the Governor that if he brings any military force into their territory, or even on its borders, it will be a signal for a general rise of the tribes. "What can we do," writes Archdeacon Kissling, "but to cry, 'Lord save us, lest we perish?' I do not mean this to be taken personally, but nationally. With respect to the war, things certainly become darker from day to day." The sympathy of the native tribes with Wiremu Kingi is greatly on the increase. About 500 Waikatos have marched to his

* See vol. v. p. 377.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

assistance, and an attack upon New Plymouth was apprehended when the mail left. "It is really surprising," says an eyewitness, "to see the calmness and firmness on the part of the native population, and the nervousness and excitement among the Europeans. On the one side there is nothing but practice and preparation for fighting, and on the other, composure and firmness of mind." Mr. Morgan says (Oct. 2)—"War runangas are the events of every day. Altogether the district is in a most unsettled state. Lower Waikato will remain quiet. North of a certain line they are to remain to watch Ngaruawahia. The movement of troops to Waikato River would be the signal for a general rise. The feeling amongst the natives towards the scattered Europeans in Waikato is generally good. Personally they are as civil to me as ever.

"We expect Miss Stothard to-morrow. She is sent in troublous times, but I trust it may be an earnest of approaching blessing. I hear that the Aotea school is nearly broken up. Mr. Reid had, when I last heard, fifteen children. We have about thirty or thirty-three. We are cast down, but not destroyed. I trust, by God's blessing, our numbers will soon increase."

The Rev. R. Burrows says (October 2), "You will be glad to hear that the natives generally, although many of them greatly sympathize with Wiremu Kingi, are remaining quiet, and pursuing their ordinary occupations." The Bishop of Waiapu writes, that all are quiet down the East Coast. "Your Missionaries of Tauranga and Maketu report the same of their districts."

Psalms lxxiv. and lxxx. will form a suitable topic for meditation and prayer in reference to the distracted state of New Zealand at the present time.

DISMISSAL OF MISSIONARIES.

At a meeting held at the Church Missionary House on November 27th, the instructions of the Committee were delivered by the Rev. Henry Venn to the following Missionaries proceeding to North India—

The Rev. C. B. and Mrs. Leupolt, returning to Benares, accompanied by Messrs. Weber and Treutsch and Miss Sherwood.

The Rev. C. T. and Mrs. Hoernle, formerly of Agra, proceeding to Meerut. The Rev. J. A. and Mrs. Stern, returning to Santipore.

The Rev. J. Welland, B.A., appointed to the Cathedral Mission, Calcutta.

DEPARTURE OF MISSIONARIES.

West Africa.—The Rev. M. S. Jackson and Miss Freymuth embarked at Liverpool November 24th, on board the "Ethiope," for Sierra Leone.

Mediterranean.—The Rev. T. F. Wolters left London at the end of November for Smyrna, to join his father.

North India.—The Rev. C. B. and Mrs. Leupolt, Rev. J. M. Brown, Messrs. Weber and Treutsch, Mrs. Fuchs, Miss Sherwood, and the Misses Gabbetts, embarked at Southampton December 4th, on board the "Ceylon" steamer, for Calcutta.—The Rev. J. A. L. and Mrs. Stern left London December 1st, for Marseilles, to proceed from thence overland to Calcutta.

RETURN HOME OF MISSIONARIES.

The Rev. T. Foulkes left Madras November 13th, and arrived in London on December 15th.—Mr. G. Meakin left Lagos October 10th, and Sierra Leone November 20th, and arrived at Liverpool on December 12th.

DECEASE OF A MISSIONARY

West Africa.—The Rev. H. Rhodes died on the 14th November, at Brompton, after a lingering illness.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

INDIA—EDUCATION IN INDIA.

The Bible in Government Schools.—The following important announcement is made by the *Friend of India*—

“When a deputation of gentlemen interested in Indian Missions waited upon Lord Palmerston some months ago, he told them that there was no objection to Government teachers giving instruction in the Bible to such of their scholars as chose to attend after school-hours.* The Church Missionary Society immediately communicated this opinion to the teachers here, and urged them to put the matter to the test. Mr. Martin, Principal of the Berhampore College, at once did so. He wished to hold his class in the college, and requested the permission of the Lieutenant-Governor. Mr. Grant has written a minute on the subject, which awaits the final orders of the Supreme Government. It is accompanied by a letter from Dr. Kay, Principal of Bishop’s College. Though the spirit of the two documents is widely different, the result they arrive at is substantially the same. They say—Government schools and colleges are intended for secular instruction only; but if teachers are desirous of imparting religious instruction to their pupils, they are perfectly at liberty to do so out of school-hours and out of the school premises. There was no occasion for Mr. Martin to refer to Government at all. So long as he was allowed to teach the Bible, it mattered little where he taught it. Teaching it in school-hours, or in the building provided by Government, would imply Government support and encouragement, and might create the very hostility to Christianity which all private and sincere efforts are likely to disarm. It is by private effort in all ages that the Gospel has spread. No legal enactments can force a man to believe. His reason must be appealed to, and his heart must be touched, if he is to become a true Christian.”

The documents referred to by the *Friend of India* have not yet reached us. This is not the place to enter upon any discussion on the subject; but, presuming the summary of Mr. Grant’s minute to be correctly given, it may be worth while to point out the fallacy of confounding a *voluntary* Bible class within the school premises, with “legal enactments” forcing men to believe, and then denouncing both as equally abhorrent to the spirit of genuine Christianity. The communication of Lord Palmerston’s opinion on the subject to the teachers of Government schools was not made by the Church Missionary Society, but independently, by a few gentlemen connected with India by the ties of Christian affection, as well as of long services therein.

We have much pleasure in announcing that the speech of the Duke of Marlborough in the House of Lords, on the subject of Bible education in India, July 2, 1860, is now ready, and may be had on application to the publishers, Messrs. Dalton, Cockspur Street, or at the office of this Society, price Sixpence.

The estimate formed of the Bible by “Young Bengal” will be seen by the following extract from the *Hindu Patriot*. The recognition of its “intrinsic merits as a literary work” falls infinitely short of the high purpose for which it has been given to the whole human race; and there is a subtle exhibition of real enmity against its life-giving doctrines in this apparent homage to its secondary excellencies. Nevertheless, it is satisfactory to know that, from whatever motive, the Bible is read, and, in some measure, appreciated. We rejoice also to learn that its introduction into the Government schools would be regarded as “a recognition of Christian doctrine.” It is on this account chiefly, and not for

* See “Recent Intelligence,” 1859, p. 272.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

proselyting purposes, that such introduction has been urged as the high duty of a Christian Government.

"Both Sir John Lawrence and Sir Herbert Edwardes attached much importance to the introduction of the Bible into the Government schools in this country. Except as a recognition of Christian doctrine, to the avowed exclusion of Hindu and Mohammedan doctrine, as a part of the teaching of our public schools, the question is of the slightest moment possible. We have repeatedly said that the Bible is read by every native scholar who has made a certain degree of progress in English literature. To all understandings which have reached a certain degree of cultivation, the recommendation of the Bible, as a book of reading, looks very like impertinence. Its intrinsic merits as a literary work will ensure, as it has ensured, as extensive a reception of its contents as Sir Herbert Edwardes himself could wish. It is not for us to say how far a deep, or even an enthusiastic, appreciation of the beauties of the Scriptures is calculated to help on the cause of evangelization. One fact is certain; it grates on the sympathies of many sincere Christians to contemplate such a use of the book they hold sacred as Sir Herbert Edwardes' party would put it to. To turn it into what, in the language of the classes, is called a class-book, is, if we judge rightly, viewed by many of them as a desideratum. Were we a Christian, we could not reconcile it to ourselves to see the written repository of our faith turned into an object of small criticism by a parcel of boys, or perchance a parcel of teachers more irreverent than boys. The Bible, we repeat, if not yet a class-book in the Government schools—if not yet converted into a badge of conquest—is already an honoured book with all educated natives. To enforce its introduction into the stated curriculum of Indian colleges would simply bring British faith into undeserved question, without subserving a single evangelic purpose. They who would do it would literally make Christ's empire one of this world, and, of this world, the most worldly."

Grants-in-Aid.—The observations which follow are from the correspondent of the *Scottish Guardian*. They are dated from Bombay, in which Presidency the Director of Public Instruction is unfavourable to grants to Mission schools—

"I am interested to notice the Indian press beginning to agitate a question which has been since the mutiny very much in abeyance in India. I refer to the grants-in-aid in favour of education propounded in the East-India Company's ever-memorable despatch of 1854. Do what we may to improve the Government school system, we must look for the extension of Christianity among the young chiefly to our own Mission schools. These have and are accomplishing a great work in India—entirely changing the feelings of many of the educated youth towards the Gospel—working conviction, powerful, if suppressed as yet, in many hearts—and inspiring the rising natives with great zeal to reform their old system. You scarcely meet an educated youth now who does not detest and abuse caste, is not a supporter of the cause of female education, and does not denounce the usage which forbids the widow to marry. It appears to me that strenuous efforts should now be made to work out this principle of grants-in-aid. It has not been carried out as yet at all to the extension of which it is susceptible, partly from Government difficulties, and partly also from official hostility. But better times are, I hope, at hand; and the Christian bodies in India, if they are asked to co-operate with Government in the spread of education, are entitled to demand, either to have educational inspectors appointed, with their concurrence, for their schools, or at least that those entrusted with the management of education in the Presidencies be not hostile to the grants-in-aid system. The

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

desire for education still continues intense ; the Mission school you find, whatever native journals may say against it, is generally full ; and the Missionary is at liberty to bring to bear upon the scholars what influences he desires, provided he teaches efficiently the elements of English and European knowledge. Considering that on the grants-in-aid system Government offered help to an amount equal to that arising from local sources, what a large field is opened for Christian educational enterprise. This effort is the more necessary, as the evidence daily augments, that to leave education as it is tends to the deterioration of native morals. The *Hindu Patriot*, a native journal, strongly urges the necessity of female education—'Educate your ladies ; make them fit and agreeable companions of Young Bengal ; pull down the antiquated screen which shuts out the zenana from the outer world ; let there be free intercourse between them and their male relatives ; and we are sure that in no time will Bengal assert her proper place among civilized countries, and the vices which now stain our society will by themselves fade away.'

NEW ZEALAND.

THE intelligence from this distracted country is still of an anxious character, but it presents elements on which to build a hope, that, in God's great mercy, some solution of the present difficulties may be effected, without the catastrophe of a war of races.

Affairs became further complicated in October, by the violent death of a man named Erieta, or Eliezer, at Patumahoe, a place not far south of Auckland, and who, in the first instance, was supposed by the natives to have been murdered by a European. A large body of the Waikato accordingly took up a position, threatening an attack upon the capital. Through the well-timed intervention of the Bishop of New Zealand, the Missionaries, and the officers of Government, the chiefs were convinced that their suspicions were groundless, and the danger has passed away. It has proved, however, on one hand, the critical state of affairs, for none can foresee how great a fire a little matter may kindle ; and, on the other, the priceless value of *friendly negotiations*, and the readiness of the natives to listen to reason and remonstrance, even in their present excited state. This again illustrates powerfully the benefits which might fairly have been expected from a like course in the case of the Taranaki land question. "How well," says Archdeacon Kissling, "would it have been, throughout our dealings with this noble but excitable people, had moral means and kindly explanations preceded the recourse to the brutal force of arms."

In various parts of the island, the Missionaries continue to receive assurances of personal safety under all contingences ; and they are, for the most part, able to report that their districts are peaceable, though much excitement prevails, and the people are looking anxiously for the turn events may take. Among a portion of the Waikato tribes, however, there is reason to fear that the struggle has ceased to be one in defence of a native right believed to be infringed by the Government, and has assumed the more serious aspect of a contest for the *sovereignty* within the province of New Plymouth. These tribes must be distinguished from the more immediate followers of Wiremu Kingi. They have all along acted with precipitation, and taken a position in the fore-front ; and it was this party which suffered the defeat at Mahoetahi on the 6th of November. They have measured their strength with the British troops, and found themselves overmatched. The lesson they have received may leave them accessible to more moderate counsels. Peace begins to be spoken of on both sides ; and

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

either party, having learned to respect the other, may be willing to put an end to the strife.

Happily, nothing has produced so favourable an impression upon the natives as the course taken by a powerful party in the House of Representatives, in upholding the treaty-right of the Maori chiefs. Indeed, the local Legislature seems to have awakened to a sense of its high duties in respect to the people on whose patrimony they have been permitted to settle, and in the midst of whom they dwell. A Bill, similar in its general purpose to that before the British Parliament last session, has passed the General Assembly, having for its object the nomination by the Crown of a "Native Council,"* i. e. a council of men of enlarged experience in native affairs, whom it shall be the duty of the Governor to consult on all measures affecting the interests of the Aborigines. The functions of the Council, however, like those of the Indian Council at home, will not extend beyond the tendering of *advice*. At the same time, public attention has been directed to a most interesting experiment carried on in 1857 among the Waikato, by Mr. Fenton. Its importance will be seen from the subjoined letter of the Rev. B. Y. Ashwell, under whose personal observation it was conducted. It is satisfactory also to observe, that in the Report of a Select Committee of the House of Representatives appointed to investigate this subject, the Maori-King movement is divested of its treasonable character, and recognised rather as "an effort to obtain law and order." "Such a movement," they say, "need not have been the subject of alarm. One of its principal aims, undoubtedly, was to assert the distinct nationality of the Maori race, and another to establish, by their own efforts, some organization on which to base a system of law and order. These objects are not necessarily inconsistent with the recognition of the Queen's supreme authority, or antagonistic to the European race, or the progress of colonization." The Select Committee consider that circumstances have now "given to it a new and dangerous character;" yet even now they deprecate any attempt at positive resistance, and concur with those who think that, *rightly guided*, it may still be turned in a beneficial direction.

Mr. Ashwell's letter is dated Taupiri, October 23, 1860.

"Enclosed is a paper on native affairs, by Mr. Fenton, late Resident Magistrate in the Waikato district. This paper has been pronounced by the House of Representatives to be the most clever and interesting document on the subject of civil institutions for the natives ever produced in New Zealand. If the plan so successfully commenced had been persevered in, I do not hesitate to say that the whole of Waikato, and, in all probability, other districts, would have now been covered with court-houses and machinery for the gradual introduction of British law. The experiment was successful beyond our most sanguine expectations. In less than twelve months, five court-houses had been erected on the river, and a good staff of native assessors, to assist the European magistrate, were organized. A Runanga, or Municipal Council, assisted in carrying out the decisions of the Court; i. e. their moral influence rendered physical force unnecessary: in no case has the decision of the magistrate been resisted. This hopeful movement was suffered to die out, from a groundless fear on the part of the Government that it would widen the breach already existing between the Queen's party and the native King party. Never was there a more mistaken policy on the part of the Government. As the party for the *Tare* (law), or the Queenites, were gradually gaining ground, the Kingites were becoming more

* See Monthly Proceedings of Committee, October 1860.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

and more reconciled to the movement; and there is not the shadow of a doubt, that, had Mr. Fenton continued his judicious and conciliatory plan, the two parties would have coalesced, and the King movement, under some less objectionable name, would have become a most powerful instrument for the spread of law and order. Mr. Fenton's removal from Waikato, to be an assistant to the Colonial Secretary, against his desire and request, was the first great blow to this hopeful movement. His place as Resident Magistrate was unsupplied, and the natives believing themselves to have been deceived by the Government, gradually lost all confidence in it, and all heart to proceed in their onward march to law and order. Yet even now, although more than two years have elapsed since his removal, in some of the villages summonses are still issued by the native assessors, and damages awarded. A case occurred a few months ago, when a young man stole some salt from a store in this neighbourhood: a summons issued; the case was tried; and the damages, five shillings, willingly paid. But I am grieved to say, that through the neglect of the Government, most of the tribes favourable to the *Tare* (the law) have now joined the Maori King movement, which it is possible may become antagonistic ere long, unless peace is made with William King. As Archdeacon Maunsell, myself, and several native chiefs have been called to give evidence before a Select Committee of the House of Representatives respecting this movement, I need not enter into details, as the published evidence will ere long appear in the Blue Book.

"I have only one or two remarks to make on this subject, to prove how the leaven of this movement was increasing, and what a powerful engine for good it was becoming.

"The reports of the Waikato Courts had reached distant tribes. In 1858 I received a letter from Bishop Williams, in which he said that the Courts of Waikato had excited much interest among the natives of Poverty Bay and the East Cape, and that he should, perhaps, send some chiefs to Waikato, to see their practical working. Secondly—The moral power of these Courts will be seen from the last case tried at Kahumatuku, a village two miles from Taupiri Church Missionary station. A native from the Kanawhanawha River, a tributary of the Waipa—quite the backwoods of New Zealand—when in Auckland, stole clothes from the fence of Archdeacon Kisling's Institution. He managed to escape to Kanawhanawha, to his home. Mr. Fenton heard of it, and sent two native assessors to bring the offender to Kahumatuku. He came, accompanied by his father and brothers, who offered to pay eight times the value of the articles stolen, if they (the Court) would let off the prisoner from the sentence of the magistrates, viz. three months imprisonment in the Auckland jail. The magistrate said, 'No; it cannot be. I wish to show the young men of Waikato that they cannot commit theft in Auckland with impunity, and think they can escape to the bush and be safe.' He was accordingly imprisoned.

"Only second to the success of the Gospel was the progress of this movement. The glorious struggle in the native mind for law and order, surely, under Providence, proves that 'there is a tide in the affairs of men, if taken at the flood, leads on' to great results. I trust the opportunity, as regards Waikato and New Zealand, will again be given, and the noble Aborigines raised in the scale of nations; but clouds, and thick clouds, seem now to be gathering over the future of New Zealand. Not only is the war raging at Taranaki, without the prospect of a speedy peace, but Upper Waikato is involved in the same war. Seven hundred armed men left, a few weeks ago, the Waipa River. I fear, ere long, Middle

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

and Lower Waikato may be drawn in, especially as a murdered native was found at Patumahoe on the Manukai, and a report spread that he had been murdered by an European, although no proof has yet been found. Great excitement prevails in the tribes by which I am surrounded, and reports are rife, viz. that Waikato will attack Auckland, if it should be found that the native has been murdered by a white man. I am thankful, however, to say, that several chiefs are going to investigate the matter. If it should appear, from circumstantial evidence, that the murder has been committed by a European, and the British Government should fail in prosecuting the supposed offender, I do not know what may be the consequences: I fear war with Auckland. Now, if the native Courts of Justice and the Runangas had been in existence, this difficulty would have been overcome. They would have carefully considered the case, and have acquiesced in the decision of the law. I believe, also, that they would have successfully mediated between the British Government and William King. A retrograde movement, I fear, has taken possession of the native mind, and feelings nearly akin to their native customs are beginning to prevail: this has been increased by what they consider an unjust and unholy war with William King. Their sympathy with him is very great, and their anxiety for peace at the commencement of the war was proved, by meeting and proposing that thirteen Waikato chiefs, four Missionaries, six native teachers and deacons, and two English magistrates, to be chosen by the Government, should be allowed by the Governor to proceed to Taranaki for that purpose; but it was too late. Whilst writing this proposition to the Government, a canoe brought word that a battle had been fought, and mediation was at an end. Nothing would have been easier had such a plan been tried *before the declaration of martial law*. Old Te Wherowhero said to me, 'If I had been applied to I could have settled this. But the first news that reached me was, that the soldiers had left for Taranaki.' The poor old chief was deeply distressed. Although I have carefully abstained from intermeddling with politics, as I never attended their Runungas, yet, from being so near to the village of the Maori King, I hear, through my native teachers, much that is going on; and their good sense, forbearance, and patience may ere long be exhausted, and a general war may follow.

"Our only hope is in the gracious influences of God the Holy Spirit, who alone can rule the unruly wills and sinful affections of man. We assemble every day at ten A.M., to pray with my native teachers for the blessing of peace and the gifts of the Holy Spirit. Our village boarding-schools are increasing, although in troublous times. A crisis is at hand in New Zealand. We do earnestly beg the prayers of our fathers and brethren in the Gospel."

In connexion with the last paragraph of Mr. Ashwell's letter, we may insert an extract from a letter of Archdeacon Kiseling, dated Auckland, October 4—

"At St. Stephen's school we have a prayer meeting once a week, at which Christians of both races attend and take part in prayers."

APPEAL FOR PRAYER.

The prayers of the friends of Missions are earnestly desired on behalf of Mr. William E. Rowlands, B.A., Wadham College, Oxford, and Mr. Townsend Storrs, B.A., Catherine College, Cambridge, students at the Church Missionary College, candidates for ordination by the Archbishop of Canterbury, on Sunday, February 24th next.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

NEW PREMISES IN SALISBURY SQUARE.

THE work of the Society has for many years past outgrown the accommodation provided by its present offices, the inconveniences of which have materially impeded the course of business. The Committee have therefore, for some time, been anxious to secure, by purchase or otherwise, a more commodious building, while, at the same time, they were desirous to retain, if possible, the "accustomed" locality and time-honoured associations of SALISBURY SQUARE. The house immediately adjoining the premises occupied by the Society was bought several years ago; but the site of it was not sufficiently spacious, and for a time there was no opportunity of adding to it by further purchase. In the course of last year, however, the Committee was able to secure the freehold of the house next beyond the one already the property of the Society; but the buildings, in both cases, were old and dilapidated, beside that they were utterly unsuited for the purposes of an office. They have therefore been cleared away, and a plain but commodious building is now in course of erection on the site of the two old houses. The cost of such a building in London is necessarily large—about 13,000*l.*—but every care has been taken to ensure the utmost economy consistent with permanent stability and the purposes for which the offices are required, and no needless expenditure will be incurred in mere ornament.

The Committee have been able to make such a satisfactory arrangement, in respect to some of the Society's invested funds, that only a portion of the sum expended will be derived from the ordinary income of the Society. The General Fund will, eventually, be charged each year with no more than the amount which would be required as rent for offices adequate to the purposes of the Society.

The foundation-stone was laid by the President, in the presence of the Committee, on Tuesday, Feb. 5.

Before proceeding to the ground, prayer was offered in the Committee Room by the Rev. E. Auriol; and upon reaching the site of the new building, the ceremony was commenced by singing the hymn,

"Behold the sure foundation-stone,
Which God in Zion lays," &c

The Rev. H. Venn then read Ps. cxxvii. 1, 2—"Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it: except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain. It is vain for you to rise up early, to sit up late, to eat the bread of sorrows: for so He giveth his beloved sleep."

A plan of the building, bearing the names of the President, Viscount Midleton, Hon. S. R. Curzon, the Hon. Captain Maude, J. Bridges, Esq., W. Dugmore, Esq., J. Fariab, Esq., J. M. Strachan, Esq., the Rev. E. Auriol; and of the Secretaries, the Revs. H. Venn, W. Knight, J. Chapman, Major Straith, Colonel Dawes, and J. M. Holl, Esq., was then placed,

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RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

with the Society's Jubilee medal and some coins, in a glass bottle, and deposited under an enamelled slab, bearing the following inscription—

TO THE GLORY OF GOD
IN THE EXTENSION OF THE KINGDOM OF
HIS DEAR SON, JESUS CHRIST,
THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY FOR AFRICA AND THE EAST
ERECTED THIS HOUSE
IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD ONE THOUSAND EIGHT HUNDRED AND SIXTY-ONE,
AND IN THE SIXTY-SECOND YEAR OF THEIR OPERATIONS.
THE FOUNDATION-STONE WAS LAID
ON THE FIFTH DAY OF FEBRUARY 1861,
IN THE PRESENCE OF THE COMMITTEE,
BY
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF CHICHESTER,
PRESIDENT.

"IT SHALL COME TO PASS IN THE LAST DAYS, THAT THE MOUNTAIN OF THE LORD'S HOUSE SHALL BE ESTABLISHED IN THE TOP OF THE MOUNTAINS, AND SHALL BE EXALTED ABOVE THE HILLS; AND ALL NATIONS SHALL FLOW UNTO IT."—ISAIAH ii. 2.

After laying the stone, the President made a few observations, pointing out the vast good which the Society's Missions had done in Africa and the East, and invoking the blessing of God upon their extended efforts. He was followed by the Rev. C. R. Alford, in a brief address to the work-people employed about the building. A prayer was offered by General Alexander, and the ceremony was closed by singing the hymn,

"From all that dwell below the skies," &c.,
and the benediction, pronounced by the Rev. H. Venn.

The laying of the stone was synchronous with the Opening of Parliament, the guns of the Royal salute having been heard during the ceremony.

NORTH INDIA.

The Rev. James Long writes from Calcutta, December 8th, last, "Though we Missionaries here have endured much abuse from our countrymen for sympathizing with the Ryot in his oppression by the indigo planter, yet it is pleasing to find that an impression most favourable to Christianity has been produced on the minds of all classes of natives by this course. I have heard remarks at times which drew tears of thankfulness from my eyes. You must not suppose we have turned political agitators. The best men here say we could not have done less, and ought not to have done more. We acted as Missionaries upon Missionary ground, just as you have done on New-Zealand colonization, and are doing now. Even here a party are saying that the Missionaries have ruined New Zealand, and are oppressing their own countrymen. Depend upon it the New-Zealand question and the indigo planting oppression are essentially the same."

TINNEVELLY MISSION.

Death of the Rev. Paul Daniel.

It is with deep regret that we record the removal from the scene of his efficient ministry, of the Rev. Paul Daniel, one of the Society's native ministers in South Tinnevelly. It pleased Him who "doeth all things well," how-

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

ever wondrously to our eyes, to call this faithful and promising native pastor to Himself on the 23d of November, by a severe attack of cholera. All that could be done was attempted on his behalf, but in vain; and thus has the first of the twenty-four native clergymen in connexion with our Society in this Presidency, been unexpectedly taken to his rest, in the prime of life and usefulness, and before many, his seniors in years and in the ministry. He was ordained to deacons' orders early in 1856, and subsequently laboured with the greatest acceptance and success at Saththankulam, under the charge of the Rev. J. Thomas of Mengnanapuram. Mr. Thomas thus writes of his death and character in a letter lately received (Nov. 27, 1860)—

"It has pleased God to remove his servant Paul from amongst us. He expired on Friday evening at six o'clock, after much suffering. How mysterious are the ways of the Lord! He doeth all things after the counsel of his own blessed will—all for the best; but He giveth no account of any of his matters. I cannot tell you how much I feel the loss of my dear friend. His affection, his simplicity, honesty, and straightforwardness, his amazing pulpit abilities, and profound humility with all, endeared him to me beyond all I can describe. The last sermon I heard from him was, without exception, the greatest sermon I ever heard, 'Enduring the cross and despising the shame,' &c. Never did I hear Christ so exalted by human tongue: the effect was perfectly overwhelming. His sun went down at noon. Many more years of usefulness might have been expected. He stood alone among our native Christians."

Thus do two of the first Numbers of the "Record" for the opening year announce the sudden removal from our ranks of two efficient labourers in the Tamil Mission.* "Pray ye, therefore, the Lord of the harvest, that He will send forth" other "labourers into his harvest."

NEW ZEALAND.

A deputation on the state of affairs in New Zealand waited upon the Duke of Newcastle on Tuesday January 22. The result of the interview will be best communicated by reprinting a letter on the subject, addressed by the Committee to the Missionaries in New Zealand, and dated January 26, 1861—

"The Memorial to Her Majesty's Government, which you will receive by book post, was presented on the 22d inst., by the Right Hon. the President, and by a large body of the Committee, to the Duke of Newcastle. We have the great satisfaction of assuring you, that while the Duke declined pledging the Government to adopt the particular measures recommended in the Memorial, the representations of the Deputation were received and discussed in a perfectly courteous and candid spirit. No word fell from Her Majesty's Secretary of State which would have wounded the feelings of any New-Zealand chief, if he had been present. But the earnest hope was expressed that this most deplorable war might be soon terminated, and that some plan might be speedily adopted for settling land, and other native questions, by law and by competent authority, in a way satisfactory to both races.

"The Duke of Newcastle assured the Deputation that there was no intention on the part of the Home or Colonial Government to violate the provisions of the Treaty of Waitangi, but a determination to deal justly and fairly with Her Majesty's Native as well as European subjects, while upholding the Royal

* The death of the Rev. H. Whitley was mentioned in the "Record" for January. A Memorial of him will be found in the "Church Missionary Intelligencer" for March.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

supremacy, and using proper methods of advancing the social welfare of the whole colony.

"We trust that there are many among the natives who regard with respect and with grateful recollections the Christian friends in England, the successors of Samuel Marsden, who have so long advocated the cause of New Zealand, and have sent out and supported the Missionaries amongst them. To all such the Committee trust that the declarations which they now report, given to them by Her Majesty Queen Victoria's Minister of State, will have a healing and pacific influence; and they beg you further to assure such natives that the Church Missionary Society, while deeply lamenting the effusion of blood, will not cease to labour for the social and religious benefit of the Maori race; and that their most earnest entreaty is that all fighting may be laid aside, and all claims submitted to the decision of law, under the sovereignty of our gracious Queen.

"The Duke of Newcastle was pleased also to thank the Committee for the information that they had furnished to His Grace from time to time, and to say that he should be at any time ready to receive such communications as should appear to them important for the consideration of Government. This assurance will encourage our Missionaries, we trust, to keep us fully informed of events, and to be careful to make no statements of doubtful authority, but only such as will bear the most searching investigation into their accuracy, together with all important documentary evidence which may be procurable in New Zealand.

"The Committee have seen no reason to suspect the accuracy of the communications they have hitherto received, and they are very thankful that the spirit which has breathed in them has been so calm and Christian amidst scenes of so great excitement."

The mail from New Zealand has reached us at too late a period to enable us to make any extracts from the letters. We are thankful to say that a very decided desire for peace, as well as for the establishment of civil institutions, appears to exist among the great majority of the native tribes. Of this it may be hoped the Government will be prompt to take advantage.

DEPARTURE OF MISSIONARIES.

West Africa—Mr. C. H. Binns embarked at Liverpool Jan. 24th, on board the monthly steamer, for Sierra Leone.

North India—The Rev. J. Welland and the Rev. C. T. and Mrs. Hoernle embarked at Southampton, December 20th, on board the "Indus" steamer, for Calcutta.

RETURN HOME OF MISSIONARIES.

Niger—Mr. T. H. Ashcroft arrived at Liverpool on Jan. 11th, from West Africa.

Western India—The Rev. W. S. Price and Mrs. Price left Bombay Dec. 27th, 1860, and arrived in London on Jan. 28th.

North India—The Rev. T. E. Hallett and the Rev. S. Attlee and Mrs. Attlee left Calcutta Dec. 23d, 1860, and arrived in London on Jan. 28th.

China—The Rev. F. F. and Mrs. Gough and Mrs. Collins arrived in London, from China, on Feb. 11th.

We have to announce, that since Mrs. Gough's arrival in England it has pleased God to remove her by death. This sad event took place in London on Feb. 15th.

Mrs. Bühler died, after a short illness, at Abe, in the Yoruba Country, on Jan. 4

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

YORUBA MISSION.

No additional intelligence has been received by the last mail respecting the progress of the war. Some hopes are entertained of peace, through the intervention of the British Consul; but nothing definite has yet transpired. Turning to a more pleasing topic, the following extracts from a letter of the Rev. H. Townsend, dated Feb. 6, 1861, will be read with satisfaction—

“In the week commencing with Monday, Jan. 7th, we held in Abbeokuta a series of prayer-meetings. As no place of public worship here would contain the people we expected, we recommended some of the native Christians to hold other meetings for prayer in other parts of Abbeokuta. Prayers were offered up both in English and Yoruba. The meetings were much enjoyed: it was a time of refreshing to all. We were joined by the members of other Christian sects in Abbeokuta.

“Resulting from these meetings, a prayer-meeting is now held every Monday afternoon in Ake church, conducted by each Missionary in turn, to ask the speedy restoration of peace in this country, and the preservation of the Christian churches endangered by the war.”

Mr. Townsend adds—

“That great progress is being made in the country, in the propagation of Christianity and in the advance of civilization, we have great and undoubted proofs. Even the present war will, I trust, advance God's work, and not retard it: it is an affliction from his hands in love. There are considerations in connexion with the advancing state of the country which show that this is not the time to stand still. It is not the time for contracted views of objects to be accomplished, nor of the means by which they are to be effected. The tide of civilization is making towards the land. If Christianity does not lead the advance and be its foundation—not a mere formal profession, with the devil's works carried on under its cover—the country will be overrun with a civilized heathenism under the form of Christianity.”

BENGAL.

In a recent Number we gave an extract from the Report of the Indigo Commissioners in reference to the conduct of the Missionaries (p. 1). In a “Minute by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal on the Report of the Indigo Commissioners,” dated Dec. 17, 1860, this subject is thus adverted to—

“The Commission entirely exonerate the Missionaries of the charge of having taken upon themselves the character of political agitators: they show that these excellent men, circumstanced as they were, would have been inexcusable had they turned a deaf ear to the well-founded complaints of the people, in close and kindly intercourse with whom they were living, and some of whom belong to their own flocks; and the Commission find that the assertion, that the refusal to sow Indigo was owing to the preaching of the Missionaries is one which is entirely without foundation of truth.

“I must not pass this last point without respectfully expressing my admiration of the conduct of the Missionary body throughout these trying events.” (Minute, p. 17.)

O

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

CEYLON.

Cooly Mission.

The Rev. S. Hobbs, among other causes of thankfulness rightly singles out the following as the chief. Where the word is gladly received, and the children of God are zealous for the honour of their Father, in the extension of his family, there is a deep-sounding call to thank God and take courage. Mr. Hobbs says (February 7, 1861)—

“The continuance of a kind reception of the catechists, and their message by the Tamil overseers and the Coolies, affords another ground of praise and thankfulness more than we can express.

“But that which occurs to my own mind as the greatest of all the good gifts which have descended from above upon this Mission to the Coolies during the past year, is the spread of the truth by means of the Tamil Christians themselves; I mean, Christian conductors—not in the employ of the Mission, and who neither have nor seek any secular advantage, either from their profession or their exertions. It is true that Christians might always diffuse the knowledge of Christ much more than any of us do. The salt of the earth ought to permeate the mass, and the leaven to work until the whole lump be leavened. But in this world, and even in the Christian church, things are not always as they ought to be. When we do observe Christians to be consistent, it is a great cause for praise to God; and this I think we have observed in connexion with this Mission, during the past year, more than in any preceding year. An example or two may be interesting.

“1. In the neighbourhood of the town of Kandy a number of very small coffee gardens have lately been planted, which can scarcely be dignified with the name of estates, which belong generally to Singhalese gentlemen, who employ Tamil labourers, varying in number from ten or twelve to thirty. In one of these miniature estates, the catechists, in their visits, found an old Christian from Nagercoil, who, though unable to read, was well instructed in Christian truth. The catechists encouraged the old man to instruct the rest of the people in the lines in Christian doctrine. He did not need much encouragement, but was forward of his own mind. The other people in the lines listened to him, and first two or three, and afterwards two or three others, expressed their conviction of the truth, and a desire for baptism. I went and examined some, and others came to me to be examined. I was much gratified and satisfied with my inquiries. The result is, that they have all become Christians, and have all been baptized, except two or three who are now candidates for baptism.

“2. In the T. G. estate of the K. district, as many as seven persons have been baptized during the year, who had been chiefly instructed by the Christians residing on that estate.

“3. In the G. estate of the H. district a man came to me requesting to be baptized. I was much gratified with his knowledge, and asked him how he had attained it, and he replied that he had gained it chiefly from the Tamil Christians in his neighbourhood. As I had not heard of any Tamil Christians, in that estate I inquired of the catechists how this could be, and found that there were not any Tamil Christians on that estate, but that the candidate had gone, from time to time, to an estate in the neighbourhood, about

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

three or four miles off, where there were some Christians, and had received from them the instruction which he sought."

NEW ZEALAND.

The letters we have received by the last mail do not add materially to the information already in our possession. The public papers intimate that Wiremu Kingi's pa at Matorikorika has been abandoned by the natives after a severe struggle, and is now in possession of the British troops. The natives are believed to be in considerable force in a valley near the Huiranga pa; and the latest news is to the effect that a fresh attack upon them had been commenced, the result of which was not known. It is said they have agreed to take care of any wounded or prisoners who may fall into their hands.

The disaffection of a portion of the Waikato tribe has been made too apparent lately, by one of the most influential of their chiefs having, with his followers, joined the rebels at Taranaki. Prior to his taking that important step, he addressed a letter to the Bishop of New Zealand, in which he stated that he felt called upon by his conscience to afford assistance to Wiremu Kingi, as he considered the contest had now assumed a war of races, and that in justice to his kindred and his nation, he was only performing his duty in openly advocating their cause. Should this example be followed by any of the other influential chiefs, the war will then assume a more serious and melancholy character.

The extracts which follow are from letters received by the preceding mail, too late for insertion in last month's "Record." They are now printed, as corroborative of the various positions taken by the Committee in their two pamphlets on New-Zealand affairs—

Archdeacon Kissling, Auckland, December 3, 1860, writes—

"It was indeed a strange infatuation in those Waikato warriors—for none of Wiremu Kingi's people joined them—that 200, or at the utmost, 250 of them should have dared to challenge a thousand regular troops and militia in a position altogether unprotected; for the pa of Mahoetahi was merely fenced in by small sticks, and accessible on every side. The wonder is that any of them escaped at all. We cannot otherwise account for the blind temerity of the natives than that past successes have flushed them with an overweening confidence, for which they have severely suffered. The demon of war seizes many of our once so peaceable flock.

"During last week the chiefs of the Upper Waikato were assembled to consult what steps should be taken with reference to the loss they have sustained in the Mahoetahi affray. They are evidently divided in opinion, some holding that it was a visitation from God for their interference in a warfare with which they have properly nothing to do; others maintaining that payment must be sought for their dead, and that it was the duty of every Maori to resent the encroachments of the Pakehas on their rights and possessions. On the part of the natives reconciliation makes very tardy progress, while within a few weeks a new impulse to the so called "vigorous policy" has been given among the settlers, by late despatches, from the Secretary of State to Governor Browne, which have been published in the local newspapers, and also by the arrival of troops direct from England."

Archdeacon Maunsell, Kohanga, November 19, 1860, says—

"We have some very worthy young women in our Institution. Good old Mary, who has been a matron for eleven years, and now nearly

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

blind, is still very useful. Another, a pupil of Mrs. Maunsell's, Mary Newton, is quite a right hand in the school; another of Mrs. Maunsell's scholars, Mary Anne, was married some time back to an European gentleman, who gave our school a donation of 10*l.*, saying at the same time that we had given him a good wife. She has proved to be so too, and has gained the respect and admiration of surrounding settlers' wives. At the native place we have been favoured with some worthy Phœbes and Dorcases. Mrs. Maunsell has regular weekly meetings with them, and has a club formed amongst them for helping the sick and supplying them all with clothes in winter time. She was delighted to learn last week, while in conversation with one of them, that since this war, five or six of them have made it a practice to have prayer meetings amongst themselves weekly.

"In going to town I arranged for a canoe to meet me up the river, but (which is very unusual with me) changed my plans and came home by Patumahoe. By a most singular providence, just as I was sitting down in the way-side house to send a notice to the settlers to muster for the next day (Sunday), Major Speedy, the magistrate, came in to summon the master of the house to go to an inquest on the body of a native who was said to have been murdered by an European,* and asked me also to go. We found the natives in the most intense state of excitement, so much so, that it was quite out of the question to think of any regular judicial process. The Europeans stood round utterly ignorant of their language, while they, in fierce tones, were warning them to leave the neighbourhood and go to Auckland. A ball had entered the palm of his hand, ploughed its way longitudinally up to his wrist; then entered his stomach, and made its appearance below the ribs. Any attempt to explain the casualty was received with shouts of scorn; and earnest demands were made that the settlers should confess the truth. This event seemed particularly unfortunate, as under our present circumstances at Taranaki, we were particularly anxious to avoid complications with the Waikato.

"On the Sunday I had service with both races. For the settlers I felt the deepest sympathy. They are particularly nice people, who have spent their little all on making their homestead comfortable, and had now the prospect of being driven forth they knew not where. On the Wednesday, when all the chiefs had mustered, a very patient well conducted meeting was held, and the result was most satisfactory, as you may see by the accompanying extract from a letter of a gentleman present on that occasion to a friend in Auckland, printed in the *New Zealander*, October 24, 1860—

"My dear B—, returning from Waiuku, I made a detour to the native settlement, then the scene of so much excitement about the Maori found shot in the bush, and I was fortunate enough to see the latter part of the investigation into the cause of death. The natives had at the first jumped to the conclusion that their compatriot had been shot by a white man, and loudly expressed their determination to take ample revenge for the injury; and the more turbulent of them flocked to the scene of excitement, all armed to the teeth. They danced the war-dance over the dead; but, preparatory to their beginning, warned all the settlers to clear off by Tuesday (16th). The opportune arrival of Archdeacon Maunsell quieted them a little. By assuring them of the most satisfactory investigation, he obtained a respite to the re-

* See "Recent Intelligence," for February.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

moval of the settlers; and the arrival of Messrs. M'Lean and Rogan, and the institution of the inquiry, appeased them a little. Notwithstanding, they were still boisterous, and impatient of the investigation, and exhibited much sulkiness while under examination themselves, but took very good care to cross-question the Europeans under examination, especially those they charged with the crime—Mr. Sherrard and his man, putting every question that was likely to elicit a word corroborative of their own expressed ideas. Throughout these proceedings the forbearance and tact of the Archdeacon and Commissioner were greatly tried: fortunately they were equal to the emergency. Such was the excitement, a single *faux pas* might have led to the most lamentable results. Even after completion of all the evidence on Wednesday, without any rational ground of suspicion being elicited against any one, and the court being cleared of the mob for deliberation of the chiefs, the latter unanimously gave it as their opinion that their compatriot was murdered by a European; and, even then, it was only after the most lucid analysis of all the evidence by the Archdeacon, who addressed them in a long oration, that they confessed the evidence to be against their decision; and, after they were convinced, they manifested much embarrassment about making known their convictions to their vassals, indeed they had barely moral courage to do so. In that instance the waning influence of the chiefs over the common people was very conspicuous.

“On the clearing of the court the mob—men, women, and children—about 230, had retired to an open shed pending the deliberation of the chiefs. Thither the latter had to repair to announce their conclusions; and they took some time to concert between them how they would make known a decision so opposed to the sentiments of their retainers. One of them, addressing the Commissioner, said, ‘Come and witness the storm we will have to brave; they will flourish their tomahawks over our heads.’ And sure enough their anticipations were justified; they met the most determined opposition; nothing less than a verdict of guilty against some European would satisfy the mob. They taunted the chiefs with taking the part of the Pakehas against them, and hinted at their determination of taking the question into their own hands. It was only after the exhaustion of their physical energies that any effective remonstrance could be adduced. Then a happy reference was made to the attitude of the Archdeacon, and his opposition to their opinions. They were reminded how, on a late occasion at Waiuku, he had stood up for them against the Pakeha when he believed them right; and they were told he would only oppose them when they were wrong, as in the present case. This appeal silenced their opposition; and then one of the chiefs, taking a kit, symbolical of the dispute, handed it for interment to the Commissioner, reminding him, ‘that this was the second time he had buried the quarrel,’ referring to a former murder of a native by a European, but significantly remarked, that the next time no such solution of the crime would be admitted. The Commissioner very judiciously refused the symbol, asserting that, in accordance with the investigation, no case against any European had been established; and thus the proceedings terminated. The gratitude of the whole of the settlers, more especially of those near Patumahoe, is due to Archdeacon Maunsell and to Messrs. M'Lean and Rogan for their indefatigable patience and great zeal in conducting to a successful issue the very important investigation assigned to them. The moderation and good sense of the native chiefs, when their judgment was properly directed, are also a subject of congratulation. Had

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

the subject of investigation been a European, very little doubt would have existed about his death being purely accidental. The total absence of any motive to commit so great a crime was apparent. As the gun is still missing, the natives alleged that it was to obtain possession of it the crime was committed; but doubtless the gun was dropped when the accident occurred, and the man struggled on to where he was found—it may have been a considerable distance—trying to get home; and it is most probable the gun will yet be picked up. The nature of the wound and every thing warrants this view of the case.

“We thought that all was settled, when suddenly we heard that the Maori King party up the river had taken up the question, no doubt, in a large degree, from their desire to try their strength with the white man, while thus hampered with the Taranaki war.”

An account of this movement has already been given, together with the successful interposition of Bishop Selwyn and others, in the “Recent Intelligence” for March. Some remarks from the pen of Archdeacon Maunsell, published in the *Southern Cross* November 2, 1860, are here appended:—

“This business demands very deep attention from our legislators. They will see the high mettle of the people amongst whom we live, and the strong spirit of nationality that is growing amongst them, and will, I hope, be induced to devise measures to avert similar manifestations in future. A race like this can only be governed by imparting to them as large a share as possible both in legislation and in the administration of justice. That Patumahoe investigation saved this part of the country from the flames of war. Let this intelligent and sensitive people see that the colonists do not (like those of St. Domingo formerly) seek to monopolize all legislative and executive functions, that, in a word, we wish to treat them as we wish to be treated ourselves; and I believe that the settlers will be very great gainers by any sacrifice they may make. In this crisis the assessors have rendered an invaluable service. Our deepest source of regret now is that these runangas, and the Maori King movement itself, have been left to drift away as chance may take them. They present an admirable machinery for the governing of the people by their own selves, and yet have been utterly neglected, if not discouraged, by the Government.

“In conclusion, we see in this case the benefits of patience. A native is to be managed neither by cringing, nor by bullying, nor by pampering, but by courage tempered by patience, and by kindness based on firmness. I am glad to hear that a Council has been established for the management of native affairs.”

The Rev. B. Y. Ashwell, Taupiri, December 3, 1860, writes—

“You will remember, in my last, I mentioned that a native had been murdered at Patumahoe (an English settlement sixteen miles from Auckland), and, as Europeans had been out shooting wild cattle the same day the murder was committed, a report was circulated that it had been perpetrated by an European, and that the gun and shirt of the murdered man had been found in the house of an European. This was false. The report, however, excited Middle and Lower Waikato, which resulted in the above-mentioned party starting for Patumahoe, accompanied by 100 natives from Ngatihana (Mata-mata), with their chief, one of the principal men of Waikato, Wiremu Tamahana, who, perhaps, has the greatest influence of any in this part of the island. This happening during a time of war, there was much talk of a simul-

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

taneous attack upon Auckland by all the neighbouring tribes ; but, I am thankful to say, that better councils have prevailed. A good feeling has, I trust, now arisen in Lower and Middle Waikato, and they are determined that they will not go to war at Taranaki and elsewhere. You will most likely have heard from Archdeacon Kissling, that on November 6, 1860, the natives were defeated, and thirty-nine Ngatihaua and Waikato natives lost their lives. Different tribes are now assembling at Taniahere (twenty-one miles from this station), on the Horotia river, to consult upon the advisability of going to Taranaki : the tribes are from Tauranga, Taupo, Mangatautari, Patetere, and Upper Waikato. I have reason to believe that Wiremu Tamahana, the Ngatihaua chief before alluded to, is secretly inclined for peace, but it is not yet known. The 10th of December is the day appointed to discuss the question. Some of the young men are determined to go to fight at Taranaki, and most likely will start this week. Wiremu Tamahana is a sensible intelligent chief, and professes great respect for the Scriptures. He is in a difficult position ; the majority of his people are, I think, for war, but he feels that they have no business at Taranaki. The chiefs of my district are for peace, and are trying to induce Tamahana to remain ; also the chiefs in Archdeacon Maunsell's district wish for peace. Most of the well-disposed teachers meet at ten o'clock every morning to pray for peace ; and I am convinced our gracious Father is answering our prayers, from the different spirit which now prevails. A few weeks ago, 'War, war,' was the cry, but now there is a real anxiety for peace. Humanly speaking, it depends on Ngatihaua and the Governor, who, I believe, is also anxious for this great blessing.

"I should have mentioned that Waitara at Taranaki has been given over by Wiremu Kingi to Wiremu Tamahana, Ngatihaua, and Waikato, in consideration of those who fell in battle."

"Since writing the annexed, four robberies on Europeans have been committed, two at Patumahoe, and two on the Waikato. The chiefs are now determined to put down the wild bad spirits which a time of war in every country always calls into action. Some of the stolen goods have already been restored, and they have promised the Government that their depredations shall cease. No blood has been shed in Waikato. The natives feel they must have law ; if not, anarchy will soon prevail.

"I am happy to say, that, amidst all the excitement of the present war, there is much to cheer and encourage us. Never was there a time when the Newhae natives were more attentive. Our churches are much better attended than they were a short time ago ; our teachers' meetings and Monday monthly prayer-meetings are also well attended, and a nice Christian spirit prevails. Earnest prayer is made for peace, and the outpouring of the influences of God the Holy Ghost. A few weeks ago, in my journey with the fight, I baptized nine adults, who have been candidates for more than twelve months, and have remained faithful during the great excitement which has prevailed for the last eight months ; on the other hand, some of the Ngatihaua, who had fallen at Taranaki, were baptized, some of them monitors. When at Ngaruawahie yesterday fortnight, soon after the news of the defeat at Taranaki, and the loss of their friends had arrived, they were very attentive whilst I spoke to them from 1 Peter iv. 17—"For the time is come that judgment must begin at the house of God, and if it first begin at us, what shall the end be of them that obey not the gospel of God ?"

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

"I trust that our gracious God is building the walls of a spiritual Jerusalem for Himself, even though it be in troublous times."

The Rev. T. S. Grace, Taupo, October 13, 1860, says—

"*The War*.—I will give you what information I can on this subject, and the state of the Taupo tribes regarding it. You will, no doubt, have seen from the papers, and other sources, how the Governor and his ministers have rushed into this war on the most questionable grounds. That W. Kingi has the jurisdiction of a chief over the land in dispute appears evident, even though he should not claim the actual ownership of any part of it. My own station here is a case in point. In 1853 Te Heuheu gave the land for this station, although he does not own an inch of land in Pukawa. The other parties who signed the document are his friends; neither do they own any land here. The fact is, that Te Heuheu claims a right over the land of Taupo; and there cannot be a doubt but that, in the event of any land in Taupo being sold without his consent, war would be the consequence.

"Had the treaty of Waitangi been fully and faithfully carried out, the war would never have occurred. Instead of which it has been ignored, until now that it is useful to make rebels of the natives. When that treaty was signed it was done on the ground that the chiefs had the power to subject their people to it, even without consulting them. For instance, Te Heuheu and Te Poihipi signed that treaty for the whole of Taupo. With what consistency, then, can we now deny the authority of any real chief? I am quite sure that the natives had no desire for war. W. Kingi seems to have used every means that would appear intelligent to a native to prevent the sale, and, afterwards, the measurement of the land; and if he was in the wrong he was actionable, and not a rebel. The unreasonable haste with which we began the war is greatly against us in the mind of the natives.

"As regards Taupo, I may say the position of the natives is an armed neutrality. So far the Gospel has held them back. They say they will not fight unless they see a just cause. Since the commencement of the war, the Maori King movement has gained ground amongst them. They say that they must do something to save their island. From the eagerness with which we try to purchase land, from the great number of new comers, and from the hasty way in which we began the war, they have a settled conviction that we want the whole island. I trust that wise and humane measures may be adopted at home, and by home authorities be enforced here. We have much anxiety at present in trying to keep our people out of the war. So far we have to thank God, and take courage. Our Sheep Company has done much to pre-occupy their minds: they have raised upwards of 500*l.* in the last two years for sheep. We have fifty children in the school, most of whose parents are important people; and as they are frequently here to bring food for their children, we have had valuable opportunities of showing them the blessings of peace.

"I greatly wish the Taupo natives to use their influence as peacemakers, and not to allow themselves to be drawn into the war. They might do much good in this way. The native teachers have so far shown more consistency than I could have expected. We hold a weekly prayer-meeting, to pray God to send a spirit of peace amongst us."

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

NORTH INDIA.

North-West Provinces.

THE intelligence from the districts visited by the sore judgment of famine is still of a most distressing character. The following extract in reference to the subject is from the *Homeward Mail* for April 13—

“Week after week it has been our painful duty to record the desolating progress of famine in the North-West Provinces of India; and even now we fear that our task is as yet far from being accomplished. The gloomiest forebodings uttered by the least sanguine of the Indian journals seem to have fallen short of the actual truth. All classes of the three Presidencies have contributed their money with an unsparing hand; every possible means have been tried that money or energy could compass; and yet the awful visitation continues unarrested: boys drop down before dāk bungalows; and regiments on the downward march from Cawnpore count the famine-stricken dead by thousands. In Delhi alone, upwards of 12,000 people assemble daily to clamour for assistance. The Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab recently visited the three asylums for relief in that city, in order to inspect in person the extent of the calamity; and there he was compelled to witness long gaunt lines of famishing half-naked creatures inside the walls of those buildings, while at the same time he could hear the stifled murmurs of starving thousands outside, to whom only, on that particular occasion of Sir R. Montgomery’s visit, it was possible to extend any relief whatever. Judging from the extreme misery of those whom our aid reaches, the forlorn wretchedness and suffering of the people who drag out existence in the country roads and fields—unable to crawl to the sources of relief, and uncared for by all around them—can hardly be conceived. The dreadful scourge has at length made an impression on the rich natives, who are beginning to see the necessity of doing something for the relief of their fellow-countrymen; and we are glad to learn that contributions from this source are becoming liberal and very numerous. The greatest possible expectations were felt that the appeal made to the people of England would be promptly responded to. We are happy to state that these expectations will be more than realized, as nearly 50,000*l.* have already been subscribed in this country. Yet even in the face of these facts, we cannot hesitate to endorse the statement of the ‘Friend of India,’ that there is every reason for those who have already done much to reiterate their exertions; and that if the Indian Government would fairly hope to stem the tide of wretchedness in the North-West, or prevent the recurrence of a similar visitation in future, it must do far more, both in a pecuniary and an administrative point of view, than it has hitherto ever attempted.”

SOUTH INDIA.

Death of the Bishop of Madras.

It has pleased God to remove from the scene of his earthly labours the beloved and excellent Bishop of Madras. On receiving this afflictive intelligence, the following Resolution was passed by the Committee—

“The Committee have heard with deep regret the tidings of the death of the Bishop of Madras, V.P., in whom they have lost a constant and cordial friend—first when Archdeacon of Calcutta, and afterwards as the steady patron of their Missions in South India, whether as Chairman of their Madras Corresponding Committee, or as the fatherly adviser of his clerical

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

brethren, and generous contributor to all objects connected with the rising native churches. Bishop Dealtry's periodical visitations to the various districts of his diocese exhibited his minute acquaintance with every detail affecting the progress of the kingdom of Christ there, and proved seasons of refreshing both to old and young. More than twenty native catechists received ordination, and many thousand native catechumens confirmation, at his Lordship's hands. His catholicity of spirit also was remarkably evinced by his ready co-operation with Missionaries of other denominations, whom he always welcomed to his house and friendship. The Committee learn with praise to the Giver of all grace, that Bishop Dealtry died, in 'full assurance of interest in his Master's finished work,' and trust that it may please God to raise up a successor of like spirit and principles with those of him whose loss they mourn."

NORTH-WEST AMERICA.

We are requested to state, that owing to packages sent out from this country having been detained at York Factory, the Missionaries to whom they were addressed have been unable to acknowledge them to the kind friends by whom they were prepared. *Letters*, it is added, should *never be enclosed in the packages*, but forwarded separately by post, or through the Church Missionary House. If enclosed in the parcels, the Missionaries have no means of ascertaining what articles are sent, or by whom, till they arrive; and, in the case of accidental delay, the inconvenience is felt still more severely.

Mr. Hunt says (Jan. 1, 1861)—"Many Christian friends have often requested we would from time to time mention what articles are most wanted here. Just now we have a comparatively good supply of some articles of ready-made *female utility*, and having the hope of propagating the Gospel in the syllabic characters, partly by the help of Indian men, we could wish to be able to pay the men, and our trippers, partly in articles of warm, durable under-clothing—shirts, flannel, stockings, comforters, cuffs; and for the women, shawls, petticoats, stockings, stout prints, handkerchiefs, haberdashery, are most wanted."

DISMISSAL AND DEPARTURE OF MISSIONARIES.

Ceylon—On Feb. 11th the Committee took leave of the Rev. G. Parsons, returning to Ceylon. He was addressed by the Rev. H. Venn and the Rev. J. Fenn, and commended in prayer by the Rev. J. Ridgeway. He embarked, with Mrs. Parsons, at Southampton, by the steamer of Feb. 20th, for Galle.

The instructions of the Committee were delivered on Feb. 26th to the Rev. J. H. Clowes, proceeding to Ceylon, circumstances having made a change desirable in his original appointment to East Africa. Mr. and Mrs. Clowes embarked at Southampton for Galle by the steamer of March 20th.

RETURN HOME OF MISSIONARIES.

West Africa—The Rev. G. R. Caiger and Mr. L. Nicholson left Sierra Leone on Feb. 21st, and arrived in London on March 15th.

Yoruba—The Rev. H. and Mrs. Townsend and Mr. G. Smith left Lagos on March 10th, and arrived in London on April 9th.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

SIXTY-SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE SOCIETY.

THE Annual Sermon was preached before the Society on Monday evening, the 29th of April, at the parish church of St. Bride, Fleet Street, by the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Ripon, Vice-President of the Society, from 2 Corinthians, v. 14, 15. Collection, 111*l.* 15*s.* 2*d.*

The Annual Meeting was held next day, Tuesday, April 30th, at Exeter Hall, the Chair being taken at ten o'clock, A.M., by the Right Hon. the President. Prayer having been offered and Scripture read, the Meeting was addressed by the Chairman. The Report was then read by the Rev. John Venn, and the following Resolutions were adopted—

Movers and Seconders.

The Lord Bishop of London, V.P., and the Right Hon. Joseph Napier, V.P.—The Rev. D. T. Bernard, M.A., and Major Lake, of the Bengal Army—The Lord Bishop of Victoria, V.P., and the Rev. John Mee, M.A., Secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society—The Lord Bishop of Carlisle, V.P., and the Rev. William Cadman, M.A., Rector of Trinity Church, Marylebone.

Resolutions.

—That the Report, of which an abstract has now been read, be received, and printed under the direction of the Committee; that the thanks of this Meeting be given to the Lord Bishop of Ripon, for his sermon before the Society last evening; to his Grace the Vice-Patron; to the Right Hon. the President and the Vice-Presidents; and to all those friends who, during the past year, have exerted themselves in its behalf; and that the following gentlemen be appointed the Committee for the ensuing year, with power to fill up vacancies—

Major-Gen. R. Alexander.	Sydney Gedge, Esq.	P. F. O'Malley, Esq. Q.C.
George Arbuthnot, Esq.	John Goldingham, Esq.	T. E. Parratt, Esq.
John Ballance, Esq.	John Griffith, Esq.	Robert Prance, Esq.
Lieut.-Col. Caldwell.	Russell Gurney, Esq. Q.C.	Colonel Smith.
Major-Gen. Clarke.	Lieut.-Col. Hughes.	John Sperling, Esq.
William Dugmore, Esq. Q.C.	Arthur Lang, Esq.	James Morgan Strachan, Esq.
William Henry Elliott, Esq.	William Lavie, Esq.	John Fryer Thomas, Esq.
James Farish, Esq.	Colonel Tudor Lavie.	Henry Carre Tucker, Esq. C.R.

—That the present aspect of the Missionary field, especially in respect of the increase and success of native agency, invites the Church at home to united prayer for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, to an enlarged scale of liberality, and to the more abundant sending forth of Evangelists to aid and strengthen the formation of native churches as living witnesses in all lands.

—That this Meeting recognises, in the results of the late expedition to Peking, and the terms of the Elgin treaty, as well as the progress of the Taeping movement, a special claim of the vast empire of China upon Protestant Missionary Societies for large and prompt measures towards sending to her the Gospel of the Prince of Peace.

—That the present peaceful state of Great Britain, contrasted with the distractions of other nations, as well as her great moral influence and political power, and, above all, her spiritual blessings at the present day, summon her to the fore-front of the struggle for the maintenance and universal diffusion of the truth of the Gospel.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

FINANCES OF THE YEAR.

The financial statement presented to the Meeting was as follows—

<i>General Fund</i> —Total Ordinary Income, including £1779. 7s. 11d.			
received on account of "Disabled Missionary Fund" . . .	£124,800	0	4
<i>Special India Fund</i> , for year ending March 31, 1861 . . .	4,382	5	0
Total received at home	£129,182	5	4
Expenditure	£130,900	13	3
Ditto India Fund	14,922	3	5
	£145,822	16	8

The expenditure of the year has exceeded that of last year by 8240*l*. A large portion of this excess has been occasioned by the extension of the Indian Missions. But when the due proportion of disbursements in India is placed to the account of the Special India Fund, according to the original intention of that fund (See Annual Report, 1858, p. 212), the balance upon the operations of the year stands thus—

Income of the year	£124,800	0	4
Expenditure of the year	130,900	13	3
Excess of expenditure	£6,100	12	11

The Committee would deeply deplore their financial difficulties if they could believe that they would prove any check to the Missions of the Society at the present crisis ; but they trust that the review of the Missions, on which they are about to enter, will exhibit so powerful an appeal for increased support, as will not only relieve their anxieties, but set the Lord's work at liberty for a corresponding extension of the Missions.

Besides the income received by the Parent Committee, there is a further sum which has been raised and expended in India, and in other Mission fields, amounting to upwards of 20,000*l*., making a total from all sources of 149,182*l*.

CONCLUSION OF REPORT.

The Committee select one feature in their review of the proceedings of the past year, full of encouragement and instruction, for their concluding remarks—a feature not unrecognised in former Annual Reports, but remarkably developed, during the last few years, throughout the whole Mission field. This feature is, *the spontaneous action of natives both in seeking and spreading the truth*. Sometimes the reading of God's blessed word by an intelligent heathen or Mohammedan, as in the case of the Agra and Benares converts and the Sikh soldier, so quickens his soul that he seeks out the distant Missionary to be instructed more perfectly in the way of truth. Sometimes, as in South India, the personal labours of the Missionary are multiplied through the voluntary evangelistic efforts of the more zealous converts. Sometimes, as in Aurungabad in Western India, and in the neighbourhood of Meerut in Northern India, and at Bezwarra in Southern India, and among the Coolies in Ceylon, the progress of the truth is apparently independent of the foreign Missionary, and resembles the *spontaneous growth* in the vegetable world, when the question arises, Who sowed seed in this spot ?

This is the same feature which has been exhibited in magnificent propor-

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

tions among the native converts of Madagascar and among the Karens of Burmah.

This feature has become so marked and important at the present day as to excite in the minds of your Committee the inquiry whether we are not entering upon a new era of Missions; whether we may not apply the Divine illustration—"When the fig-tree putteth forth her leaves, ye know that the summer is at hand."

This feature in Missions among the heathen becomes more significant when viewed in connexion with the Revival movement in many parts of Christendom, and now extended to North Tinnevely and Jamaica. Amongst many open questions connected with the subject of revivals, all must allow that it has at least taught the Christian Church the force of a spontaneous movement amongst a Christian people. It has shown that the bringing in of sinners to the fold of Christ, when once taken up in earnest by the people themselves, places the minister in a new position. The work enlarges far beyond the sphere of his individual influence. He has no longer to go out and tell them that were bidden that all things are ready, or to go into the highways and hedges to compel them to come in, but guests press around him for seats at the marriage-supper.

These two remarkable features, concurrent at the present day at home and abroad, bear, as your Committee believe, the stamp of a Divine dispensation, of the firstfruits of a general outpouring of the Holy Spirit.

Your Committee therefore venture, when resigning their functions, to encourage their successors about to be appointed to a humble but hopeful waiting upon the Lord for the lighting down of his arm; and to be ready to follow up the work of his Holy Spirit, awakening the consciences of men, by sending forth a prompt and needful supply of suitable European agency—to guide, counsel, and encourage, but not to supersede, the spontaneous action of native inquirers and converts.

Here the Committee ground their appeal to the Christian public for continued and for greatly-increased liberality, that there may be no lack of resources for entering in at each providential opening, as the Lord gradually unfolds before us his grand design for establishing the kingdom of Christ throughout the whole earth.

Here, also, the Committee ground their appeal to Christian young men and to the younger clergy. This spontaneous action, to which they have referred, must become one day the independent action of a National Church. It needs, therefore, and will need for many years, to be leavened with wisdom and experience supplied from elder churches. Let the mother church impart to her daughters all the benefits which she derives from education, from exegetical skill, from her literature of practical Christianity, and from her various institutions for order and for edification: all these appliances will be needed to build up a native church upon solid foundations, and to enable it to attain to that vigorous manhood when it may take its position as an independent church, and act the part admirably expressed by the framers of our own national Liturgy in these memorable words—"We think it convenient that every country should use such ceremonies as they shall think best to the setting forth of God's honour and glory, and to the reducing of the people to a most perfect and godly living, without error or superstition." This adaptation of Christian institutions by a native church to its national wants is the full development and crowning act of the principle of sponta-

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

neous action, which is the element of hope in the commencement of Missionary operations.

This is the enterprise which the Committee propose to Missionary candidates, thus to aid the infant churches of Africa and the East in their struggles towards maturity; an enterprise inviting the consecration of the best talents, and the most fervent zeal, of all who seek the glory of Christ in the full establishment of his universal dominion.

The Bishop of Victoria pronounced the Benediction. Collection 158*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.*

A second Meeting was held at Exeter Hall on the same day, at seven o'clock P. M., the Marquis of Cholmondeley, V. P., in the Chair, when addresses were delivered as follows—Colonel Dawes, Secretary of the Parent Society, on "The Punjab and North-west Provinces;" the Rev. J. Ridgeway, Editorial Secretary, on "China;" Captain Arthur Mildmay, Bombay Army, on "The Claims of Missions;" the Rev. Lal Behari Singh, on "Mohammedanism in India;" P. F. O'Malley, Esq., Q. C., on "The Gospel the Regenerator of Society at home and abroad." Collection, 24*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.*

NEW ZEALAND.

We regret to say that the recent intelligence from New Zealand is not such as to hold out any well-grounded expectations of an early peace. On the 5th of February a deputation of chiefs from the Waikato, Thames, Otaki, and Auckland districts, had an interview with the Governor, for the purpose of submitting proposals by which the war might be immediately brought to an end. The basis on which their mediation was offered was as follows—

1. That the piece of land at Waitara should be left aside (or set apart), to be afterwards arranged or settled by a court, or *whakawahanga*.
2. That the "causes of evil," whether as regards men, the land, property, or murder, should be now "unloosened," or forgiven.

In the opinion of those whose experience renders them competent judges of the case, the successes of the British troops have placed the Government in a position in which they might, with the happiest results, have accepted these terms—terms very similar to those on which, under like circumstances, previous wars have been brought to a close. But the Government have refused to listen to any proposals which would place the insurgents in the position in which they stood previously to the commencement of hostilities, and they seem bent on exacting entire submission and full retribution for all the injuries inflicted by the natives; a determination which can only have the effect of prolonging the contest indefinitely, at the imminent risk of its speedily assuming the character, long since anticipated, of a war of races. Our Missionaries reiterate their often-repeated request, that the friends of Christianity and peace will redouble their importunity at the throne of grace, if peradventure the Lord will yet suffer Himself to be entreated, and avert the evils which seem to be hanging over the heads of their distracted churches.

RETURN HOME OF MISSIONARIES.

Mediterranean.—Mr. J. and Mrs. Huber arrived in London, from Palestine, on April 3rd.—The Rev. Dr. Pfander arrived in London, from Constantinople, on May 20th.

North India.—The Rev. H. W. Shackell left Agra on February 27th, and arrived in London on April 23d.

DEPARTURE OF A MISSIONARY.

China.—The Rev. A. E. Moule embarked at Gravesend in the "Solent" on April 22d, for Ningpo.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

MEDITERRANEAN MISSION—GREECE.

THE Rev. J. T. Wolters lately had occasion to revisit Syra, at which place he was once stationed. He was encouraged by the change which had taken place in Greece during the period since his removal to Smyrna. In his Journal, under date Jan. 5—17, 1861, he remarks as follows—

“There is a visible change for the better in Greece, at least as it regards education and civilization. I was struck by the change at Syra, and agreeably surprised. But, alas! the *religious* aspect of the country is still a dark one. The Greek church is dead in superstition and ignorance, while, it is to be feared, a great number of the more educated of her members have imbibed principles of infidelity. The priests being mostly uneducated men, are entirely unfit for the office they bear, and therefore unable to meet the spiritual wants of the people with that which alone can supply them, namely, the Gospel in its simplicity and purity. There is one hopeful and encouraging circumstance, however, which is, the free circulation of the Holy Scriptures. ‘The word of God is not bound’ in Greece. It has free access also to the schools. In Mr. Hildner’s schools it is freely taught. This is a great point. The word of God is a living seed, and has the promise that it shall not return void. I fully believe that the long and faithful labours of our dear brother Hildner and other Protestant and faithful Missionaries in this country, have not been and will not be in vain. The great day of harvest will make it manifest.

“What I have observed during my long residence in Turkey is also observable in Greece, namely, a general dissatisfaction—I mean in a religious point of view, with the state of things as it is. If it should please God to raise up men in the Greek church possessed with the spirit of the Gospel, thousands would welcome the message of a free salvation. Will not the Lord raise up such men in his own time? Let us pray for it.

“One of the Professors of Theology in the University of Athens, publishes (the work is of some years standing) a monthly periodical, called ‘The Evangelical Preacher,’ (ὁ εὐαγγελικὸς Κήρυξ), with the motto, ‘Preach the word’ (2 Tim. iv. 2). It is chiefly intended for the clergy, but, I believe, read more by the laity, the former being mostly too ignorant to understand, and too indifferent to take the trouble to read it. If this work did indeed ‘preach the word’ in its simplicity and purity, it would no doubt, under God’s blessing, do much good. But, as one may expect (though containing much that is good and useful), it defends the rites and doctrines of the Greek church, whose orthodoxy, according to the Greek mind, is never to be questioned.

“There is another publication at Athens, edited by a well-educated and enlightened Greek. The editor received his education in America, and appears to be a man of knowledge and talent. His paper is called ‘The Star of the East’ (ὁ ἀστὴρ τῆς ἀνατολῆς), and every number contains at least one article on religious and moral subjects. These articles give no uncertain sound. The fanatical party among the Greeks are of course opposed to this paper, and so are the hierarchy, which he does not spare. But in spite of this opposition, the truth comes out boldly.”

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

NORTH-WEST PROVINCES.

The Famine and the Secundra Orphanage.

The following interesting letter from the Rev. C. T. Hœrle (May 4, 1861) exhibits strikingly both the distress prevailing in the famine-stricken districts of India, and the effect produced and likely to be produced by the earnest efforts of British Christianity to haste to the rescue of those who, under less energetic auspices, might have perished unpitied and unrelieved.

"At Agra we thought of making only a short stay, but the Lord, having some peculiar work for us in store there, had otherwise arranged. And how marvellous are His ways! After passing Kánpúr (Cawnpore) the first indications of the famine in the North-west Provinces came to sight in the long strings of camels and rows of bullock-carts carrying grain to the relief of the sufferers in those regions. At Cawnpore especially, the sight of the Ganges canal and the splendid works on its banks, suggested grave reflections on the one hand, but very happy thoughts on the other. All these things—the canal with its cheerful streams of 'living' water so invaluable for irrigation; the mills and shops on its banks, the beautiful bridges over it, &c.—were made for the benefit of the natives by the skill and exertions of European Christians, of whom so many were slaughtered in cold blood in this very city, and that not far away from these most useful and splendid canal works. This was in the fearful mutiny of 1857. Now you saw at this time of famine and distress a long succession of fine canal boats all laden with grain, provided from the lower more blessed provinces, and sent up by the canal into the famine districts, not for filthy lucre, but by the charity and Christian sympathy of the countrymen, and perhaps even friends and relatives, of those who had been so treacherously murdered here and elsewhere. Certainly, if these things do not make an impression on the reflective mind of the natives, what else will? And I am happy to add that several instances have come to my knowledge, testifying to the fact that many of them, seeing this spirit of Christian charity and forgiveness being at work on their behalf, are led to earnest reflection, and to the ready acknowledgment that the truth is on our side.

"As we proceeded, the marks of the famine and its ravages became more and more evident. All fields that cannot be irrigated by well or canal water (and often even these) were dry and barren from want of rain. Consequently the price of every description of food was so high, as to render it impossible for the poorer classes of the people to procure it. Thus many of them were starving and in a most wretched condition. And if the distress had not become so general as in 1837, it was owing only to the timely provision made by the Government, and the exertions of the Relief Societies formed throughout the suffering districts. On our arrival at Agra we heard of numbers of destitute children who had either lost their parents and friends, or were forsaken by them in the keenness of starvation and distress. Some of these children were at Agra, others in the district towns. The question arose what to do with them. They could not be left to starvation and death. It was necessary to provide for their support and education in some way or other. The Romish priests at Agra had already taken hold of a considerable number, and Protestant charity could not and dared not remain behind. It was evident something must be done, and that without delay, if we are not to neglect our Christian duties with regard to these little ones whom Christ was ready to bless, although they were as yet heathen. But the difficulty

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

was, where to locate them. In this emergency all eyes were turned towards Secundra as the best place for a home for them. On a consultation with the Rev. J. Barton, and the members of the Central Relief Committee at Agra, who promised liberal assistance, it was resolved, in the name of the Lord who had prepared the way, to re-establish the Orphan Institution at Secundra, and at the same time to raise once more the standard of Christ at a place where his vineyard had been trodden under foot by his enemies, led on by the arch enemy of God and man. I cannot now enter into particulars, but only add, that as soon as this resolution was come to, we found ourselves, as it were, in the right track, the Lord leading us on step by step, removing difficulties out of the way, providing means, and opening hearts; and we now began to understand the Scripture text appointed for the day of our arrival at Agra, Haggai ii. 9—'The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former.'

"Thus, on the 9th March, in the sure hope of our blessed Saviour's good will and pleasure, Mrs. Hoernle and myself, accompanied by a few native Christians and workmen, set out for Secundra, to put our shoulders to the wheel, and to begin the arduous but interesting work of rebuilding and re-opening a Mission on which the blow of the mutiny had so heavily fallen. I would, however, never believe that, whilst the crescent of Mohammed on the opposite mausoleum of Akbar Shah was apparently triumphant, and the maunders (temples) of Mahadev, Rám, and Krishna, in the vicinity, remained untouched, Secundra, with its temple of the true and living God and his only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ, should have fallen in their midst, never to rise again; but rather that the words of our Lord should be fulfilled—'Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit.' It was with mingled feelings of joy and grief, that, surrounded by heaps of ruins, we took up our residence in a few rooms of the old orphan house, still under roof, but without either windows or doors. They were not comfortable, but we never enjoyed the peace and presence of God more than here. It was a kind of silent triumph over Satan. After fervent prayer for a blessing on, and solemn re-dedication of, the place to the Lord and his protection, it was as if the life-giving spirit descended on this scene of death and destruction. The workmen began their work of restoration, and you heard once more the happy sounds of life and activity, where for more than three years death-like silence had reigned, and where the owls and bats had taken up their abode in vast numbers. The Christians who were with us, witnessing these unexpected doings of the Lord, shed tears of joy and thanksgiving, and many heathen of the neighbourhood expressed their deep interest in what was going on, and acknowledged the hand of our God. Gradually masses of ruin and rubbish disappeared, a nice spacious yard opened, one room after another became inhabitable, and, within a few weeks, as many were ready as were required for the reception of the orphans."

The current expenses of the Orphanage will not be thrown upon the funds of the Society; there being sufficient means available from the compensation money received for the destruction of the Secundra property during the mutiny, assisted from the Relief Fund, to maintain the establishment in efficiency.

NEW ZEALAND.

Since our last Number events of a most important, and, we trust, of an equally satisfactory character, have transpired. The Home Government, in

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

anticipation of the period at which the tenure of the office of Governor Browne would shortly have expired, have determined to replace him by Sir George Grey, the former popular and successful administrator of New Zealand. His name is a host of strength, and will, under God, restore the waning confidence of the native in the British Government. The measure is precisely that which the whole Missionary body have urged from the commencement of the present troubles.

Meanwhile peace has been restored in New Zealand itself, the terms offered by the Governor having been accepted, not indeed universally, but, as it would seem, by the great majority of those who were in arms against the Government; the whole of whom have now dispersed to their several homes. Wiremu Kingi himself, however, has not acceded to the terms proposed; and has retired northward with the Waikato. The terms were, in substance, that the investigation of the title and the survey of the land at Waitara are to be continued without interruption, the rights of those who may prove their title to any part of it to be respected; and the decision of the Governor or of the persons appointed by him to investigate, to be final: guns and plunder to be restored; those in arms to submit to the authority of the law; and the land held by the troops belonging to those who have borne arms against the Queen, to be disposed of at the Governor's discretion; who, however, undertakes to divide it among its former owners, reserving only the sites of blockhouses and redoubts, and the right of making roads through the Waitara district.

Full particulars respecting the negotiations which led to the peace have not yet been received. It is, however, a matter of devout thankfulness, and can only be accepted as an answer to many earnest prayers, that the way has been so smoothed on every side.

It is gratifying to receive the testimony of the Missionaries to the humanity shown to the natives by our own officers and men during the war. Mr. Wilson says—"Their treatment of the wounded prisoners was worthy of the country they served, and will live in the memory of the natives when the former asperity of the war is forgotten. The New Zealander, relentless as he sometimes proves himself in war, can nevertheless appreciate humane and disinterested kindness; and I feel persuaded that the best effect will result from the treatment they have met with during the war."

DISMISSAL OF MISSIONARIES.

A dismissal of Missionaries took place at Islington, on Friday, June 21st. We must postpone particulars till our next.

RETURN HOME OF MISSIONARIES.

Palestine—The Rev. W. and Mrs. Kruse left Jaffa April 27th, 1861, and arrived in London on the 24th of May.

North India—The Rev. W. Wright left Calcutta on February 16th, and arrived in London on the 27th of May. The Rev. F. and Mrs. Schurr, and the Rev. A. and Mrs. Medland, left Calcutta on February 16th, and arrived in London on June 17th.

South India—The Rev. J. and Mrs. Thomas left Tinnevely in February last, and arrived in London on June 15th. The Rev. A. B. and Mrs. Valpy left at the same time, and arrived in London on June 17th.

Mr. P. Goodall left Kurrachee on December 23rd last, on account of ill health. He embarked at Bombay for home on January 24th, and died at sea on April 27th.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

INDIA.—FAMINE IN THE NORTH-WEST PROVINCES.

THE Rev. F. E. Schneider, of Agra, in acknowledging the receipt of the sums transmitted through the Secretaries of the Society (May 20) says—

“I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your two letters, dated April 10 and 18, with the subscription lists and drafts.

“The harvest has now been gathered in. Upon the whole it has been a middling one: it has, however, relieved the distress a good deal.

“If it please God to give us a good rainy season, the distress in the famine-stricken districts will gradually disappear. In the city you meet still many persons in an emaciated and starving condition, and many die before relief is afforded; and many, after relief has been given, pine away from the evil effects of former want and unsuitable food.

“We are greatly indebted to those dear friends who have so liberally subscribed for the relief of persons suffering from the famine, and who have honoured us by becoming their almoners in the distribution of their charities.”

In a letter of a later date (June 5) he says—

“I have just time enough to acknowledge, by this mail, with great pleasure, the receipt of your letter dated 3rd of May, with the enclosed draft for 900*l.*, as another remittance of the Church Missionary Society's Famine-Relief Fund. Allow me to express our sincerest thanks to those dear friends who have contributed so liberally to the Famine-Relief Fund, and have thus enabled us, by their sympathizing Christian charities, to do much good among the numberless suffering classes. We have commenced our operations among them, and it affords us the greatest delight to be the instruments to convey your gifts to those who require help and assistance. May it please God to bless the donors with spiritual blessings for their temporal gifts.

“We have now above two hundred orphans, boys and girls, and many more may be expected. I hope we shall require no direct help from Government, as there will be ample means for the support of the orphans, when the compensation money affair and the Secundra Orphan Press account will be settled.”

Extract of letter from Rev. C. T. Hoernle, Meerut, June 4, 1861—

“To give you an idea of the wretched condition of some of the natives, permit me to refer to a case which came to my notice last Sunday. Among the number of candidates for baptism there is a poor widow, with five children, from one year up to fourteen years of age, but with absolutely nothing to support them but what she can earn by going out now and then in search of work, leaving her children behind. The little one I saw the other day, crawling

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

and crying along the compound; and when I asked for the eldest boy, why he was not in school, I found he had been sent by his mother to collect the bark of a certain tree, which, in want of proper nourishment, they are in the habit of grinding and eating. To alleviate such cases of distress is a mere duty of Christian charity, and I am so glad of the special relief money which has been lately sent by the Committee, and of which I have received a share, for which I take this opportunity to express my sincerest thanks to those Christian friends who have contributed the money. May the Lord bless them abundantly with heavenly gifts!"

As it is probable that the crops of North India will by this time have been wholly gathered in, there is no necessity at present of appealing to our friends for further contributions in aid of the sufferers.

DEPARTURE OF MISSIONARIES.

North India—The Rev. T. Storrs embarked at Gravesend in the "Renown," on July 11th, for Calcutta.

South India—The Rev. J. and Mrs. Whitchurch embarked at Gravesend in the "Clarence," on July 2d, for Madras.

RETURN HOME OF MISSIONARIES.

West Africa—The Rev. M. S. Jackson left Sierra Leone on June 21st, and arrived in London on July 11th.

North India—The Rev. G. G. Cuthbert arrived in London on 3d of July, having, since leaving Calcutta, visited several Missionary stations in South India and Ceylon.

South India—Mr. and Mrs. Scamell left Madras on the 9th of March, and arrived in London on the 25th of June.

Ceylon—The Rev. I. Wood arrived in London from Ceylon on the 5th of July.

DISMISSAL OF MISSIONARIES.

On June 21st, the Instructions of the Committee were delivered to the following Missionaries about to proceed to their Missions—

North India—The Rev. Townsend Storrs, B.A., and Rev. W. Hooper, M.A., and Miss Jane Hooper.

South India—The Rev. J. and Mrs. Whitchurch, returning to Tinnevely, and the Rev. John Sharp, B.A.

Ceylon—The Rev. W. E. Rowlands, B.A.

China—The Rev. Thomas Stringer, M.A., and Rev. J. Wolfe.

The Instructions were delivered by the Rev. J. Chapman, and, having been replied to, the Missionaries were addressed by the Bishop of Victoria, the Bishop Designate of Madras, and the Bishop of Carlisle, and afterwards commended to God's protection in prayer by the Rev. J. Fenn.*

* The Instructions delivered on the occasion are printed in the "Church Missionary Intelligencer" for the present month.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

WEST AFRICA.

Treaty with the King of Porto-Novo.(From the *Iwe Irohin*, July 5, 1861.)

THE Acting-Consul, J. M'Coskry, Esq., started from Lagos for Porto-Novo at noon on the 12th of June, in order to conclude a treaty with the people of Porto-Novo. The Acting-Consul was also accompanied by the Rev. J. A. Maser, the Church Missionary at Lagos. They stayed the night off Beahé; and the next day, at three P.M., were opposite Badagry, where Mr. Buko, the schoolmaster, was asked to go on in the steamer, as he understands the Popo language, which is spoken at Porto-Novo. At three P.M. the Porto-Novian barrier was reached. It was made about six miles below Porto-Novo for the protection of the river. Sticks, or trees, are fastened into the river bank, of some sixteen feet long; but the present appearance is rather that of a large mass of grass, composed of floating islands, which are periodically detached from the extensive swamps above Porto-Novo, and which form a large green band across the river, extending for about a mile towards the town.

Some sticks had to be pulled out in order to make a passage for the steamer: it was also necessary to haul down part of the grass into the river. This took them the whole of Friday afternoon; and they had to anchor below the barrier for the night. As this large mass of grass has come down from Porto-Novo in less than two months, it is probable it will cover the whole of the river in less than a-year. The water is not stopped, but it flows through and below the grass. On the morning of Friday, the "Brune," entering the channel made on Thursday evening, pressed full speed against the mass, which gave way, and the steamer soon came through it, though, when the ship returned, no passage remained, as the grass floated back again. On Friday, at two P.M., they arrived at Porto-Novo. The town is situated on the continental side of the lagoon. It is covered by many high trees, and the houses peep through the bush in detached groups. Before the town, towards the lagoon, is a broad swamp, covered with high grass, as it is seen at Badagry. There are a few scorched trees, and some houses without roofs, to be seen from the ship, but nothing more to indicate the great destruction which took place two months ago.

After a private interview with the Consul was over, Mr. Maser saw the King, who promised that if all was settled, he also should be included; and Mr. Maser was then told that the King hesitated to sign the treaty, as the article providing free-trade between the British nation and all the subjects of the King of Porto-Novo appeared to him disadvantageous, as the people of the town of Porto-Novo get their living by being allowed to trade alone with the white man: palm-oil producers must sell their oil to them, and they to the merchants. On the Sunday the chiefs and elders were asked by the King on the subject. There was service on board the "Brune" in the morning; and in the evening there was a family service at Mr. Bickersteth's, as the

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

people had run away on account of the steamer, and the reluctance of the King to sign the treaty. On Monday morning the Consul went again to the King to hear his final answer; and to our great joy the King was ready to sign the treaty. After he had taken the pen into his hand, he asked the chiefs, who were sitting on the ground in the open air before his hut, three times, whether he should sign the treaty, and they all answered in the affirmative. He made his mark to the name Soji. Seven guns, fired from the "Brune," announced to the people of Porto-Novo that the treaty had been signed. The King gave the merchants and Missionaries, who had come from Lagos, permission to choose ground wherever they liked. Accordingly a piece of ground was selected for the Church Missionary Society, which Mr. Buko was to show to the king's men to clear and fence it with sticks. The marks of bombardment were more evident when we got on shore. The king's palace had suffered most: several walls were blown down. The king had lost all his property. When the Consul was with him in the small village called Danilla, to which he had gone, he delivered several gold and silver staff-heads to the Consul, that he might send them to England to have new staves put into them, because the old ones were burnt. The whole country round the town is under careful cultivation: every spot seems to be occupied: the whole place looks like a garden.

There are a good many Yorubas there as well as the Popos. The Porto-Novans dwell in Porto-Novo itself and about twenty villages. They returned to Badagry on Monday to conclude the same mercantile treaty there as had been concluded at Porto Novo.

NEW ZEALAND.

THE intelligence brought by the last mail is still of the same indecisive character as that conveyed by the preceding. A portion only of the natives who were in arms have accepted the terms of the Government. Meanwhile the winter season has compelled a suspension of hostilities, and it is very uncertain what turn affairs may take on the advent of spring. Great discontent is known to prevail, and great apprehensions are entertained of the outbreak of a war of races. But peace is far from hopeless; and when it becomes known among the natives that Sir George Grey has been appointed to resume the government of the islands, confidence may be restored.

The following important Proclamation has been issued—

"Proclamation by Thomas Gore Browne, Governor, to the Chiefs and People of Ngaruawahia.

"In order to avoid misapprehension, the Governor directs the attention of the chiefs and people, assembled in Ngaruawahia, to the present condition of affairs in New Zealand, and states distinctly the course necessary to be taken to avert the calamities that threaten the country. In the year 1858 a portion of the Maori people, resident at Waikato, pretended to set up a Maori king, and Potatau was chosen for that office. He was installed at Rangiawhia in the month of June in that year. On Potatau's death in 1860, Matutaera, his son was nominated his successor. Diversity of opinion existed from the commencement as to what would result from this movement. Some were led to believe that its supporters desired only the establishment of order, and a governing authority amongst themselves; while others viewed with apprehension a confederacy which they deemed fraught with danger to the peace

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

of the colony. The Governor at first inclined towards the more favourable view of the movement, but soon felt misgivings, which have been justified by the event. The Governor, however, has not interfered to put down the Maori king by force. He has been unwilling to relinquish the hope that the Maoris themselves, seeing the danger of the course they were pursuing, and that the institution of an independent authority must prove inefficient for all purposes of good, would, of their own accord, abandon their attempts. The Governor can now only look with sorrow and displeasure on what has been done in the name, and by the adherents, of the native king—

“1. An authority has been set up inconsistent with allegiance to the Queen, and in violation of the treaty of Waitangi.

“2. A large number of the adherents of the native king have interfered between the Governor and other native tribes in matters with which they had no concern; have levied war against the Queen, fought against her troops, and burned and destroyed the property of her peaceful subjects.

“3. Other adherents of the king have assisted, encouraged, and harboured the men who have committed these outrages.

“4. A war party of several hundred men some time since assembled and advanced to within forty miles of Auckland, for the purpose of interfering with the due course of the administration of justice.

“5. Her Majesty's mail has been stopped; jurisdiction has been usurped over Her Majesty's European subjects; and other offences have been committed, to the subversion of Her Majesty's sovereignty and of the authority of law.

“At this very time the adherents of the native king are using the most strenuous efforts to possess themselves of arms and ammunition for the purpose of effecting their objects by intimidation and violence. The Governor cannot permit the present state of things to continue. No option now rests with him: he has been commanded by Her Majesty the Queen to suppress unlawful combinations, and to establish beyond a question Her Majesty's sovereignty in New Zealand. Submission to Her Majesty's sovereignty requires—

“1. That every man yield implicit obedience to what the law (which is the same for all) prescribes for the public welfare. But while the law exacts what is essential for this object, it confers great benefits, and guarantees freedom and security to the weak as well as to the strong.

“2. That rights be sought and protected through the law, and not by a man's own will and strength. No man in the Queen's dominions is permitted to enforce rights or redress wrongs by force: he must appeal to the law.

“3. That men do not enter into combinations for the purpose of preventing other men from acting, or from dealing with their own property, as they think fit. This is against the law.

“4. That every man, European or native, under the Queen's sovereignty, submit to have roads and bridges made on his land, wherever the public convenience requires them; but land can only be taken for these purposes under lawful authority, and on payment of a reasonable compensation.

“On the other hand, Her Majesty's sovereignty secures ‘to the chiefs and tribes of New Zealand, and to the respective families and individuals thereof, the full, exclusive, and undisturbed possession of their lands and estates,

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

forests, fisheries, and other properties, which they may collectively or individually possess, so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession.' This is the Maoris' safeguard for their lands, and it has never been violated. The Governor has been falsely accused of desiring to introduce a new system in dealing with native lands. This he has never attempted, nor has he the power to do so. The Queen's promise in the treaty of Waitangi cannot be set aside by the Governor. By that treaty the Queen's name has become a protecting shade for the Maoris' land, and will remain such so long as the Maoris yield allegiance to Her Majesty, and live under her sovereignty, but no longer. Whenever the Maoris forfeit this protection by setting aside the Queen and the law, the land will remain their own so long as they are strong enough to keep it: might, and not right, will become their sole title to possession. The Governor sincerely hopes that a correct appreciation of the real interests of the Maori race will induce the adherents of the native king to conform to Her Majesty's declared wishes, and to abandon the baneful and dangerous course they are pursuing. Her Majesty has an earnest solicitude for the welfare of her native people, and it will be the duty of the Governor to give the fullest effect to measures calculated to secure that end. The Maoris cannot be more anxious than the Queen and her Governor for the complete establishment of law and order amongst the Maori people, and that the institutions of the Government should be, as far as practicable, in accordance with their interests and wishes; but the Maoris must not forget that these objects are unattainable without their own cordial co-operation. The Governor last year convened a meeting of chiefs to consult with him upon native affairs, and has declared his intention again to assemble chiefs from all parts of these islands for the same purpose. Her Majesty has been pleased to approve of these proceedings. It is the Governor's wish that the coming conference should devise measures for the introduction of law and order, and the establishment of useful institutions in native districts; and it will be his earnest desire to give effect to any measures approved by the conference, which appear likely to promote the welfare of the native people, and to bring all Her Majesty's subjects in these islands, both European and Maori, under one law, upon terms of equality. The Governor earnestly hopes that the chiefs and people who are adherents of the Maori king, will abandon their perilous position: they will then receive the same invitation as the other natives of New Zealand to choose some of their most respected and influential chiefs to represent them in the approaching conference, and to afford special assistance in its deliberations. The Governor now states specifically what his demands are—

"1. From all—Submission without reserve to the Queen's sovereignty, and the authority of the law.

"2. From those who are in possession of plunder taken from Her Majesty's European or native subjects—Restoration of that plunder.

"3. From those who have destroyed or made away with property belonging to Her Majesty's subjects, European or native—Compensation for the losses sustained.

"Compliance with these demands will satisfy the Queen and her Governor. No other demand will be made on Waikato. The past will be forgiven, and for the future the well-conducted will be protected, offenders punished, and the rights and privileges of all maintained by the Queen and her laws.

"Government House, Auckland, 21st May 1861."

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

NEW ZEALAND.

THE two last mails have brought letters and documents of deep interest and importance from New Zealand, throwing great light upon the transactions of the past few months, and of the state of affairs at the present moment; as well as upon the bearing they are likely to exercise upon the future. Those who have watched the course of events, and kept themselves acquainted with the views maintained by those who defended and those who deprecated the policy of the Colonial Government, will find matter for special thankfulness in the course which events have taken, and gather hope therefrom in looking forward to the termination of the crisis. We would point especially to the nomination of Sir George Grey to the Governorship, than whom no man living commands more of the confidence of all parties in the island;—to the restoration of peace, with an express stipulation that the investigation of the title to the disputed block at the Waitara shall be resumed at the point where it was broken off by the war;—to the renewed declaration on the part of the authorities of the inviolability of the treaty of Waitangi; *—to the repeated acknowledgment by the Government of the tribal right;—to the initiation of measures for establishing a tribunal for settling land questions, accompanied by an alteration in the system of land purchasing;—to the hearty desire expressed by the native conference at Ngauruahia to negotiate rather than fight;—and to the growing conviction that the war was an unjust one, and the native policy of the New-Zealand Government unsound. This last revolution of opinion is indicated, not simply by the altered tone of the public press, but by the fact that the New-Zealand Ministry has been defeated on the question of native policy in the new House of Representatives; and Mr. Fox, the author of the pamphlet "On the War in New Zealand," has been invited to form a new Ministry.

Some of the points above enumerated have been adverted to on former occasions. Others will appear from the following series of extracts—

Extracts from a letter of the Bishop of Waiapu, dated Auckland, June 4th, 1861—

"After hearing much, and reading much, upon the painful subject of the native question, I beg to assure you that I most fully agree with the view which is taken by the Committee of our Society, in common with Sir W. Martin, the Bishop of New Zealand, the whole body of our clergy, and a large proportion of the House of General Assembly.

"You will have been informed that a sort of peace has been made at Taranaki, and that the large body of the troops has been removed to Auckland. I say a sort of peace, because, after the high ground the Governor has been endeavouring to maintain, the said peace does not seem to be becoming the dignity of the Government.

"The attention of the Government is now turned towards Waikato, against which there are two grounds of complaint. First, many of the natives of Upper Waikato joined with those of Taranaki in the late hostilities against the Government; and secondly, Waikato is the seat of the Maori King movement. The Governor now requires from the Waikato natives that this King movement shall be given up, and if the natives can be induced quietly to abandon it, I believe that the difficulties will be very much simplified. The chiefs of that quarter are holding a meeting at this time. Sir William Martin, and several other friends of the natives, have written to urge upon them this step, feeling that it would place them in a more favourable position with the Government. It would be well, too, if this is conceded, for another reason. The Government have entirely failed in their conflict with the natives of Taranaki, and it would have had somewhat of a healing effect to the wounded honour of the Government to be able to say they had succeeded in this particular. It is well for all parties that the season of the year is against military operations. The soldiers are kept quiet, the natives will have time to consider their course, and the general excitement will cool down. Then, too, the House of Assembly, which was opened yesterday, will have the whole policy of Government before them, and it will doubtless undergo a searching examination. Mr. Burrows has now been absent at Waikato for the last three weeks, for the purpose of using his influence with Tamihana Tarapipi, who is the most influential man of the King party.

"You are quite aware, from the papers you have had before you, of the causes which led the natives to take up the King movement; but there is one feature of the case which has not been much insisted on. It comes out in the letter of Renata, the Ngapui chief: it is the dissatisfac-

* "See the Governor's proclamation, "Recent Intelligence," September.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

tion which has been given to the natives by the irregularities of the proceedings of the land-purchase department.

"We are at this time on the very brink of a precipice. All may be well; but if, on the one hand, the natives should be obstinate, and tenaciously hold to the King movement; or if, on the other, the Government should not make those concessions to the natives, which a large portion of the community think they ought to make, redressing the grievances of which they have just reason to complain, and should rush headlong into a renewal of hostilities, after the example of what they did at Taranaki, they will have, not merely Waikato, but probably the greater part of the natives of this northern island, joining in the conflict; not carrying on an open warfare, which disciplined soldiers could easily dispose of, but retiring to the fastnesses of the country, from whence they could send out small parties to harass and destroy all the outlying settlers from north to south. Our confidence is in the Lord who reigneth, that He will so order the hearts of men, that the natives shall yet be preserved as a people, and that our own Government may be restrained from proceeding to extremities in a war which, without doubt, was commenced with injustice."

Extract from a letter of Rev. B. Y. Ashwell, dated Taupiri, May 30, 1861—

"I trust the horizon is a little brighter, but still clouds hang over the future of New Zealand, and especially Waikato. I feel persuaded that Wiremu Tamahana (William Thompson) and the Ngatibaua will not consent to doff the flag, or to give up the name King; and nearly all Waikato are unanimous on this point, *i. e.* they will not give it up through fear of the strong arm. A few months of moral force may possibly, with the Divine blessing, induce them to lay aside this obstacle to a cordial union of the two races. A chief called upon me to say they were most anxious to have a good system of law introduced, saying his own brother had been deeply injured (a case of adultery), and he did not wish to have recourse to their old *Pikange* (custom). His word to me was, 'We must have law: never mind the flag, it is only a sign that we will not sell our land; it is not opposition to the Queen.' This has been the uniform reply of all the chiefs who have spoken to me on this subject. Wiremu Tamahana told me, when he had determined to go to Taranaki, that the object of his visit was peace, to separate the combatants, and to allow the Queen to decide upon the disputed point. His words were—'*Ka kele aha i te wahi papaku ka matu ahe,*' *i. e.* 'If I see a shallow place, I will work; if the quarrel is not too deep, I will use my influence to separate the combatants, and leave the matter (*i. e.* the land) for the Queen to judge.' He so far succeeded, that on his arrival at Taranaki he asked the general to suspend hostilities for two or three days. This was granted. He then assembled the different tribes—Wiremu Kingi (Te Rangitakei) and his tribe, Te Atiawa, Ngatiawa, and Hapurona; Rewi and his tribe from Waikato, also Epeha, a chief; Ngatimaniapoto from Kawhia, and Mokau and Ngatiruanui, from the south.

"I give the substance of Thompson's interview with these tribes, as given me by my native deacon, Rev. J. Tarawhiti, whom I sent to see Thompson on his return. It is as follows—

"Thompson—'The reason of my coming here is to convey the words of the Ministers and Maoris also. This is why I came to see Waitara, and to see the commanders of the war, and to visit you, Rangitakei, so that I may learn the grounds of this quarrel.'

"William King replies—'The quarrel is not mine, neither is Waitara. They are yours.

"Thompson—'With you is the quarrel; with you is Waitara.'

"William King—'It is with you.'

"Thompson—'A man has head, feet, and hands. Waikato is the feet. That is why I say Waitara is with you.'

"William King—'You are the head.'

"Thompson—'You are the head.'

"William King—'Yes; I am the head. Waitara is mine: the quarrel is mine. Here let Waitara be for you.'

"Thompson—'You see my hand (closing it), it will not let water spill: if I do this (opening it), the water will spill. How do you give Waitara to me; like this (closing his hand), or like that (opening his hand)?'

"William King—'My giving of it is free (open-handed); I do not say another word about it after this.'

"Hapurona—'My brother, this is the word, that which William King has declared.'

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

"*Thompson*, turning to Waikato, said—'Upset this.' He then turned to Te Atiawa, King's tribe—'Upset this.' Then to Ngatiruanui—'Upset this.' And last of all to Ngatimaniapoto—'Upset this.'

"*Revi*, Chief of Waikato—'We have not another word to say: it is said as we wished. The feet are the feet; the head is the head. King is the head, and he has done it.'

"*Thompson* said—'Waikato, Patua, upset this; destroy it.'

"*Epeha*, Chief of Waikato, said—'Mine is the same as *Rewi's*.'

"*Thompson*—'That is all: Waikato, return to your place. Te Atiawa, King's tribe, return to Maitaitawa. Ngatiruanui, to your place. Let the soldiers return to New Plymouth. Waitara, let it be left for the law to protect.'

"*Thompson* was quite successful. The different parties returned to their homes, and William King accompanied Waikato on their return. He is now daily expected at Ngaruawahia, where a large meeting will be held. I was truly glad to give my worthy brother Burrows a hearty welcome. He arrived here last week, and will no doubt give the Society full particulars of proceedings at this all-important time.

"With regard to *Thompson*, although he is, and has been, the chief support of the King, or rather the *land* league party, he has always professed loyalty to the Queen. He did all he could to prevent natives of his tribe from going to Taranaki, and when a few would go, in spite of his remonstrance, he followed them as a peacemaker, and to bring them back. Terms have been agreed to by Hapurona, Te Atiawa, i.e. Ngatiawa, but William King has not yet acceded to them. Separate terms are to be offered to Waikato and Ngatiruanui. I trust a few months of quiet and persevering effort may induce them to fall in with them, as no military operations can be carried on during the winter. In the mean time the friends of the natives are not idle.

"*Sir W. Martin* has written to *Thomson*, and his letter has had considerable influence. The bishops also have written, and I do believe that God will be better than all our fears, and exceed our warmest expectations. We shall see what our God will do for us and for our poor people. It is a blessed thing to trust in Him: we shall never have reason to be ashamed of our hope; but I do believe we shall have reason to be ashamed of our unbelieving fears: if we could only believe, we should more frequently see the salvation of our God. Another ground of hope is, all the natives (originating entirely among themselves) throughout Waikato keep the tenth day of each month as a day of fasting and prayer, that peace may be established, and those natives who have backslided may be restored. My own native teachers continue to meet every morning at ten A.M. for prayer for the same object. Some of the natives have been accused in the public papers of erasing the name of the Queen from the Common-Prayer Book, and not using the prayers for her. This is not the case in this district, for even at Ngaruawahia the prayer for the Queen is used, and throughout the Taupiri district, as I see my teachers the first Monday in every month, I know this to be the case. The Ngatimaniapoto, Ngatiruanui, and the belligerent tribes, I cannot speak of, excepting the Ngatihaua, whom I and teachers visit. We always use the prayers for the Queen and Governor, and no objection has been made: on the contrary, I do not remember an instance in which the prayer has not been followed by responses."

Extracts from a letter of the Rev. Robert Burrows, dated June 11, 1861—

"I wish I had something more definite and satisfactory to communicate than what my last letter contained. I then informed you that the natives were just assembling at Ngaruawahia for the meeting. On the same day I wrote, a letter from the Governor arrived at the place of meeting, and on the morrow I was the bearer of a copy of it to the Rapa, where William Thompson, William King, Te Rangitake, and about 500 natives were then assembled, preparatory to their coming down to join those already assembled at Ngaruawahia. In the evening Thompson read the letter to the leading men of the several tribes then assembled, who expressed no opinion further than of a want of confidence in any document emanating from the Government.

"I spent the Sabbath with this people, and on the Monday they moved on and joined the other tribes at Ngaruawahia. Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday were spent in talking and eating, but it was not until Thursday that any real question of importance was discussed, when the following points were brought forward—

"1. The taking down of the King flag, and the breaking up of the combination into which they had entered to keep their lands, &c.

"2. The restoration of plunder, and payment for what had been destroyed.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

"3. What they would regard as a recommencement of hostilities on the part of the Government.

"The first question was almost entirely disposed of by Thompson himself, who commenced by denying that the flag, &c., had ever been intended to ignore the Queen's supremacy as a protector of their rights and privileges, but was a badge of a combination which they had formed not to part with more of their lands, and also that they had agreed to hold meetings, &c., which should take cognizance of, and suppress, evil among themselves. He detailed the good which he considered had resulted from their combination, mentioning

"a. That disputes about boundaries, which existed at the commencement of the 'combination,' had been set at rest.

"b. That other disputes of the same kind, which had arisen since, had been quietly arranged.

"c. That drunkenness, adultery, and other evils, had been suppressed.

"d. And that they were now working to suppress existing evils.

"He then contrasted the good which had resulted from the 'combination' with the evil which had arisen from the Governor's going to Taranaki with troops. He denied that the flag had been the cause of the Waikatos going to Taranaki, but maintained that blood relationship would have driven them to it, had there been no flag. He particularized the relationship between some of the leading Waikato men who had been to Taranaki and William King. He expressed his goodwill towards the colonists generally, remarking that he had never fought against the Pakeha, but had been instrumental in stopping fighting at Waitara, and that he wished for peace; but intimated, that in the event of the renewal of hostilities, he should not be able to remain neutral. He then ended with saying, that when the flag was set up upon any land fairly sold to the Queen, or when it otherwise interfered with the rights of the colonists, then would be the time for the Governor to interfere.

"The question of the restoration of plunder, and making compensation for the destruction of property, was disposed of by the following argument—

"The Queen's troops commenced the war by going to Taranaki, attacking William King's pa, driving him from thence, burning and destroying his pa, and what was in it, taking and appropriating what cattle he and other natives had at Waitara, and by otherwise setting fire to and destroying their property. That, therefore, the Governor having set the example, was responsible for what followed, and that they regarded it as unfair to demand restitution and compensation for what the Maoris had destroyed, when the Governor did not say a word about compensating them for their losses. Reference was also made to the loss they had sustained in the number of their relatives killed, which they regarded as no small payment (utu). They said, moreover, that comparatively little plunder had been brought away by them, as they did not go to plunder, but to fight the soldiers who were fighting against their friends, &c.

"The discussion on the third question had reference to the future survey of Waitara by the Government, and the movements of the troops.

"1. They would regard the survey of any portion of William King's land, or the lands of his tribe, at the present time, as a recommencement of hostilities on the part of the Government.

2. The stationing of troops at Mangatawhiri (the point where the great south road meets the Waikato River,) or on any other point or place where it would be clear that hostile movements towards them were intended, would also be a call to them to awake out of sleep, as they expressed themselves.

"A fourth question was discussed, but it had reference to us as Missionaries, when it was very unanimously decided that no harm should befall us from them, happen what may, so long as we remained amongst them, and pursued our proper vocation as ministers of 'peace and goodwill.'

"At the conclusion of the meeting, a rough copy of a letter to the Governor, drawn up by Thompson, in which he enters into many of the questions discussed, was read to the leading men of the several tribes, and generally agreed to. When I left on Friday last, the 7th instant, it was undergoing a revision. It will probably be delivered by the end of this week. They wish it to be printed for public information."

Writing July 5, Mr. Burrows was able to enclose the formal reply of the native conference to the Governor. It is, he says, "without doubt, THE answer to the Governor's declaration, and one which deserves the serious consideration of the Government at this time. It expresses the feelings of *nine-tenths* of the natives in the island, and shows what might be hoped for, if sufficient time were given for negotiations, and proper measures introduced for their adoption."

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

"Letter to His Excellency the Governor from the Runanga assembled at Ngaruawahia.

"Ngaruawahia June 7, 1861.

"FRIEND THE GOVERNOR,—Salutations to you. This is a word to you from the Maori Runanga. Hearken! This is our thought to you: Tell us of the death for this island first, and let the fighting be afterwards. Let not the proceeding be like that in the case of Taranaki, which we and you worked at in the dark: we did not understand what was the good of that quarrel. Let you and me deliberate carefully this time: these are our thoughts at the present time. We hear 'korero' (reports), the report of which is going about Waikato, and comes from where you are: that the General insists upon (urges) a war with Waikato. If this report is correct, write to us; let the talk come first, and do you carefully weigh the matter (turn the matter over in your mind). Let this be the result of reflection, even the withdrawal of the troops, who, we hear, are clearing the roads. If a stockade is made for the soldiers at Te Iia (Mangatawhiri), and at other places, our opinion is this:—Be not in haste to begin hostilities: let us duly remember the words of St. James, 'Slow to wrath, swift to hear.' This, O Governor, is what we think; do you look to these things, even fighting with words against the errors or offences of the Maories, and let it (the offence) be clearly laid down, that the eyes of the great and of the small may clearly perceive it, ere you be swift to wrath. This is our policy. We are not going to rise up to fight: rather will we wait until the eyes have seen, the ear heard, and understanding has entered into the heart; then shall we see what is the good of fighting, and there will be a just cause for the chastisement inflicted upon evil men, that is, us Maoris.

"But now, O friend! restrain your angry feelings against all parts of New Zealand. Let our warfare be that of the lips alone. If such be the course pursued by us it will be a long path; our days will be many while engaged in fighting that battle. Let it not be transferred to the battle (fought) with hands. That is a bad road, a short path; our days will not be many while engaged with the edge of the sword. But do you, the firstborn of God's sons, consider these things. Let not you and me be committed to the short path; let us take the circuitous one: though circuitous, its windings are upon firm ground.

"PROVERB.

"Not by the direct path, that means traveller's fare—short commons. Let us take the circuitous route, that means abundance, or the portion of the stayer at home.

"Nor more, O friend. It is for you to interpret the meaning of those proverbs. There are more to come. No more,

"From the RUNANGA MAORI.

"His Excellency, the Governor of New Zealand."

Mr. Burrows adds—"Thompson is now absent down the coast, no doubt employed in gaining adherents to his cause, and thus, although anxious for peace, preparing for war. Another mistake the Government has made is in treating Thompson rather as an insurgent than as a peacemaker, which he has really been."

Extract from a letter of the Rev. J. Morgan, dated Otawhao, May 29, 1861—

"William King, of Taranaki, is now on a visit to the Waikato tribes, and about the end of this week he will reach Ngaruawahia. The proposed great meeting will then be held, and the question of peace or war will probably be then settled. The present is one of the most critical moments in the history of New Zealand. Our only refuge is in prayer to God, that it may please Him to overrule the hearts of the assembled chiefs, to humble their pride, and dispose them to submit themselves peaceably to the authority of the Queen. It is impossible now to say whether the Government will be able to arrange terms of peace or not. I have not heard what terms the Governor is likely to propose to the Waikatos; but it is generally reported that he will require them to abandon the Maori King movement. On this point, as far as we can yet judge, the natives of the Upper Waikato and Ngatimaniapoto are most obstinate. The peace of the colony, and the preservation of the Maori race, requires that the Queen's supremacy should be maintained, and that the Maori flag should no longer be a rallying-point for the aborigines, to lead them on to war. Whatever may be said on the subject of the Maori King movement by those only partially acquainted with it, it is beyond controversy that, had the King movement and land league not existed, the Waikatos would not have joined the Taranaki war. The Ngati-ruanui deputation was sent up to hand over to the Maori king, not the Waitara only, but all

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

Taranaki, prior to the sending away of the troops from Auckland. King was preparing for the struggle, depending on the assistance of the Waikatos, and in this he was not disappointed. The Waikatos, on their part, considered themselves bound to assist any tribes who received their flag, in their opposition to the sale of land, whether in Waikato, Taranaki, Napier, or elsewhere. This was the chief object of the league and king. They consider themselves, and plainly affirm, that, under the king's flag, they are 'a united people,' and not, as formerly, separate and distinct tribes. In this feeling of nationality and independence in Maori districts lies the danger at the present time. As a general rule, the tribes do not wish for a renewal of the war, but they object to the terms of peace, as far as they are known. The Ngatimaniapotos object to give up their plunder, and nearly all Upper Waikato, Mokau, and Taupo object to resign the flag and abandon the king. On the Lower Waikato a better feeling exists, and I trust that many will be found ready to yield the flag; but at the same time I do not think that the majority of the meeting will agree to it. There is a strong feeling of pride as well as of nationality in the Maori mind, and this feeling will deeply influence their resolutions. It is a most difficult subject to deal with. On the one hand the Government consider it necessary that the flag and king should be abandoned; and, on the other hand, the aborigines inquire why they, a distinct race, cannot have a flag and a king on their own ground. If war is again commenced at the south with the Ngatiruanui, many of the Waikatos say that they will return to Taranaki to fight; and if war is brought into the Waikato, then there is great fear that the natives resident near the southern towns may suddenly rise in arms. Such is our present state and prospects, and God alone knows what a single day may bring forth. If the natives could be persuaded to yield the points required by Government, then civil institutions could be introduced; but the natives are utterly incompetent to establish order and carry out law without the assistance of the British. It is to us a most anxious time. We have no fears as to our personal safety; but, situated as we are, in the very centre of the disaffected Waikatos, we feel deeply interested in passing events. If peace could now be restored on a just and solid basis—if the aborigines could be brought to feel that their interests would be best promoted by submission to the Queen—then peace would be restored, and union cemented between the two races. But should war enter our borders, no doubt the Taranaki tribes will again rise, and no can tell how many fresh tribes will join in the struggle. It is fearful to contemplate a renewal of the war. Being the winter season, it is favourable for peace; for although I have no hope that the coming meeting at Ngaruawahia will yield to the demands of the Government, a favourable change might take place in their views before the winter is over. May it please God, in his infinite mercy, to convince them of their sin and folly, and lead them to submit themselves to those who are placed over them."

Extract from a letter signed "Fabius," in the "New Zealander," of June 1, 1861—

"But notwithstanding the results that have thus attended the King movement in Waikato, it is undoubtedly desirable that it should be put down. The same fact which renders it justifiable renders it also possible peaceably to effect this: it is, that we can govern the Maoris better than they can govern themselves. I remember, in the discussion on the government of the Indian empire, a sentiment was expressed—I think by Lord Ellenborough—which was received with great applause, that the best security of British rule in India was 'the willing obedience of a prosperous and contented people.' The remark is equally applicable to New Zealand. If the Maories once saw the Government making earnest efforts to teach them civilization—if they saw their social condition improving, and their children receiving a really good education—we should, I believe, hear no more of land leagues and kings."

In a *Memorandum* of the Governor, dated May 27, 1861, in anticipation of the opening of the Assembly, the following important clauses occur. They clearly recognise the tribal right; and, while pointing out the evil of it, propose to the natives themselves a *voluntary* and *gradual* renunciation of it, and offer suggestions as to the formation of a tribunal for adjudication of disputes respecting the land.

The clause respecting education is significant in the present day, as indicative of the wide-extended determination of the British Government to dissociate religion from the education provided by the State—

"IV. Will they declare the whereabouts of the hapus belonging to their tribe, and give a list of the families which compose each hapu, and the names of the chiefs who represent it? and if this can

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

be effected, will they be further willing to register the boundaries of the land belonging to each hapu, with the names of the chiefs whom they wish to act as trustees of such land for them; an assurance being then given that no purchase would be made within those boundaries without the assent of the trustees so registered?

"VII. Believing, as I do, that real civilization of the natives is impossible so long as their communal title continues in its present form, I am most anxious to induce them to register the lands belonging to their different hapus, as being a great advance towards individualization of property and the removal of disputes attending the alienation of land.

"IX. The opinion of the three judges has been given in reference to the establishment of a tribunal, having jurisdiction in disputes relative to land over which the native title has not been extinguished. They have not entered upon details, but it occurs to me that a judicial officer (*query*, a judge), residing in Auckland, should have power to issue a commission, enabling the holder to associate two native assessors with himself, and then to empanel a jury, as advised by the judges. I am myself inclined to think that the decision of a commissioner, with disinterested native assessors, would be safer, and more likely to decide impartially than a Maori jury; but I hesitate to advise any thing not exactly in accordance with the opinion of the judges; such a court, however constituted, would be powerless, unless both parties consent to abide by its decrees; but time and experience might give it additional influence.

"XIV. The education of the Maoris has hitherto been entrusted solely to the religious bodies, and the effect has been necessarily confined to certain districts. There is no school at all north of Auckland. No school has ever existed in many of the most populous places, more particularly in the Ngatiruanui country; and in one school only is any attempt made to give instruction in agriculture. Government is not less bound to care for the secular instruction of its people than the church is for their religious teaching."

We conclude these documents with a reprint of a Memorandum forwarded to the Government, July 6, and signed by the Bishop of New Zealand and several of the Society's Missionaries. Other signatures will be added in due time. It cites some passages from the Governor's Memorandum of May 25, which we did not place among our former extracts from that important paper, because they come in with greater force here—

"Auckland, July 4, 1861.

"To his Excellency Governor Gore Browne, C.B.

"SIR,—We, the undersigned, desire to draw your Excellency's attention to the following statements—

"1. That at the time of the breaking out of the war at Taranaki, there was no part of Her Majesty's dominions in which life or property was more secure than in the districts bordering on the Waikato river:

"2. That the native inhabitants of those districts, and especially those on the Lower Waikato, have always maintained friendly relations with the colonists:

"3. That the native inhabitants of those districts have shown a remarkable aptitude and willingness to receive English institutions, under the guidance of officers appointed by the Government:

"4. That Potatau, the so-called native king, was the firm friend of the English Government, from the time of Governor Hobson to the day of his death:

"5. That neither he nor his son ever encouraged their people to take any part in the war at Taranaki, nor have participated in any plunder from English settlers:

"6. That the same statement applies to William Thompson Tarapipipi, who is commonly reputed to be the chief supporter of the native king. It will be found on inquiry—

"That he has always been a friend to the English people:

"That he used his best endeavours to prevent any members of his tribe from going to Taranaki:

"That he controlled and led back quietly to their own places a party who came down to inquire into the death of Erietera at Putamahoe:

"That he has not participated in the plunder of any English settlers:

"That by his influence in sending back the fighting parties to their own homes, the Government has been enabled to withdraw its forces from Taranaki.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

"7. That a Committee of the House of Representatives has investigated with the greatest care and patience the causes and history of the King movement, and recognised its true character '*as an effort to obtain law and order.*' (Report of Waikato Committee, F., No. 3.)

"8. That the main causes of distrust and irritation are believed to be these:—

"1. The uncertainty of the relations between the two races; and

"2. The system of land purchase.

"9. On the first point, Mr. Fortescue has admitted in his speech in the House of Commons on the 11th of April, as reported in the '*Times*,' that—

"The Governor of New Zealand is "obliged to act under a constitution which appears to have been framed in forgetfulness of the large native tribes within the dominions to which it was intended to apply."

"10. And we observe that your Excellency has stated in your Memorandum of the 25th of May 1861, § XI, that—

"Some of the most populous districts—such as Hokianga and Kaipara—have no magistrates resident among them; and many—such as Taupo, the Ngatiruanui, Taranaki, and the country about the East Cape—have never been visited by an officer of the Government. The residents in these districts have never felt that they are the subjects of the Queen of England, and have little reason to think that the Government of the Colony cares at all about their welfare."

"And further, in § XII. of the same Memorandum—

"In New Zealand the Government is, and always has been, unable to perform its duty for want of a sufficient number of agents trained and qualified for the service required of them."

"And further, that unless the native department be '*entirely remodelled*,'"

"The Government will never be able to take its proper part in establishing institutions for the native race, or obtain any real hold upon their *confidence*."

"11. On the second point, namely, the system of land purchase, we observe with satisfaction that your Excellency, in your Memorandum of the 15th of May 1861, § XVI., has given your opinion that

"The system of purchasing land requires alteration."

"And, again, § XVII., No. 13—

"Alter the system of purchasing land, and, for the present, purchase only in districts which remain undisturbed."

"12. We have no wish to say more on this subject than to express our opinion that the existing system of land purchasing has been one main cause of suspicion and dissatisfaction in the minds of the natives.

"13. We are glad to find also, from a letter to your Excellency of the 9th of May 1861, that the judges of the Supreme Court are of opinion

"That a competent tribunal might probably be established by the formation of a land jury, selected by lot or otherwise from members of the various tribes in previously defined districts, nominated by such tribes as are competent to act in that capacity, to be presided over by a European officer or commissioner (not being an agent of the Crown for the purchase of land) conversant with the Maori language, and assisted, if necessary, by a native assessor, and whose duty it should be merely to propound the questions for the decision of the jury, to record their verdict, and to administer oaths to witnesses."

"We are of opinion that the want of some such tribunal as that proposed by the judges is one main cause of dissatisfaction in the minds of the natives.

"14. We have only to add that we believe that the present unsatisfactory state of the relations between the two races may, in a great measure, be remedied by the suggestions your Excellency, and the judges of the Supreme Court, carried out with the co-operation of the natives themselves.

"15. We are ready to assist the Government in our various districts, by inquiring into the causes which have produced dissatisfaction in the minds of the natives, and by using our influence to secure their co-operation. We have no reason to think that any of the New Zealanders desire to be the Queen's enemies. To effect any object with them, time and patience are absolutely necessary. But we believe that all the present difficulties admit of a peaceable solution."

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

YORUBA MISSION.

EVENTS of considerable importance have taken place in this Mission. The notorious Are, the tyrant of Ijaye, is dead. At Abbeokuta four out of eight of the principal chiefs have died within twenty months—two very recently, one of the latter being Ogubonna, the firm friend of the Missionaries, and one who was at least almost persuaded to be a Christian. Lagos, again, has become a British possession, having been formally ceded, by treaty, on the 5th of August; while a treaty has been entered into with the king of Porto Novo, with a view to the suppression of the trade in slaves carried on from that port, and the substitution for it of legitimate commerce. These events cannot fail to exercise an important influence, the results of which may be expected speedily to develop themselves.

We are thankful, also, to report that letters have been received from Mr. Hinderer at Ibadan. The Mission party there are much straitened for want of cowries and the European necessities of life; and Mr. Hinderer's health has suffered, principally in consequence of exposure during a perilous journey to Lagos and back; but they have been mercifully preserved, and write in good spirits. A few extracts from recent letters will exemplify these brief statements.

Of Ogubonna, the Rev J. B. Wood writes (Sept. 6, 1861)—

"He had been ill for some time in the camp; but his death—so far as I am aware—was unlooked for when it came. In April last he sent a messenger from the camp to us to send him a Book of Common Prayer and a Book of Psalms. I sent him two copies of each, hoping that they might be useful, and praying that the blessing of God might rest upon them. Since his death, I have heard that he had these read to him regularly on Sundays by one of his daughters, who had learned to read in one of our Mission schools; that he always observed Sunday in camp as a day of rest, when he had prayers read by the daughter just mentioned. When he fell sick the heathen priests told him that it was Ifa who was angry with him on account of his meddling so much with books. At this he only smiled, and kept on. When he seemed to be dangerously ill, the priests of Ifa threatened to tear the books in pieces, mix them with the grass, and let the horses eat them. They were prevented from doing this. I have not heard any thing particular of his last moments. One cannot but wish there had been something more decided and satisfactory. But he has departed beyond the praise or censure of man, to that great tribunal where 'we must all stand to give an account of the things done in the body.' He was undoubtedly Abbeokuta's best chief, as he was the long-trying, able, and faithful friend of Missionaries. No one has done in this country for civilization and commerce so much as he. It is not a little remarkable that two such chiefs (Shokenu and Ogubonna) should end their course so nearly together. Both were powerful and very influential. Each had a clear understanding, remarkably free from the petty prejudices of the masses of the people in this country. From the first visit of Missionaries to

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

this town, both seemed to comprehend, to a large extent, their views, and have almost unceasingly helped them in their difficulties. Both gave some of their own children to be trained in the Christian religion—both defended Christians in persecution; but in this Ogubonna stands the first—both, doubtless, had great failings. At this one does not wonder so much as their being so far in advance of those they governed. But a sad, almost a painful regret, is left on the mind, that men who went so far as they did—especially as Ogubonna did—who saw things so clearly, who acted so energetically, and, I believe, sincerely, should not have gone further, and have thrown off the trammels which bound them to a system in which, if they had any, they had very little faith.

"On the 25th of August the Are of Ijaye died. Report states, that as soon as he was dead, one of his principal slaves ran to the Ibadans to inform them of his death. The Ibadans would not believe it, they said they had been so often deceived. They said they would cut off the slave's head, for he deserved it; for if Are was not dead, he was deceiving them, and for that he deserved to pay for it with his life; and if Are was dead, he (the slave) deserved not to live, for he could not be a worthy man who could, after having been a confidential servant of Are's, run to them—Are's enemies—as he had done.

"We have heard that when the Ibadans knew of a truth that Are was no more, they made overtures of peace to the Ijayas, and requested that both might join against the Egbas. This was not agreed to. I state these only as reports: I cannot say what truth there may be in them."

Mr. Hinderer writes (Aug. 2)—"And now as to our present situation. Country provisions are very cheap here, as everybody is working his farm, and we could easily live upon them but for cowries. We are as badly off as before I went to Lagos. . . . As to the European provisions, only a little reached us, the rest was lost on the road; and what I brought up is still in Ipara for want of a safe road to come up by; and if we had that, we have no cowries to pay the heavy carriage. But there was great mercy in some of the flour having reached Ibadan; for during my long attack of dysentery, had we not had flour we must have lived on yam, the worst thing for that complaint. Our people have been making farms, which helps them as well as us a little. During my absence Mrs. Hinderer had to pinch very much; but she managed cleverly, too, in turning old tin linings of deal boxes, biscuit tin boxes, lucifer match boxes of tin, and all sorts of things, into cowries. At present we are living on the articles of clothing and household utensils, which, however, have to be sold very much under their value. We do not know how we shall fare further on if the war lasts; but the Lord has helped us wonderfully hitherto: He will help us through to the end."

Mr. Hinderer gives an account of the negotiations on Are's death, which, when fairly interpreted, must be considered as substantially the same with that received from Abbeokuta. He hears that the Egbas sent to the Ibadan camp, proposing, as a condition of peace, *that Ijaye should be left to Abbeokuta*; that is, that the Egbas should have a footing in the Yoruba country (proper). This was refused, the principle on which the refusal was based being that Ibadan and Ijaye, as *Yoruba* towns, though now at variance, must hold together, and cannot be severed by making over the latter to the Egbas.—All these towns are the original habitat of the Egbas, who were driven out

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

to Abbeokuta by the Yorubas, when they in turn fled before the Foulahs. It is said that the Egbas are now bent on recovering their long-lost possessions, and determined to destroy Ibadan. Captain Bedingfield, of H.M.S. "Prometheus," it is believed, will exert himself to bring about a peace.

NIGER MISSION.

No further intelligence has been received from the steamers which have gone up the river. "The absence of intelligence," remarks Mr. Maser (Lagos, Sept. 10th), "is better than many letters. We hope the ship (the gun-boat 'Espoir,' which had been detained by her too deep draft of water) has gone abroad in the Niger, finding her element, like Noah's dove, and did not return, and we trust the Lord has assisted our friends to come out from their perilous situation."

The last words refer to the position of Dr. Baikie and the Mission agents at the Confluence and Onitsha. A packet of letters has been received from each of these places, by a circuitous route, and after much delay, the messengers from the Niger having found it impossible to make their way through the districts disturbed by war. The latest date from the Confluence is Jan. 5, 1861; from Onitsha Nov. 16, 1860. The non-ascent of the ships last year had not only reduced the several parties at these places to great straits for want of supplies, and shaken the confidence of the inquirers, but had greatly imperilled their safety. "As regards the church-members," writes Mr. Thomas, from Onitsha (Nov. 16th), "they are very good attendants, only they are still holding us with one hand, as some of them said, until Mr. Taylor arrives, before they know what they are about."

Dr. Baikie writes (Oct. 11, 1860), "I have just received very alarming accounts from the Ibo country. No ship having come, the natives below, headed by Aje of Abo, are threatening the lives of all in the factories. By Mr. L. Lyall's and my orders, Abo has been evacuated, and the people at Onitsha, but their things are equally dangerous. I have this morning sent to the Atta (of Idda) to request his immediate interference, and from his always professed friendship, I believe he will assist me. It is beyond Masaba's jurisdiction, or I would be sure of help. The Mission at Gbegbe is safe, but the people very badly off, and I can do but little to help them till I get supplies, which I have sent for. I am living on credit, and having fortunately acquired much influence around, I can keep this place quiet.

"It is a great pity no ship has come, every thing looked so promising. I have laboured harder than I fear I ever will be able to do again, but I have been blessed with excellent health. Our settlement looks so well that I am sorry no one has come to look at it: and on this very spot, not a year ago, the people on the opposite side of the river were afraid to land. Now I can send a high messenger anywhere, and all the roads are open to him.

"I have got accustomed to the people; and, in spite of their rudeness and savageness, I like them, and they seem to be accustomed to me, for my word goes far with them. In the present state of matters, I do not see how I can leave this place and no one behind me, as I believe my personal presence here just now does much to keep things quiet.

"The Ibos are a very troublesome people: human sacrifices are as rife as ever, and I begin to despair of doing any thing with the present generation. It would be hardly prudent to leave Mission stations here, except we have an open communication. We have now been isolated since last December, though now I think the Yoruba road is open, at least I am sending to try."

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

As already observed, it was not so. "Abbega and Mr. Dalton," says Mr. Maser, "reached as far as Illorin, but were not allowed to pass further south on account of the war : they returned again to the Niger, and Dasaba sent a man with the despatches to a captain of Ibadan, who occupies the Efon country on the north-east of Ibadan, and by him the box was forwarded to Ibadan. There was a country letter in the box which was found here, consisting of a long hair and a curled African's hair, tied together, and some Malaquetta paper. It is supposed this was put into the box in case some accident should happen to the man, to show the natives and the white and black man who were forming the Niger expedition were in great distress, but that they had not perished."

NEW ZEALAND.

The New-Zealand mail has brought intelligence which will call forth songs of praise from the lips of those whose souls have been exercised with anxieties respecting its interesting people, and its rising church. It may be too early yet to say that all danger has passed away ; but it is passing, and we shall be wanting in faith if we hesitate to accept what has already been accomplished (by the hand of a watchful Providence speakingly interposing at a crisis rarely surpassed in urgency) as an earnest of future and larger blessings. He who has begun the good work will assuredly complete it. The *Times'* correspondent speaks of the change of the Colonial ministry as reducing the chances of war to a *minimum*. The new Secretary is Dr. Featherston, who was deputed by the Wellington natives to protect their interests in the General Assembly. The new Attorney-General is Mr. Fox, a name familiar enough to our readers ; and who, besides his exertions in opposition to a war policy in New Zealand, will be remembered as the brother of the Missionary Fox of Masulipatam. No fresh purchases of land will be made until arrangements have been made for the settlement of disputes ; and thus a fertile source, and, indeed, well nigh the only source, of collision will be avoided. Our own correspondence speaks of the announcement of Sir George Grey's appointment as having given "universal joy," and as "one of the brightest events that has happened to New Zealand."

Archdeacon Kissling writes, August 8th—

"I called on the Parent Committee to sympathize with us in the miseries of war, which have well nigh ruined this goodly heritage, which it pleased God the Father to give to his blessed Son. There are still some plants of righteousness amongst us in blossom, and we hope and pray that they will bear fruit in due season, to his praise and glory. I have now the high satisfaction to convey to the Parent Committee tidings which will lead them to participate in our joy and thankfulness to Almighty God. He is our refuge, and we have a fresh proof that the Lord Omnipotent reigneth. I close this letter with a happier mind than I have done my last fifteen letters to you."

Archdeacon Hadfield (Aug. 5, 1861) says—

"Those persons who fancied that I and a few other clergymen were the only objectors to the Governor's war policy will be surprised that the result of a new election has been an unqualified condemnation of that policy. The king movement will have to be dealt with. I have always regarded it as more serious than it was generally thought to be.

"The natives in my district are perfectly quiet. I have never before been so convinced of the effect of religion upon them. There, is of course, chaff among the wheat."

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

CEYLON COOLY MISSION, AND TINNEVELLY.

THE Rev. Septimus Hobbs has recently paid a visit to the scene of his former labours in South India. His object was to seek assistants for his own Mission among the Tamil coolies in Ceylon. In this he was happily successful, and his success in this respect alone is a speaking testimony to the progress of Christianity in Tinnevelly. But his letter, after disposing of this, breaks off into a description of the state of that Mission which cannot fail to carry joy into the hearts of those interested in the enlargement of Christ's kingdom, and call forth thanksgivings for the manifest outpourings of his Spirit.

Mr. Hobbs writes from Kandy, September 19th, 1861—

"It is with devout thankfulness to the God of all mercy that I now write to communicate to the Parent Committee some account of my recent visit to Tinnevelly in search of catechists.

"The result is an accession of six catechists to the staff of the Cooly Mission, who, being added to a few who had arrived before I left, and two or three of the former staff, who have consented to remain here, and four more who have been offered for the work from Jaffna, and whom I accepted, complete the full number I desired. They have all arrived in Kandy, except the four from Jaffna. May God be pleased to endue them richly with his Holy Spirit, and prosper their work of faith and labour of love.

"Besides the supply of catechists for the present necessity, I endeavoured to arrange for a continued succession, a point which I esteem to be of first-rate importance in every Mission; and several of my Missionary brethren have heartily consented to send young men into the Preparandi Institution especially for the Cooly Mission, when pious and otherwise suitable persons are found to volunteer for this service. Four are already admitted on these terms; but I regret to say that there is no more room in the Institution, and eight is the lowest number likely to be sufficient. Another wing ought to be added immediately to this invaluable Institution for preparing catechists. In the mean time, as the catechists of the Cooly Mission will always have something to do in the management of schools, it is desirable that some of them should have the advantage of the Training Institution, and I have requested that the other four may be admitted there, which request, I am happy to say, has been acceded to.

"There were many more volunteers for the work of the Cooly Mission amongst the senior catechists in Tinnevelly, a large proportion of whom were occupying such important positions in their respective districts that they could not be spared. I mention this fact, because it is a most gratifying proof, to my mind at least, that the motives which have influenced the catechists in offering themselves to this work are not such as have been attributed to them in some quarters. It can scarcely be supposed that men holding such high positions in the church in their native country could have thought that they should improve their finances by becoming ordinary catechists of the Cooly Mission. It is satisfactory to know that the native church

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

in Tinnevely deserves to be more highly esteemed, and is evincing the true Missionary spirit, which is one of the most reliable signs of spiritual vitality.

"The first Mission station we arrived at after leaving Tuticorin was Paneivilei. Mr. Tucker and I landed at Madras on the same day, just nineteen years ago. It was a great pleasure to meet, after nearly eight years' absence, to unite in praise to God for his goodness in preserving us to labour in his vineyard for so long a time, and pray for a continuance of this high privilege. Time would fail to describe all that was gratifying in this and other stations—crowded congregations, flourishing schools for boys and girls, Preparandi classes, Bible classes, and every other sign of continued advancement. Mrs. Tucker's large Bible class of women was most interesting. Their reading was perfect, and the intelligence with which they replied to questions on Christian doctrine and practice, and the readiness and aptness with which they quoted Scripture, would have done credit to a class of catechists. The influence of educated Christian women can scarcely be over-estimated.

"After a most delightful visit to this station, we went on to Palamcotta, where I formerly resided for four years in charge of the seminary. The advance which has been made since then is most striking and gratifying. Indeed, I have never seen elsewhere Mission establishments so complete as the Preparandi and Training Institutions here.

"Fraternal affection may be supposed to induce some degree of partiality in speaking of an institution conducted by the beloved husband of a beloved sister, and my opinion may be taken *cum grano salis*; but I never saw a public institution conducted better than the Training Institution here. Seventy youths and young men, preparing for the office of schoolmasters, receive here instruction in the best method of teaching, and there is a model school and a practising school in the same compound, containing about eighty or ninety day-school children. Amongst them all it is very rare to see a downcast face. The cheerfulness of the whole establishment is most striking, and yet there is the most complete order and discipline. There is but one thing to desire in these two Institutions, which is their enlargement. They are the heart of the Mission, which we want so much in Ceylon, and without which the Ceylon Mission can never prosper.

"From Palamcotta we went on to Nallur and Pavur, where I had formerly resided for six years. The district of Pavur was, as might be supposed, the most interesting part of the province to me. Numbers of the people had come as far as Palamcotta (thirty miles) to meet us, but were disappointed, and obliged to return before our arrival there, because we had been detained a fortnight longer than we anticipated. Many, however, came and met us at Nallur. I arranged to go and see all the principal congregations in the district, and having found my old congregation-book at Nallur, I took it with me. That book contains the names of all the Christian professors (men, women, and children) at the time of my being compelled to leave the district from the failure of my health, seven years and three-quarters since. It distinguishes the unbaptized, baptized, confirmed, and communicants; with an account of the memoriter lessons acquired by each, and other particulars. In every congregation that I visited, I called over the old names, in order that I might not pass over any of my old friends without a word to each individual. The steadfastness of the people was thus put incidentally to a very severe test, and I rejoice to say that the result exceeded my most sanguine expectations. The relapses to heathenism have been very few in-

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

deed, but the accessions from heathenism very numerous. The people who were baptized before I left answered immediately to their names. But when I called the heathen names of those who had not been baptized before I left, there was hesitation in most cases until the individual replied, 'That is not my name now: I am baptized.' In some cases the heathen names were so completely forgotten, that the individual intended could not be distinctly made out. The people were greatly pleased to see me again. There had been two boarding-schools at the station, one for boys and the other for girls, and I was greatly interested in tracing the history of the scholars. The boys' boarding-school usually contained about twenty pupils; and I succeeded in tracing the history of twenty-eight of the scholars. Three of them are now employed as Scripture-readers; nine are schoolmasters; four are in the Training Institution at Palamcottah; one has been removed by death; nine are following secular occupations, all of them, except one, being spoken of as consistent Christians; and two, who were then very little boys, are still scholars in the boarding-school at Nallur. This is a result for which I cannot feel sufficiently thankful to Him without whom nothing is strong, nothing is holy. And the gratification which I could not but feel was greatly enhanced on hearing from other Missionaries that the success of the boarding-schools in other districts has been at least equally great. It was not so easy to trace the history of the girls, because they have been married away into distant parts of the country; but we found out a great many of them, and were glad to see them respectably married and apparently very happy. There was one, and only one, of whom we heard a bad account; and it was one who had been received in the first instance rather with the view of rescuing her from danger. But time and space both warn me that I must pass on from this intensely-interesting visit to my whole district. I have, indeed, already far exceeded the limits I intended when I began to write, and yet seem to have said very little. One thing, however, I must not omit, which is, that every one who has spoken with coolies who have been in Ceylon and returned to their villages, speaks of them as having gained very much Christian knowledge from the preaching of the catechists of the Cooly Mission, and as being very well affected towards them. Some have embraced the truth since their return to their country.

"From my old district I returned to Palamcottah, and set out on a visit to the North Tinnevely Itinerancy. Of all the interesting things I saw and heard here, I have only time to mention one, and that very briefly: it respects the late revival. I went to several of the villages where this influence had been felt, and saw many of the people who had been the subjects of it. All extraordinary excitement has long since ceased; but the solid effects remain to this day in the renewed life of many who had been notorious evil livers, but are now, through grace, consistent and exemplary Christians. It was much more extensive than I had supposed, and was not confined to Christian professors. I am of the opinion that we heard more about the extravagances and excitement than those things deserved; that the work itself was of God, and does and will remain.

"But I must conclude. I have seldom, if ever, enjoyed anything so much as this visit to the scene of my former labours. I met with the utmost cordiality and kindness everywhere, and from everybody; but the crowning point was that I witnessed advancement everywhere. Increase in the number of professing Christians, advancement in knowledge, advancement

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

in efficient machinery, and, above all, reliable indications of advancement in spirituality. That there is still room for improvement I admit; but dull indeed must my heart be if it did not glow with gratitude to God for such mercies bestowed, not only on the obscure corner of the province in which it was once my privilege to labour, but also, and much more abundantly, on the labours of my beloved colleagues.

"I perceive that I have been diverging from my subject. I began to write about my search after catechists, and have been stating my impressions respecting other things, on which I was not called upon to report. My only apology is, that what the heart is full of will find expression; and I have naturally supposed that the Committee will be pleased to hear of things which I was so delighted to see."

NIGER MISSION.

The expedition, consisting of H.M.S. "Espoir" (gunboat), and the "Sunbeam," has returned in safety to the Nun, after ascending the river as far as the Confluence. The gunboat was fired upon in the Delta, and lost two men. Two native villages were destroyed. The Mission parties, as well as the government officers and factory agents, were found well at Onitsha and the Confluence. "Here is much cause for thankfulness," writes Mr. Crowther, "to the God of all mercies, who is the preserver of all mankind. Under great privations for want of supplies to buy provisions for their necessary food, that the health of these persons should be preserved hitherto is a plain proof that the Niger, as a river, has nothing in it peculiar to itself more deadly to Europeans than any other African rivers."

Of the Mission agents Mr. Crowther writes—"I was very glad to meet Messrs. Smart and Romaine, the two [native] Christian teachers at this place, in good health. That they suffered trials and encountered many difficulties there can be no doubt. To be repeating each particular circumstance is to repeat what others have again and again repeated, as common in the beginning of a new Mission among the heathen, but which all have overcome by faith and patient labour in the strength of the Lord." Mr. Crowther speaks of the state of the Mission as most hopeful, and adds, "How could these stations be given up without doing the greatest injury imaginable, both to the converts who are just coming forward, and to the population at large, who are just becoming acquainted, by daily observation, with the principles of the Christian religion?" The teachers who have so long and so well borne, alone and isolated, the burden and heat of the day, have been relieved for a season, and others are taking their places; while a new station has been commenced at Acassa, at the mouth of the river. Mr. Crowther's journal will be published with as little delay as possible.

DECEASE OF MISSIONARIES.

The Rev. G. G. Cuthbert, late Secretary of the Calcutta Corresponding Committee, died near Dublin, on October 22d, after a short illness.

Mrs. Mason, wife of the Rev. W. Mason, of the North-West-America Mission, died at Brompton on the 10th of October.

Mr. J. M. Flad died at Lagos on the 18th of July.

INVITATION TO PRAYER.

The prayers of the friends of Missions are desired on behalf of Mr. William Soans and Mr. John Cooper of the Church Missionary College, Ialington, Candidates for Deacons' Orders at the hands of the Bishop of London, on Sunday, the 22nd inst.